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The JOURNAL OF RELIGION

Volume IX JANUARY 1929 Number 1

Jesus Christ as Interpreted by the Missionary Enterprise
By Archibald G. Baker

The Broad Church and Modernist Movement
By B. H. Streeter

Can There Be Tolerance without Understanding?
By E. Boyd Barrett

Can Philosophy Progress within the Framework of the Christian Faith?
Anonymous

Balthasar Huebmaier and Baptist Historic Commitments
By John W. Johnson

The Second Rescue of the Second Isaiah
By William Creighton Graham

Luther and Butzer
By Wilhelm Pauck

Egyptian Influence in the Book of Proverbs
By Henry J. Cadbury

The Movement toward Church Union in South India
By Clifford Manshardt

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THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

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Vol. IX. CONTENTS FOR JANUARY 1929 No. 1

JESUS CHRIST AS INTERPRETED BY THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE 1
By ARCHIBALD G. BAKER, University of Chicago

THE BROAD CHURCH AND MODERNIST MOVEMENT 12
By B. H. STREETER, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; Canon of Hereford; Fellow of the British Academy

CAN THERE BE TOLERANCE WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING? 20
By E. BOYD BARRETT, New York City

CAN PHILOSOPHY PROGRESS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH? 38
ANONYMOUS

BALTHASAR HUEBMAIER AND BAPTIST HISTORIC COMMITMENTS 50
By JOHN W. JOHNSON, Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, Berkeley, California

THE SECOND RESCUE OF THE SECOND ISAIAH 66
By WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM, University of Chicago

LUTHER AND BUTZER 85
By WILHELM PAUCK, Chicago Theological Seminary

EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN THE BOOK OF PROVERBS 99
By HENRY J. CADBURY, Bryn Mawr College

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD CHURCH UNION IN SOUTH INDIA 109
By CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, Bombay, India

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA 116
By A. EUSTACE HAYDON, University of Chicago

AN AMERICAN TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT 119
By GEORGE DAHL, Yale University

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE 124
By CARL EVERETT PURINTON, Adelphi College

A MACCABEAN PSALTER 127
By J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago

THE TALMUDIC TREATISE ON FASTS 128
By SOL B. FINESINGER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

AN EXAMPLE OF JEWISH MYSTICISM 130
By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, University of Chicago

THE UNIQUENESS OF PAULINE CHRISTIANITY 132
By HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY, University of Chicago

REHABILITATING THE "DARK AGES" 135
By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, University of Chicago

[Contents continued on following page]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN ASIA 136
By JOHN T. MCNEILL, University of Chicago
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
JANSENISM IN ITALY 139
By WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, University of Chicago

THE REVIVAL OF RITUAL 141
By RICHARD DAVIDSON, Emanuel College, Toronto, Canada

DEFINING THE RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE 143
By WALTER M. HORTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

VITAL THEOLOGY 145
By JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM, Pacific School of Religion

SAMPLE SERMONS AND PUBLIC WORSHIP 147
By CARL S. PATTON, Chicago Theological Seminary

THE CLAIMS OF THE CITY 149
By R. W. FRANK, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois

NEGRO PROBLEMS IN CITIES 150
By SAMUEL C. KINCHELOE, Chicago Theological Seminary

THE TECHNIQUE OF CITY CHURCH SURVEYS 151
By CHARLES T. HOLMAN, University of Chicago

BOOKS RECEIVED 153

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS NUMBER

Battenhouse, The Bible Unlocked 124
Brown, Beliefs That Matter 146
Douglass, How to Study the City Church 151
Fiske, The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson 148
Flower, An Approach to the Psychology of Religion 143
Gollancz, The Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia, XVII and XVIII Centuries . . . 137
Gordon, Meek, Smith, Waterman, The Old Testament. An American Translation 120
Jemolo, Il Giansenismo in Italia prima della Rivoluzione 140
Jones, New Studies in Mystical Religion 143
Kennett, Old Testament Essays 127
Krumbine, American Lutheran Preaching 147
Luccock, Preaching Values in New Translations of the New Testament 148
Malter, Treatise Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud 128
Marchant (Ed.), If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach 141
Maryknoll Mission Letters 138
Mensching, Katholische Kultprobleme dargestellt in ihrem Verhaeltnis zur evangelischen Kultauffassung 142
Odeberg (Ed.), 3 Enoch, or The Hebrew Book of Enoch 131
Odgers and Schutz, The Technique of Public Worship 148
Rand, Founders of the Middle Ages 135
Ross, "Till He Come" 147
Saunders, The Gospel for Asia 116
Thompson, Urbanization 149
Wilson, St. Paul and Paganism 133
Woofter, Negro Problems in Cities 150
Woodburne, The Religious Attitude: A Psychological Study of Its Differentiation 143

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

Vol. IX CONTENTS FOR APRIL 1929 No. 2

PROTESTANTISM, DEMOCRACY, AND CHURCH UNITY 169
By SHAILER MATHEWS, University of Chicago

THE PLACE OF CHRIST IN MODERN THEOLOGY 184
By EUGENE W. LYMAN, Union Theological Seminary

PETER'S TRIUMPH AT ANTIOCH 204
By BENJAMIN W. BACON, New Haven, Connecticut

CONCERNING THE JEWISH DISPERSION 224
By WILLIAM FAIRWEATHER, Edinburgh, Scotland

CALVIN AND BUTZER 237
By WILHELM PAUCK, Chicago Theological Seminary

REVOLT OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT AGAINST ECCLESIASTICAL EXACTIONS IN ENGLAND, 1529–36 257
By OSCAR A. MARTI, State Teachers' College, Warrensburg, Missouri

ETHICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGION OF THE SIKHS 281
By ALBAN G. WIDGERY, Bowdoin College

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON MISSION POLICIES IN INDIA 291
By CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, Bombay, India

BOOK REVIEWS

A NEW STUDY OF JEREMIAH 297
By J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago

CHRISTIANITY'S TREATMENT OF THE PHARISEES 299
By HENRY J. CADBURY, Bryn Mawr College

THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF JESUS 302
By E. F. SCOTT, Union Theological Seminary

JOHN THE BAPTIST 304
By CLAYTON R. BOWEN, Meadville Theological School

RECENT FRENCH STUDIES IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY 306
By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, University of Chicago

MODERN MOVEMENTS IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES 309
By JOHN T. MCNEILL, University of Chicago

THE CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH 312
By WILHELM PAUCK, Chicago Theological Seminary

FRANCIS ASBURY 313
By WILLIAM W. SWEET, University of Chicago

THE REGENERATION OF RELIGION 314
By EDWIN E. AUBREY, Vassar College

[Contents continued on following page]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

A SURVEY OF ETHICAL THEORY 317
By Ralph M. Blake, Harvard University
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
HUMAN MOTIVES 319
By William Clayton Bower, University of Chicago

MANUALS FOR THE VACATION CHURCH SCHOOL 322
By E. J. Chave, University of Chicago

BOOKS RECEIVED 325

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS NUMBER

Bonser, Child Life and Religious Growth 322
Coe, The Motives of Men 319
Duren, Francis Asbury, Founder of American Methodism and Unofficial Minister of State . . . 313
Faye, de, Origen. Sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée, Vol. III: La Doctrine 308
Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843–1874 310
Goguel, Au Seuil d l'Evangile. Jean-Baptiste 304
Grant, New Horizons of the Christian Faith, "Hale Lectures, 1927–28" 314
Hutton, Building for Tomorrow 322
Leclercq, La Vie Chrètienne Primitive 306
Leh, Christianity Reborn 314
Maclean, Aspects of Scottish Church History 309
Mathews, Jesus on Social Institutions 302
Peterson, Die Kirche 312
Riddle, Jesus and the Pharisees: a Study in Christian Tradition 299
Rogers, Morals in Review 317
Sellars, Religion Coming of Age 314
Siouville, Hippolyte de Rome. Philosophumena, ou Réfutation de toutes les hérésies 306
Welch, Jeremiah: His Time and Work 297

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

Vol. IX CONTENTS FOR JULY 1929 No. 3

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THEOLOGY 337
By WALTER M. HORTON, Oberlin College

TRUTH IN ANCIENT ISRAEL 357
By W. A. IRWIN, University of Toronto

SOME LATE ELEMENTS IN THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS 389
By CARL S. PATTON, Chicago Theological Seminary

THE RELIGIOUS SIDE OF JOSEPH BRANT 398
By MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR., Hamilton College

AN ADDITIONAL STEP TOWARD THE UNDERSTANDING OF JESUS 419
By MORTON S. ENSLIN, Crozer Theological Seminary

RELIGION IN THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM 436
By MILLAR BURROWS, Brown University

EMIL BRUNNER AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE THEOLOGY OF CRISIS . . 446
By JULIUS SEELYE BIXLER, Smith College

CRITICAL REVIEWS

BUDDHA REINTERPRETED 460
By JAMES BISSETT PRATT, Williams College

AN ANGLICAN COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE 462
By CARL EVERETT PURINTON, Adelphi College

HEBREW HEROES 465
By J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago

JESUS AND PACIFISM 467
By E. F. SCOTT, Union Theological Seminary

RECENT NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES IN EUROPE 468
By DONALD W. RIDDLE, University of Chicago

EXTRA-CANONICAL SPIRITUAL LITERATURE 471
By FRANK EAKIN, Vineland, New Jersey

ROME AND THE CELTIC CHURCHES 473
By JOHN T. MCNEILL, University of Chicago

AN INTERPRETATION OF CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA 475
By E. BOYD BARRETT, New York City

EARLY MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN AMERICA 477
By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, University of Chicago

HOW SHALL WE RELATE CHRISTIANITY TO OTHER RELIGIONS? . . . 478
By ARCHIBALD G. BAKER, University of Chicago

[Contents continued on following page]

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RECENT DEFENSES OF RELIGION 480
By MILES H. KRUMBEIN, Parkside Lutheran Church, Buffalo, New York

FAITH AND CONSCIENCE 482
By WALTER M. HORTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CHURCH SCHOOL 484
By MILLAR BURROWS, Brown University

MISSIONARY EDUCATION FOR THE YOUNG 486
By ERNEST J. CHAVE, University of Chicago

A FIGHTING CHANCE FOR THE CITY CHURCH 487
By CHARLES T. HOLMAN, University of Chicago

A STUDY IN HEBREW RITUAL 488
By J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago

RECENT BOOKS 490

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS NUMBER

Bardenhewer, Der Brief des Heiligen Jakobus 470
Brewster, The Madness of War 467
Cave, Christianity and Some Living Religions of the East 478
Davids, Gotama the Man 460
Delafosse, Les Ecrits de Saint Paul, IV, l'Epitre aux Philippiens 469
Douglass, The City's Church 487
Elsbree, The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815 477
Entwistle and Harris, The Call Drum 486
Frommel, The Psychology of Christian Faith 482
Garrison, Affirmative Religion 481
Garrison, Catholicism and the American Mind 475
Gilkey, The Certainty of God 480
Gladfelter, Under the North Star 486
Gore, Goudge, and Guillaume (Eds.), A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, Including the Apocrypha 462
Heidel, The Day of Yahweh: A Study of Sacred Days and Ritual Forms in the Ancient Near East 488
Jenness, Meet Your United States 487
Juergens, Newman on the Psychology of Faith 482
Kittel, Great Men and Movements in Israel 465
Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philliper 468
MacNaught, The Celtic Church and the See of Peter 473
Millard (Ed.), The Supplementary Bible 471
Schmid, Der Epheserbrief des Apostels Paulus 470
Smith, The Use of the Old Testament in Current Curricula 484

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

Vol. IX CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1929 No. 4

BEYOND SCIENCE 505
By JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM, Pacific School of Religion

THE STRUCTURE OF HEBREW POETRY 523
By THEOPHILE JAMES MEEK, University of Toronto

EDUCATION THROUGH CREATIVE EXPERIENCE 551
By WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER, University of Chicago

THE LAITY IN FRENCH CHURCH COUNCILS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY . 568
By LOREN CAREY MACKINNEY, Louisiana State University

GERMAN PHENOMENOLOGY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR RELIGION . . . 589
By JULIUS SEELYE BIXLER, Smith College

CHURCH UNION IN SOUTH INDIA 607
By CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, Bombay, India

CRITICAL REVIEWS

SOURCE BOOKS FOR PRIMITIVE EUROPEAN RELIGIONS 614
By CHESTER N. GOULD, University of Chicago

PAGAN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE 615
By FRANK EAKIN, Vineland, New Jersey

A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE 617
By ERNEST W. PARSONS, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School

THE TWELVE PROPHETS 620
By J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago

THE DEUTERONOMIC CODE 621
By WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM, University of Chicago

LATE JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY 625
By DONALD WAYNE RIDDLE, University of Chicago

ANOTHER BOOK ON CELIBACY 627
By MERVIN MONROE DEEMS, Carleton College

AN APPRAISAL OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH 628
By WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, University of Chicago

LUTHER'S THINKING ABOUT GOD 631
By WILHELM PAUCK, Chicago Theological Seminary

CHRISTIAN HYMNS 634
By VON OGDEN VOGT, University of Chicago

MORAL VALUES THE KEY TO RELIGION 636
By EDWIN E. AUBREY, University of Chicago

PERSONAL THEISM 638
By EDWIN E. AUBREY, University of Chicago

[Contents continued on following page]

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RELIGION AS SOCIALIZATION 640
By EDWIN E. AUBREY, University of Chicago
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
AN ANTHOLOGY OF RECENT PHILOSOPHY 645
By HAROLD H. TITUS, Denison University

A CRITICISM OF THE MODERN ECONOMIC ORDER 646
By T. V. SMITH, University of Chicago

AN INTERPRETATION OF AUTHORITY 649
By DANIEL EVANS, Andover Theological Seminary

CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA 651
By ARCHIBALD G. BAKER, University of Chicago

BRINGING STARBUCK AND COE DOWN TO DATE 653
By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, University of Chicago

HOW TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS 655
By CHARLES T. HOLMAN, University of Chicago

RECENT BOOKS 657

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS NUMBER

Ames, Religion 640
Babson, Storing Up Triple Reserves 655
Baillie, The Interpretation of Religion: An Introductory Study of Theological Principles . 636
Barrett, While Peter Sleeps 628
Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church 634
Bertholet (Ed.), Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch 614
Buckham, The Humanity of God 638
Clark, The Psychology of Religious Awakening 653
Eiselen, Lewis, and Downey (Eds.), The Abingdon Bible Commentary 617
Gillman, The Evolution of the English Hymn 634
Herford, Judaism in the New Testament Period 625
Houtin, Courte histoire du célibat ecclésiastique 627
Krause, Die Kelten 614
Latourette, History of Christian Missions in China 651
Oman, Vision and Authority or the Throne of St. Peter 649
Ratner, The Philosophy of John Dewey 644
Robinson (Ed.) An Anthology of Recent Philosophy 645
Schröder, Die Germanen 614
Seeberg, Luthers Theologie. Motive und Ideen 632
Siebens, L'Origine du Code Deuteronomique 621
Smith (*H. Augustine*), The American Student Hymnal 634
Smith (*Sir George Adam*), The Books of the Twelve Prophets 620
Turnbull (Ed.), Tongues of Fire: A Bible of Sacred Scriptures of the Pagan World . . . 615
Ward, Our Economic Morality 646

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JESUS CHRIST AS INTERPRETED BY THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

ARCHIBALD G. BAKER
University of Chicago

ACCORDING to the theological thinking of the Protestant world before the days of William Carey, Jesus Christ gained his significance either as the second person of the Trinity or else as a factor in an elaborate plan of redemption which extended from Genesis to Revelation and in all of which the hand of God was seen. This gospel was held to be unique and final, but, at this time, its efficacy was restricted either to the elect or to the national group. The heathen were beyond its scope. What the missionary enterprise did during the last century was simply to add the note of universality. This glorious gospel of God, of which Jesus was a part, must now be made the possession of all mankind. Of one thing the missionary was absolutely certain, namely, of the uniqueness and finality of his religion, of his duty to make it universal, and of the assurance of ultimate success which was as bright as the promises of God.

But now in the year of our Lord 1928 a most amazing spectacle greets us from the city of Jerusalem. We find 240 of the leaders of the Christian church, gathered together from all nations on the spot most sacred to Christian hearts, for the greater part of two weeks giving themselves earnestly and almost desperately to the consideration of the question, What is the Christian religion? The Gospel which was the *assurance*

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of the year 1828 has now become the *problem* of the year 1928, because the discovery of certain new and unexpected facts was very seriously compromising the claims of uniqueness and universality. Salvation by grace, virgin birth, revelations, mystic experiences, moral and spiritual awakenings, the doctrine of the love of God and the brotherhood of man, claims of divine origin—these and other factors were discovered to be common to other religions as well as to Christianity. Furthermore, religion, whatever its origin, had been found to be inextricably entangled with culture. It had become evident, then, that in the effort to preach the Gospel to all mankind, to apply its ethical principles to all the walks of life, and to bring it to terms with the findings of science and history—in this effort the claims of uniqueness and of finality, and therefore of divineness, were being shaken; and there was real danger lest the Christian should lose the exclusive divine quality of his religion while he was trying to save the world.

The apologetic device resorted to at Jerusalem in order to save the Gospel from dissolution was the one which had been growing increasingly familiar since the days of Ritschl, namely, to reduce the real Christianity to an inner essence and to identify that essence with Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the official pronouncement runs thus: "Our message is Jesus Christ. He is the revelation of what God is and of what man through him may become . . . . Christ is our motive. Christ is our end. We must give nothing less. We can give nothing more."

It is evident that a decided change is passing over the missionary interpretation of the Christian message. According to the interpretation which gave birth to the movement one hundred years ago, Jesus found his significance as a part of God's great plan of redemption, all of which was considered to be uniquely divine. This theology still survives in the more conservative wing of the church. But according to the view which became dominant at Jerusalem, Jesus Christ is no longer just a part of the gospel message. He is the gospel. He, namely,

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his person rather than his teaching, becomes the very essence of Christianity. The real content of Christianity is restricted to a narrow compass in order to preserve that unique and final validity which is thought to inhere in supernatural origins.

The chief excellency of this interpretation is found in its *flexibility*. "Christ is our motive. Christ is our end. We must give nothing less. We can give nothing more." Such a gospel can be telescoped into the smallest compass when occasion demands, and, with equal facility, can be expanded to the fullest amplitude. For example, this Christocentric gospel provides a unifying symbol for a church menaced the world over with schism between fundamentalist and modernist. The one will read into that symbol a full content of orthodox doctrine. The other will be more inclined to reduce such doctrine to a minimum. But, withal, both parties can and do find in that divine symbol a common bond of Christian fellowship and an inspiring object of devotion. Again, it provides a promising apologetic before the conscience of the world, which is growing more and more exacting in its demands, first of all upon Christian nations and upon so-called Christian civilization, and more recently upon the ethical or unethical record of the church itself. Before such attacks as these, Stanley Jones and all of this numerous school shorten their line of defense. Christianity is not the church; much less is it any nation or civilization. Christianity is Christ; and he is unimpeachable. But, when the immediate danger is passed, the church is reinstated as the body or bride of Christ, and even Western civilization may again be submitted as a proof of the vitalizing influence of the one true religion. It likewise furnishes what is supposed to be an impregnable inner citadel for the defense of the supernatural before the more naturalistic interpretations of cosmic movements and human affairs. When necessary in response to this critical spirit, supernaturalism can be reduced to a minimum. Christ alone is the revelation of God. He is the "One supreme act of God." But then also, when the scene changes, this one

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stupendous miracle can be expanded to include all the supernaturalism that is required to satisfy the demands of the most ardent believer. Finally, this interpretation of Christ as himself constituting the Gospel makes it possible for the church to take a conciliatory attitude to the non-Christian and to acknowledge generously the excellencies of other faiths without surrendering completely the Christian pretensions of uniqueness and finality. Christ is the one supreme act of God, the one final revelation from on high; let this be granted, and he can quite safely be thought of as the fulfilment of the highest aspirations of other faiths, or at least as the one divine light of heaven whose scintillating reflections flash out here and there from the darkness of India, China, or Africa.

The liberal Christian, therefore, announces his Christocentric gospel, first of all as the irreducible divine essence from which all Western and cultural accretions have been eliminated, and second, as the perfect and universal being who embraces in himself the commendable qualities of other religions. The liberal Christian casts his eye over the world and beholds, as he believes, all other saviors discredited and all other religions unable to withstand the withering effects of modern conditions. He also sees clearly that much of Christianity itself is of mundane origin. But he is not dismayed. Jesus Christ at least is divine, and therefore the savior of Christianity itself; he it is that saves the religion bearing his name from ceasing to be divine. More than this, because of his historicity and his unblemished moral perfection, he alone of all the world's savior-gods stands out as the fully accredited messenger from heaven to earth, and, as such, he alone can save religion, yea, all that which is spiritual in the universe, from the deadening effects of materialistic determinatism.

Jesus Christ is the savior of men. He is the savior of Christianity. He is the savior of the spiritual interpretation of the universe. It is little wonder then that, when finally agreed upon, the Jerusalem Council welcomed the statement of this

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Christocentric gospel with songs of praise and prayers of thanksgiving. It seemed as though differing opinions and beliefs had finally been welded together into a statement of the gospel message which would successfully withstand the scrutiny and meet the needs of the present day.

The leaders at Jerusalem, however, were wise enough to discern that the main issue today is, not between Christianity and other faiths, but rather one which is presented by a comparatively recent newcomer, which may be designated as secularism, naturalism, scientific agnosticism, materialistic determinism, or moral iconoclasm, according to the peculiar predilection of the speaker. This newcomer is taken to be the supreme rival, not only of Christianity, but also of all religion; and it is spreading like an irresistible tide over the face of the earth. As one writer puts it:

> The situation of rivalry in a very acute degree confronts the Christian missionary in Japan, China, and India, where institutions of higher learning, both secular and Christian, have accepted the scientific method of explanation . . . . I am inclined to think that there is no one thing that more impresses a man as he travels through country after country around the world than the spell which science has thrown over the minds of the youth today. . . . . Christianity is confronted with a vast body of persons who exhibit rival interests and who are influenced by the appeal of values quite different from those which are expressed in and through the church.

The Jerusalem Council faced this issue with open eyes. How did it meet it? By affirming its unwavering faith in the Christ who is "the one supreme act of God," and by calling upon the men of the world to bring the technique of science to the service of this unique and final incarnation of God. It will be noted that for the religious believer and for the naturalistic unbeliever, the same interpretation of Christianity is projected. Let us not be misled by the phrase "Christocentric gospel." We may well believe that Christianity will always be, and should be, Christocentric. The vital question is: "In what kind of Christ is the Gospel centered?" The Christocentric

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gospel does give promise of making an appeal to those of the world's population who are still thinking in terms of absolutes, incarnations, avatars, universals, and revelations, for it speaks in terms that this vast multitude understands. But the burden of this paper is that such an interpretation of Christ makes but a very ineffectual appeal to those who are caught up in this new social mind, which we shall call naturalism; and unless some more meaningful interpretation can be presented to them, we might just as well acknowledge frankly that the Christian message cannot reach a growing number of the world's population who are thus minded. There are at least three reasons for this lack of appeal.

First, this Christocentric gospel of minimized supernaturalism, enthusiastically enunciated at Jerusalem, appears to be both religiously weak and ineffectual and also scientifically untenable. It is neither good science nor good religion. What has actually taken place is this: In accordance with the traditional view, the very essence of religion, and also of the divine itself, is still held to consist in its supernaturalism. But as a concession to the scientific spirit of the age, this supernaturalism is reduced to a minimum. Inspired Bible, gone. Creation story gone. One, or more, or even all of the miracles of the Gospel narratives, gone, including perhaps even the miracles of the virgin birth and of the empty tomb. And all that remains is the supernaturalism of one personality who reveals the love and perfection of God. But, rightly or wrongly, the miracle of one supernatural personality is no more acceptable to the naturalistic mind than is the floating of an axe-head or the story of a certain man and a great fish. To all such a moral or spiritual miracle is no more credible than a physical miracle. It is still poor science. It is equally poor religion. The essence of religion, it is maintained, is its supernaturalism; but this is reduced to one supreme act of God, which took place 1900 years ago. This view of religion is closely akin to the old deistic cosmology, and is little more satisfying to the religious

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soul. Deism would preserve the divine in the universe by affirming at least one original creative act of God. This view seeks to preserve the unique, the final, and the divine in Christianity by affirming one supreme redemptive act of God. But it does not add to the vitality and validity of any religion to reduce to a minimum what is held to be its essential feature. No; if the very essence of religion is the supernatural, then in God's name let us have it in abundance. Let us accept the uncurtailed supernaturalism of the orthodox believer and have a real religion, rather than the thin, emaciated, and anemic supernaturalism of much of liberal Christianity.

Again, this interpretation is discredited by the inevitable confusion and even contradiction which arises when we try to get beyond words and rhetorc and to inquire, What manner of being is this Christ who is the very essence of the Christian religion? Anyone acquainted with the literature knows something of the variety of answers given to this crucial matter. To enumerate them would be superfluous. Some devout souls profess to see in this profusion and even contradiction of answers an evidence of the infinite fulness which God has stored up for us in Christ Jesus. But the class of people of whom we are now speaking will be more inclined to see in it the very negation of any possibility of ever arriving at any such essence, a proof that the quest of one religious essence is futile, and that the concept of the essence is erroneous. Any interpretation of Christ, then, which would appeal to this type of mind must abandon the concept of essence and offer a more satisfactory explanation for this confusion of counsel.

Furthermore, let it be noted that Christianity as interpreted at Jerusalem still preserves an intimate kinship with that commonly accepted philosophy of the universe which has come down to our present age as the most sublime legacy of the prescientific world, but has little or no meaning for those who entertain the naturalistic philosophy. We refer to that general world-view which takes the True, the Beautiful, the

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Good, the Spiritual, the Wise, and the Powerful, writes them with capital letters, volatilizes them into the ethereal regions, condenses them into the form of one absolute, thus leaving this mundane existence bereft of real value, virtue, or power, hopelessly impoverished, and then replenishes this needy world by means of incarnations, revelations, avatars, miracles, and mystic intuitions. The absolute may be known by different names. There have been conflicting claims as to just which incarnation may have been the true one—Krishna, Siva, Buddha, or Christ. But running through one and all, the *motif* is the same. True reality is found in another region, and real virtue comes from above. But to those who are naturalistically minded, the only reality that they know anything about is found in the natural, or, rather, is found through the natural. The forces and factors which determine the lot of mankind are not thought to be mysterious emanations which come in from another world; rather are they the forces residing in physical and biological nature, the influences and controls which come from cultural heritages and social groupings, and the impulses, desires, and ideals of the human breast; in all of which there is plenty of mystery for one who revels in mystery. These are the realities to those who are naturalistically inclined, and any interpretation of Christ which is to have meaning and vitalizing power for such must be related to these realities and to the historical process of cultural and religious development which has grown out of them.

Is there then another interpretation of Jesus Christ which can be presented to this growing naturalistic multitude, other than that which, while it reduced supernaturalism to a minimum, still clings to the supernatural as the essence of religion? Such an interpretation is being proposed by a few pioneer thinkers. Moreover, there were indications and suggestions of it on the floor of the Jerusalem Council, although it does not appear in the formal findings as announced to the world.

According to this, Jesus Christ is not thought of as the one

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supreme revelatory *act* of God, but rather as partly the originator and partly the product of what may be called a creative *process* of God, which the modern humanistic sciences are beginning to understand; a process which is as world-wide as the human family, but which, in this particular phase of it, has been confined until recently to the one cultural area which bears the name of Christendom; a religious movement, intimately bound up with cultural developments and social phenomena, consisting originally of certain contributory forerunners—"prophets, priests and kings"—in due time flowering out in a marvelous religious figure who during his earthly career bore the name of Jesus, and continuing to the present day in the form of a long series of subsequent interpretations and idealizations which have been given to him by millions of devoted men and women. This historic figure actually became the originator and the center of that movement only in so far as his followers created and have continued to recreate out of the Jesus of Judea and of Galilee a spiritual symbol which is both inspiring and satisfying according to the prevailing conceptions of the hour. This repeated process of idealizing and of reinterpreting the original figure by the church is just as essential to religion, and just as divine, if you will, as the original figure itself. According to this view, the real Christ is not so much a historical Jesus who lived 1900 years ago and of whom history can give us no certain description, nor is he some ontological being seated at the right hand of God and working mysteriously in the hearts of men. The living Christ, the Christ who is a power for good in the world today, is the Christ who exists as an idea and an ideal in the hearts of his people, an ideal which is incarnated in human lives in the form of virtuous habits and self-sacrificing service. And the spiritual dynamic which we feel from him is the allurement of the ideal, the inspiration of a noble, heroic soul, and the social influence of those who bear his name.

Instead of volatilizing all the true, the beautiful, and the

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good into the ethereal regions and calling that God, this view thinks of the divine in terms of the natural. It holds that these inestimable blessings exist either actually or potentially in the cosmic order where we are living. Religion then becomes the discovery and the unfolding of what virtues and values inhere in this order, just as art is the development of its potentialities of beauty. Christ becomes the church's highest symbol of human perfection, and the Kingdom of Heaven her best concept of a perfect social order. If Jesus Christ, then, is superior to other religious figures—and the Christian believes that he is—it is not because he alone can lay claim to a peculiar divine nature, but rather because the *concept of Christ,* as it has evolved to date within the Christian movement, is more alluring and more challenging than the ideal religious figures which have been the products of other religious movements. The final criterion which will determine the fate of Krishna, Buddha, or Christ, and also of the religions which bear their names, will not be their rival claims to supernaturalistic origin or essence, but rather the success or failure with which their followers—actual living men and women—so interpret them and reincarnate them that they may serve as the symbol of the world's highest idealisms, the answer to the profoundest spiritual needs of men and of society, and also that they may correspond with that inner reality of the universe which is ever being brought more clearly to light through properly scrutinized human experience.

It is not proposed for a single moment that any such interpretation will be acceptable to all. No interpretation of Christ is or ever can be so long as men differ temperamentally and culturally. The apocalyptic Christ is not acceptable to all; yet for some he is the blessed hope and the adorable lord. The logos Christ is not acceptable to all; nor is the Christ of the social gospel, of the blood atonement, or of the second person of the Trinity. The only interpretation of Christ, or of any other savior-god, which will have meaning for any individual or

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group of people must be one which comes to terms with the inner reality of the universe as understood by that individual or group. The Jerusalem council has proclaimed its Christocentric gospel, and has rightly done so, because this is the interpretation of Christ which harmonizes most perfectly with a view of reality, venerable with age, and still spread wide throughout the world, both Christian and non-Christian.

But, as the Council itself confesses, the most alarming feature of the situation today is the rapid penetration into all the corners of the earth of the naturalistic interpretation of reality. Let not the church, however, think for one moment that she can successfully meet this crisis by any of the current proposals: either by a return to ancient orthodoxies, by emotional revival appeals, by the adoption of a more aesthetic ritual, by a dash of social experimentation, by a plunge into mysticism, or by reducing the supernatural to a minimum in a Christocentric gospel. All these devices evade the point and miss the issue. The question is: Can the Christian church so interpret her Christ that he will have meaning and reality for that growing mass of humanity who see reality only in the natural? Can the church add one more interpretation to the long array of christologies which mark her history? Can she interpret Christ as natural and then interpret the natural as divine, meaning by the divine the sum total of that which determines the lot of man, the supreme object of devotion and aspiration?

If so, then Jesus Christ may become the savior of this class of mankind, as he has been of many other types of human society. Here, too, he may save the individual and bring to him a new idealism and consecration. Here too, he may save Christianity and reinstate it in the respect and confidence of sophisticated but conscientious souls. He may even save the spiritual interpretation of the universe, by inspiring men to the discovery and creation of values which are intangible but none the less real.

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THE BROAD CHURCH AND MODERNIST MOVEMENT

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MODERNISTS are not a party in the church, comparable to the High Church or Low Church parties; they are a group of persons who, looking round on a civilization that is like to perish for lack of a religion, wish to offer it a religion which is intellectually a possible one. On the points in regard to which High Church and Low Church are at variance, modernists are divided among themselves. Some of them like high mass; others dislike it. But they are united in thinking that the immediate problem confronting the church is, not whether the next generation is to be High Church or Low, but whether it is to be Christian at all.

Some of them are members of a society, the Churchman's Union, or subscribe to a magazine, the *Modern Churchman,* which seem to be of a party character. These exist merely because in the past Modernists have either found themselves exposed to active persecution or made the discovery that other religious periodicals were closed to articles discussing with freedom and candor problems of Christian thought which seemed to them vital. But while to the editors of certain papers there is ascribed an all but papal infallibility by large circles of their readers, no modernist however great his affection or respect for Dr. Major, was ever heard to remark, with the solemn air of one citing a final authority, "the *Modern Churchman* says. . . ."

To the modernist truth is primary. He has, therefore, no party program; he has a point of view. In the "first and great

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commandment" as reaffirmed by Christ it is written, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God . . . . with all thy mind." The modernist believes that this part of the commandment was intended to be taken seriously. That does not mean that every crossing sweeper must be a theologian; it does mean that the church as a corporate society is under the obligation to strive always to make its theology, from an intellectual standpoint, the best possible. And having done so, it is the duty of the church to popularize the results to the extent of making sure that the crossing sweeper's understanding of things religious is not intellectually on a lower level than such understanding of secular matters as he derives from the school, the newspaper, and the popular magazine.

I lay stress on this question of popularization. It is the fashion among opponents of modernism to speak as if modernists were primarily interested in academic questions or in the religious problems of the highly educated. When I read the writings of some of those who make this charge I cannot refrain from asking whether they ever read the novels, magazine articles, and works of popular essayists which form the principal mental pabulum of the urban population of this country. If they did, it might possibly occur to them that the larger part of what they themselves produce is written in what is at the present day an unknown tongue so far as the great majority of people are concerned, and deals with questions which, because without meaning to them are also without interest, since they seem to be out of relation to the problems of real life.

For the discussion of moral and religious questions the younger generation—of the class sufficiently educated to enjoy plays and novels, and not wholly frivolous—are largely dependent on writers like Mr. Bernard Shaw or Mr. H. G. Wells. And since so many people do go to Mr. Wells for their theology, you will, I think, agree with me that it is a matter for congratulation that, taken over a period of years, Mr. Wells's

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theology has steadily improved. Anyone who aspires to present these people with a theology which he believes to be superior, philosophically or ethically, to that of Mr. Wells must imitate Mr. Wells to the extent of thinking, writing, and preaching in the language of the contemporary world; and he must express himself in relation to its conceptions. That is what the modernist is trying to do. And if his orthodox critics think he does it badly, may I remind them of the fabulous notice stuck up in an entertainment hall in the "Wild West": "You are requested not to shoot the pianist; he does his best." The modernist is engaged on a difficult, and even risky process; but if *he* shirks it, nobody else will attempt it at all.

As regards that part of the population that is below the level of education which enjoys Mr. Wells's novels, a distinction requires to be drawn between the country and the town. So far as the towns are concerned there are three considerations of the first importance which are apt to be ignored, not only by the clergy, but by the majority of the educated laity.

1. It is untrue to say "There is *nothing* new under the sun." Compulsory education has created a position in regard to religion which really is *new*. In all ages among the educated few a certain amount of skeptical rationalism has flourished; but heretofore the mass of the uneducated has always taken for granted the existence of a God or gods, and therefore the necessity of some kind of religious observance. The new thing in the modern situation is the spread of the spirit of criticism and inquiry, in regard to matters of religion and morals, to the masses of the people. The skepticism of the Hyde Park orator is as crude and unintelligent as the credulity which it is in process of displacing; his arguments, as he actually propounds them, can usually with small difficulty be rebutted; but that is not the point. My point is that the masses have *begun to ask questions*. They know that what was once supposed to be unquestionable is questioned. They are aware that religious belief, in the form they have come across it in Sunday school

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and in the average sermon, is rejected by large numbers of the educated classes. Intellectual problems as such may be above the comprehension of the multitude, but, as the result of the diffusion of cheap reading in the modern world, the multitude follows a generation or so later the lead of the thinkers. The charwoman may not be directly troubled by doubts suggested by Darwin; but her daughter Jane, who is in service with Mr. X, reputed the cleverest young doctor in the town, tells her that her master "doesn't 'old with religion," and says that "the Bible isn't true." Her son John, who has learnt a little elementary science at a secondary school—enough to show that Genesis is shaky—gives a similar report. The old dear herself continues to go to church occasionally; but even for her, religion has lost the prestige it once had; and for her children it will have no prestige to lose.

2. To most of us here Christianity is associated with historic memories, with the glorious architecture of cathedrals and churches, with its incomparable literature in the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. To the educated, however skeptically minded, these things make a strong appeal. It is otherwise among the working classes of our large industrial cities. In their minds Christianity is associated with a political and economic *status quo,* which many view with hostility, and few with more than tolerance. It is the religion professed by the classes with whom they are in constant economic conflict. This condition of things prevails far less in England than on the Continent. On the Continent the Socialist is ipso facto an atheist, and Christianity is daily denounced as a subtle device of the *bourgeois* to drug the people into acquiescence with deprivation of what is justly theirs. You will not suppose that I am defending this point of view; I am merely pointing out that there are forces at work among the masses of the people which produce individuals passionately interested in making the utmost of any weak points in the intellectual presentation of Christianity.

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The conflict of religion and science is a question far more hotly debated in the slums of Manchester than in the common rooms of Oxford.

3. Turn now to the problems the missionary has to face, more especially in India and China. At the World Conference on Missions which took place at Jerusalem last Easter one of the most striking manifestations was, I am told, the demand—most strongly voiced by representatives from China—for a presentation of Christianity which can hold its own intellectually in countries at a moment when they are enthusiastically adopting the methods and outlook of Western science. What the Christian church today has most to fear, they said, is, not the old religions of the East (which they regard as moribund), but the secularism of the West. It is just here that the modernist can help. A few months ago I had a letter from a leading Chinese Christian informing me that my recent books, *Reality* and *Adventure,* were being used in China for study circles, and asking my consent to the translation of the book *Reality* into Chinese. The problems it dealt with, he explained, and the way in which they were approached supplied what Chinese Christians were feeling was most needed at the present moment if Christianity was to hold its own with the present generation. It is with hesitation that I make this reference to my own work. I do so because it happens to be the easiest way to answer the persons who are always accusing modernists of being out of contact with the actual religious needs of the real world.

Someone will object—and the objection is up to a point a sound one—that the discussion of problems, such as theism versus materialism, or religion and the new psychology, or the historical evidence for the life of Christ, involves the weighing of subtle and delicate considerations which, from the nature of the case, are incapable of being stated in a way which would appeal to an uneducated audience. The mass of the people, it will be urged, must accept their beliefs in regard to

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such questions on authority. I agree; but I go on to ask, on what or on whose authority? Everyone has to take something on authority. The range of human knowledge is now so vast that even one who had the brain of an Aristotle or Aquinas would be compelled to accept at second hand, in regard to most branches of knowledge, the results arrived at by experts in their own field. Sometimes one accepts results on this kind of authority without any profession of understanding them. I myself am prepared to accept, on the ground that those best competent to judge appear to be agreed in doing so, the famous theory of Einstein. But if you ask me whether I understand it, I can only confess that my attempts to do so have led me to the conviction that, by comparison with this, the doctrine of the Trinity is simplicity itself.

There is in the modern world no fundamental distinction between educated and uneducated in the matter of the necessity of accepting the major part of one's beliefs on the authority of persons whom one has reason to believe qualified to pronounce an opinion. What, then, is it that gives certain persons the qualification which enables them to speak with authority? In regard to science, history, economics, etc., the answer is clear. Authority belongs to the consensus of experts, that is, the results agreed upon by the majority of persons who give a life-study to the subject, use the best methods, and are judged to be actuated solely by the desire to ascertain the truth. In all subjects we find that on one point or another experts differ; and in regard to some issues, a margin of uncertainty is recognized as inevitable. Nevertheless, there is a solid mass of agreed opinion; and this constantly tends to become larger and more secure.

But observe: the reason outsiders accept as authoritative such agreed opinion is that the outsiders believe that the experts are using the most up-to-date methods and are animated by the sole desire to ascertain truth—in fact, that the investigations which they undertake are genuine investigations. If

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it were laid down beforehand that the investigator was bound in some way or other to reach a particular conclusion, that conclusion would carry no weight at all. It is sometimes a man's duty, not to investigate facts, but to plead a cause. It is the duty of a barrister, for example, to make out the best case he can for his client; but nobody would accept his speech to the jury as an authoritative pronouncement, unless indeed it were the ingenuous old lady who bought a certain article because "the advertisement spoke so well of it."

Now the popular belief is that, in the matter of Christian doctrines, the theologian is playing the part of the barrister, that is, of a man who conceives it his duty, not to investigate truth, but to defend tradition. What I wish to insist is that under modern conditions, if the church desires to speak to the world with the voice of authority, it must first compel outsiders to recognize that there is within the church a body of investigators who are in no way bound to defend established positions, but are free to follow truth. It must not merely tolerate such investigators; it must insist on having them.

The relation of the parish clergyman to these investigators will be very similar to that of the general practitioner to the experts engaged in original medical research in the great hospitals. Medical research would be of little value to humanity unless there was a large body of men, not actively engaged in research themselves, but occupied in bringing the results of such research to bear on the individual needs of men and women throughout the country. Nor, again, would the researcher have the materials on which to work were there not an organization whereby cases too difficult for the ordinary practitioner could be brought to the notice of a specialist. Religion, like medicine, is more of an art than a science; and if the theologian in his study loses contact with the actual facts of human life and human experience he has lost contact with the most important part of the material on which his theologizing must be based. But it is no less true that the person whose main

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task is to deal with the concrete problem presented by human souls may often fail through approaching the case with his mind preoccupied with a theoretical theology which is unrelated to the mental outlook of the soul he is endeavoring to help.

Let me vary the metaphor. If the parish clergy constitute the firing line of the church, it is to the theologian they must look for the supply of munitions. But munitions, to be effective, must be up to date.

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CAN THERE BE TOLERANCE WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING?

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THE attitude of America toward Catholicism does not seem to have undergone any change as a result of the presidential election. It continues to be that of tolerance touched with friendliness. This attitude does not imply that America is fully reconciled to Catholicism; much less that she is enamored of Rome; but only that she is willingly according to Catholics her characteristic hospitality. Having publicly repudiated anti-Catholic prejudice, America has adopted "friendly tolerance" as a working basis in dealing with Catholicism, pending a more thorough understanding of it.

The attitude of kindly forbearance, largely negatived the while by a lack of understanding, is curious and interesting. Such an attitude toward Catholicism would scarcely be possible among any other people. It indicates a victory of vigorous extravert thinking over a repressed phobia. In substance it means that America has braced herself to "take a chance on Catholicism." Inasmuch as her gesture implies some latent suspicion it is not altogether satisfactory to Catholics. They look for a surer and more stable title to their citizenship than sufferance, however friendly it be. No doubt they are relieved in mind that the old demand "to poke the 'eathen out" is heard no more. The erstwhile "heathen" is now given a good supper and a shakedown and welcomed, though not perhaps as one of the family, for he is thought to be subject to a strange religious spell which precludes the possibility of his becoming an ideal citizen. It is whispered that "'E don't obey no orders unless they be 'is own."

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The suspicion that Catholics are prone to fall under a form of religious hypnosis and to develop a mother-fixation on the Church of Rome is perhaps the deep reason why America confines her attitude toward Catholicism to mere friendly tolerance. Whether or not the suspicion to which I have alluded will disappear with the coming of a fuller understanding of what Catholicism stands for, and a more cordial attitude of unreserved confidence result, remains to be seen. But it is clear that the present condition of things is not wholly satisfactory, and that no improvement can be looked for unless it follow in the wake of understanding. That America appreciates the urgency of acquiring more enlightenment concerning Catholicism is evidenced by recent events. The considerable volume of literature on the subject of Catholicism gives testimony to public concern in the question. The day is no doubt still far off when the ideals, the aims, and the native spirit of Catholicism will be as clear to the people of America as are, for instance, the ideals, the aims, and the spirit of the British empire. But now at least players have appeared on the field and "the game of understanding" has begun.

The path that leads to an intelligent appreciation of true Catholicism is by no means an easy one to follow, either for an individual or for a people. There are obstacles in the way due to the peculiar reactions of Catholics themselves. There are difficulties inherent in the correct exposition of Catholicism and barriers that obstruct contact between the Catholic and the non-Catholic mind. On such matters I propose to dwell in this paper, in addition to suggesting a key which may be of use to non-Catholics for gaining a practical insight into Catholicism.

The development of the present situation with its pronounced demand for further enlightenment has been met on the Catholic side by two diverse responses. The liberal Catholics on the one hand, believing that the demand on the part of non-Catholics for more information is ingenuous and unequiv-

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ocal, are in favor of great frankness and outspokenness. On the other hand the more conservative Catholics, doubtful apparently of the sincerity and good will of the inquirers, have not abandoned their old-fashioned policy of polemical disputation, save perhaps in so far as they make contributions to public discussions, which are not always free from acidity.

As an example of liberal frankness, there appeared in the *Commonweal,* April 25, 1928, an interesting paper from Cardinal Gasquet in which he stated: "It is no new thing that there should be in the church need of 'reform,' and we have no hesitation in saying that one of the greatest misfortunes that ever befell the church was the failure of the persistent efforts of 'reform of head and members' in the beginning of the fifteenth century." Of very different complexion was the conservative contribution of the Catholic Bishop of Bismarck, North Dakota, to a recent debate in a very prominent review. He wrote: "To cause discussions on matters of our Holy Catholic church, even if they were only on 'policies and methods' in the . . . . is about as wise and appropriate as having such debates in an old-fashioned saloon, the debaters fortified with jugs of beer or something stronger."

The policy of the more liberal Catholics, namely, elimination of all bitterness and utter frankness and sincerity of exposition, is directed toward winning the confidence of non-Catholics. It is believed that the policy of hiding or covering up the sores of the church, and of more or less dissembling her doctrines, instead of appealing frankly for a sympathetic understanding of the church as she is, antagonizes rather than attracts the American mind. So long as there prevails a suspicion that "something is being hidden" or that there exist "secret aims of Rome" there can be no *rapprochement* between America and Catholicism. Up to this point the policy of the liberals is sound; but there are some liberal Catholics who, in their overanxiety to be outspoken, are inclined to exaggerate the ills of the church. In this they show lack of foresight,

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although their purpose is no doubt the laudable one of "speeding things up." Like the whiting (in *Alice in Wonderland*), they are impatient with their conservative brethren for moving slowly:

"Will you walk a little faster?" said the whiting to the snail.
"There's a porpoise close behind us and he's treading on my tail,
See how eagerly the lobsters and the turtles all advance,
They are waiting on the shingle—will you come and join the dance?"

Needless to say, conservative Catholics decline such invitations and admonish their impetuous co-religionists of the dangers of modernistic ways.

The difficulties inherent in the correct exposition of Catholicism are manifold. Neither the downright outspokenness of the liberal Catholics, nor the theological syllogisms of the conservatives, are of themselves adequate to the task. There is not only need of sound doctrine, which, as we shall see, is not easily determinable, but there is also need of a truly Catholic spirit in the apologist, and of a sympathetic understanding of the point of view and intellectual frontiers of him to whom he explains. That there is a true as well as a false conception of Catholicism, even among Catholics, is as apparent as that there is a true as well as a false conception of Americanism among Americans. There are Heflins in the Catholic church as well as in the American Senate. It is not always the pious and loyal Catholic who interprets his religion aright. Nay, more, there are few Catholics who are capable of stating correctly the Catholic position on every point. There have been few theologians even among the most illustrious who were not in some respects heretics. On the Index there are to be found innumerable books written by pious Catholics that have been condemned on account of the false doctrines they taught. According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* there are nearly one hundred Jesuit writers on the Index. There have been many episcopal synods and general as well as provincial councils whose teachings have been subsequently condemned. No one,

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therefore, in virtue of his Catholicity or loyalty to the church can set up a claim for inerrancy in his exposition of Catholic doctrine.

It would be idle to pretend that it is an easy matter to define the mind of the church in other than practical questions of everyday occurrence. This fact, among others, was demonstrated in the clearest manner by the recent Smith-Marshall controversy. The question at issue was the possibility of papal interference in the domestic affairs of the United States. Mr. Marshall discussed the problem with obvious honesty and ability, taking his stand upon irrefutable documentary evidence, only to arrive at a conclusion directly opposed to that of Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith relied chiefly on his Catholic sense. The opposing conclusions typified the diverse answers to the enigma of Catholicism that are arrived at by those who are influenced by facts and documents alone, and those who attach more importance to the spirit of Catholicism. To onlookers at the controversy, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, the question occurred: "Is Mr. Smith presenting faithfully the 'true mind of the church'? Does history bear out his interpretation rather than that of Mr. Marshall?" The question remains unanswered. The Catholic bishops maintained silence; and even had they pronounced their verdict it would have been subject to revision at Rome. The "mind of Catholicism" in such matters is no less elusive for Catholics than for those "outside the fold."

The difficulty inherent in the correct exposition of Catholicism is then something more than the difficulty of acquiring and understanding its "solid doctrine." Over and above solid doctrine there is needed in the good apologist what may be described as the Catholic spirit or sense. There is in some Catholic apologists a fine sense of what is Catholic, of the Catholic way, the Catholic mind. They instinctively interpret Catholicism aright. They are adepts in the *savoir faire*, the "good form," the "it" of Catholicism. However unlearned, and so-

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cially humble, they are the "perfect gentlemen" of Catholicity. They avoid giving offense in controversy, not by reason of any cowardice or weakness on their part, but simply because their Catholic instinct forbids it. When they explain even the most exacting Catholic doctrines they do not excite hostility or irritation. They are as incapable of truculence, clamor, and bitterness as Newman or Francis of Asissi. The policy of "high-hatting"[1] religious opponents or attempting to stifle criticism by threats of reprisals is in their eyes alien to the true spirit of the faith. They feel that the gentleness and moderation of Christ in every controversy, whether with sincere inquirers or stubborn hecklers, is the only medium through which Catholicism can satisfactorily be explained. Perhaps the chief difficulty in the way of a correct exposition of Catholicism with a view to its understanding arises from the difficulty of establishing a contact between the mind of the apologist and the mind of the non-Catholic. This difficulty is peculiarly great owing to the nature of the religious training that the average Catholic receives. The average Catholic, who in the end has to bear the greater part of the burden of disseminating the understanding of his religion, is usually unaware of the narrowness of his own outlook on Catholicism, and of his mental unpreparedness to enter into the difficulties that Catholicism presents to the non-Catholic.

The training that the average Catholic receives is directed primarily toward convincing him of the absolute truth and reality of his religion. As a child he is given an account of his faith in a precise and definite way. This account, though often repeated in subsequent years, never varies by a hair's breadth. Every detail of the story of his faith is told with unqualified dogmatism. There is no haziness or uncertainty. In indelible

[1] From the *Catholic News*, May 19, 1928. At a communion breakfast of the Holy Name Society, Rev. Eugene J. Callaghan, assistant director of the Arch-Diocesan Union: "Let bigots rave. In the face of misunderstanding and ignorance and sometimes lies, be interested in fact. *High hat the haters.* Get over that inferiority complex . . . ."

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terms the story is engraved in his imagination. It becomes in his mind something unique, divine, unchangeable, indisputable, and self-evident. Every factor of his religion presents itself to his mind as utterly real; Christ, the Blessed Virgin, hell, heaven, and the devil. Everything exists vividly in his mind. His faith is water-tight, firmly welded, compact, secure, and his conviction is intense and profound. *He has no doubts or difficulties.* He knows perhaps that there are disputed points of doctrine, but they do not concern him, for he regards them as of lesser import. He realizes that there have been some untoward events in the history of the church: bad popes, cruel Inquisitors, corrupt religious orders, and so forth; but he knows that in spite of such things the church is *and has ever been* holy and infallible. So sure is he of this that he considers it superfluous to investigate any charges made against the church. He regards as "specious" and "apparent" such difficulties as are trumped up against the church, and in such he is not interested. He cannot understand how any fair-minded man can have serious difficulties. The very intensity of his own conviction militates against the possibility of his conceiving that there should or could be *real* difficulties. He feels no need of investigating the grounds of his faith any more than the average man feels the need of investigating what underlies the solid earth on which he securely and peacefully walks. "Since," he says to himself, "there can be no error, no mistake, what purpose is served by looking for such?" Thus resting content in his faith, he remains indifferent to historical discoveries and scientific theories that have a bearing on his religion, and he continues to be quite out of touch with the viewpoint of non-Catholic neighbors.

Meanwhile, in the eyes of the non-Catholic the Roman Catholic religion is a veritable constellation of "difficulties." For him it is a mystery how the Catholic faith can be accepted in its entirety by any intelligent man. There are proper names —Torquemada, Galileo, Alexander VI—which stand for ap-

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parently insuperable objections against Catholicism. The long story of the Papal States (754 to 1870), redolent of intrigue, warfare, and situations compromising for the Vicar of Christ, is in his eyes strong evidence that the church wandered from the path on which Peter started. He cannot understand how Catholicism, without repudiating its divine mission, could have allowed itself to become so deeply involved in worldly affairs. Nevertheless he finds that Leo XIII declared that it was through the goodness and providence of God that the church was placed in possession of its temporal kingdom! If he accepts as a plausible explanation the distinction between "ecclesiastical policy" and "religious policy" made by many Catholics in order to exculpate the church for mixing religion with politics, he is dumbfounded by the fact that Pius XI repudiated such a distinction as "blasphemous and absurd."

In the steady increase of papal power to the detriment of the position of the bishops, and in the multipulication of "material" and "external" devotions, the non-Catholic believes that he sees departure from the principles and practices of the early church. And being trained to see in human thought a constant advance from shallow to deeper levels of understanding in all matters, religious as well as secular, he detects what he regards to be hopeless obscurantism in Catholic teaching. He reads, for instance, with astonishment the Vatican decree to the effect that "the sense of the sacred dogmas is to be perpetually retained which our Holy Mother the Church has once declared, nor is this sense ever to be abandoned on plea or pretext of a more profound understanding of the truth."

He sees on the one hand the church proclaiming its universality and on the other hand immersing itself in the meshes of Western civilization. He sees it prophesying its continued and unchanged existence until the end of time and on the other hand associating itself through dogmas with what appears ephemeral and transitory, as for instance when it binds the papacy to the See of Rome. He sees or thinks he sees a great

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variety of inconsistencies in the attitudes adopted by the church. At one time it is the apostle of peace; at another it instigates the Crusades, or in the person of Pope Julius II dons armor. For generations it labored for the reconciliation of the East and West, whereas in our own day it refuses even to enter into negotiations designed to reunite Western Christianity. In Mexico it stands in resolute opposition to the secular and irreligious policy of Calles, whereas in France it has come to terms with a government no less secular and irreligious, even going so far as to condemn in *L'Action Française* a more or less Catholic political movement opposed to that régime. Without knowing in detail all the technicalities of the Marlborough and Marconi separation decrees, he believes that the church is inconsistent in that it makes separation more easy for the rich than for the poor. He has, in fine, gathered from a consideration of the history of the Catholic church a conception of its spirit which is to his mind alien to the spirit of Christ, the founder of the Christian religion. We have then among a vast mass of American non-Catholics imbued with a rather cynical outlook on Catholicism a comparatively small body of Catholics, who, however virtuous and loyal to their faith, are not only inadequately equipped for the difficult task of correctly expounding Catholicism, but are in addition ill prepared to enter sympathetically into the minds of non-Catholics in respect of their difficulties against the faith. Instead, however, of aiming at making good their deficiencies as apologists, many Catholics prefer the easier task of "standing up for their faith" in other ways than through the medium of pure apologetics. And we have as a consequence, in this predominantly non-Catholic country, the curious spectacle of some very powerful organs of publicity hesitating at times to throw open their columns to criticisms of moderate caliber which are directed, and that in all sincerity, against one or another phase of Catholic activity.

So far we have dwelt upon the fact that although America

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is tolerant and well disposed toward Catholicism, she does not yet understand what are the ideals, the aims, and the true spirit of Catholicism. Also we have dwelt on the present display of public interest in acquiring information about Catholicism, and on the peculiar reactions within the Catholic body to the demand for further enlightenment. The difficulties inherent in the correct exposition of Catholicism were next explained, together with the serious obstacle to understanding that arises from the incompatibility of the Catholic and non-Catholic religious outlook. It remains to suggest, chiefly for the benefit of non-Catholics, a key to the opening of a fresh interpretation of Catholicism.

In view of the "difficulties," in the non-Catholic mind, a fresh interpretation of Catholicism can be gained only by indulging in a very wide sweep of vision, first of the history of the church as a whole, next of the peculiar vehicle of thought that the church employs in theology and doctrinal expositions, and thirdly of the adaptations and changes that represent the development of the church, or, to use scriptural language, the Growth of the Mustard Tree.

For a complete vision of Catholicism it would be of course necessary to examine into the origin of Catholic principles as well as into the manner in which they have been translated into action. But such an analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. Limiting ourselves, then, to a glance at the whole panorama of the history of the church, we see the "deposit of faith," like the Ark of the Covenant in Jewish history, passed from group to group as the church tunneled its path through the centuries. Often the group that guarded it was small in number and composed of timorous and worldly men. Ever and anon throughout the long transit they were surrounded by enemies and confronted by difficult problems of various kinds, social, political, and philosophical. They were never free from the pressure of contemporary thought and contemporary customs. They were forced again and again into compromising

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situations from which in the end they were saved only by their faith. It was a long and perilous Odyssey, enduring for twenty centuries, and nothing save narrowness of vision can explain the passing of judgment on particular incidents or stages of the journey without interpreting them in the light of the experience as a whole. Many of the dogmas of the church, many, too, of its decrees, are echoes of the crises encountered in the protracted and in part tragic drama of the Christian Ark. There are doctrines of the church which are the tense utterances of men fighting desperately against difficulties; words of command and exhortation harsh, steely, and concise. Many of what are regarded as the "forbidding" institutions of Catholicism are the remains of earthworks thrown up hastily as defenses against attack. For *at all costs* the "deposit of faith" had to be preserved intact, even when its guards were neither sober nor altogether in their right minds.

We turn for our second sweep of vision to the vehicle of thought—the language, logic, and philosophy—that grew up in the church during her long migration, and which became the esoteric *patois* of Catholicism. Scholasticism, which might be described as the metaphysical "aura" that surrounds the doctrines of the church, is in the eyes of non-Catholics an obnoxious fog while Catholics regard it indulgently as an affectation of maternal sternness. However necessary it may have been in the past, it is certainly the source of much misunderstanding in the present.

It is not too much to say that none can obtain a true insight into the meaning of dogmas and papal decrees without an understanding of Scholasticism. It is not only a logic and a philosophy but it is also in the broad sense a language. It was based originally on Aristotelianism, but in time it went beyond Aristotelian logic and metaphysics in its subtlety. It conceived of truth as objective and unchangeable, and it delighted in distinguishing very finely and delicately between what was true (namely, wholly and exactly true) and what was false

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(namely, not wholly true). If in a statement there should be found the least ingredient of error, that statement was, taken as a whole, pronounced to be damnably false, and if it had to do with religion, in due course it was anathematized. Hence we find among condemned propositions many statements that are almost but not wholly true. And unless we are subtle logicians we fail to see why such statements were condemned. In the Syllabus of Pius IX, for instance, there are condemned propositions that seem to the ordinary reader to be perfectly moral and respectable, but in which the Scholastic theologian discovered the presence of error. On account of the presence of this small, possibly very small, element of error they were condemned. Again, conversely, in reading over the dogmatic pronouncements of the church one at first sight imagines that a great deal has been affirmed, but on careful examination one finds that quite the contrary is the case. When a dogmatic statement is boiled down by the Scholastic logician the residuum of affirmation is usually very small. The Decree of Infallibility, for instance, attributes, it is true, infallibility to the pope; but only under circumstances so closely defined and so limited in scope that in the end it does not amount to a great deal, and we find, for instance, Cardinal Merry del Val writing with perfect orthodoxy: "Much less *do we dream of teaching* that he [the pope] is . . . . *in any degree superior to other men* when he speaks on matters that are scientific or political or historical, or that he may not make mistakes of judgment in dealing with contemporary events, with men and things." The potentiality of an individual to make a good Scholastic logician might perhaps be tested by the question, "How much advice does the Duchess give Alice (in Wonderland) when she says to her: "Never imagine yourself not to be otherwise than what it might appear to others that what you were or might have been was not otherwise than what you had been would have appeared to them to be otherwise"? Perhaps only a Scholastic could tell what all this means, and certainly only a

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Scholastic can tell what some of the Catholic encyclicals convey.

Following the adoption of Scholasticism as the church's vehicle of thought, theologians built up a *scholastic theology*. Scholasticism became the bone and sinew of dogmas, decrees, and canons. Scholastic philosophy and terminology impregnated every official utterance of Rome. The sacraments, for example, were explained in terms of "matter" and "form," purely metaphysical conceptions. Ultimately, owing to the strangeness and technicality of theological diction, ordinary people could no longer understand official doctrinal pronouncements, though latent in them were to be found the well-loved truths of their faith. In the end, of course, Catholics succeeded in distinguishing between the forbidding vehicle of thought, namely, Scholasticism, and the true doctrine and spirit of Catholicism hidden within. They came to recognize that Aquinas, whose terse and technical terminology baffled them, and Dante, whose verse delighted them, delivered the same doctrine though through different media, and were in fact brothers "under the skin." But non-Catholics very naturally continue to regard Scholasticism as an obnoxious fog serving only to conceal from view Catholic doctrine.

In a third and last sweep of vision we must embrace all the factors of change, progress, adaptation, and development to be found in the church. To begin with, it has become customary among non-Catholics to speak of the church as "reactionary," "obscurantist," "intransigent," and so forth, all of which terms of reproach imply that the church does not advance with the times. The accusation of non-Catholics *seems* to be substantiated by the statement of Pius IX in his encyclical *(Qui Pluribus)*: "These enemies of divine revelation extol human progress to the skies and with rash and sacrilegeous daring would have it introduced into the Catholic religion as if this religion were not the work of God but of man, or some kind of philosophical discovery susceptible of perfection by human ef-

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forts." Again, a recent Catholic apologist, Father Ronald Knox, *(The Belief of Catholics)*, states that "the only development to which the Catholic church will plead guilty is a growing rigidity of doctrinal definition." These statements, however, when interpreted in the light of Scholasticism, merely mean that the "deposit of faith" remains the same and will not be added to out of the discoveries of science. They do not mean that the church does not change, develop, and progress in other ways, or that it does not adapt itself to its environment. As regards changes and adaptations, the history of the church is strewn with them. No less noticeable are her accommodations and developments of policy. She has not always been fortunate in her adaptations, as for instance when she fitted her doctrinal expositions to the Ptolemaic system, or her politic to the system of "investitures." As regards changes, the present mode of electing the pope (through a vote of the cardinals) and the present manner of selecting bishops is "new." Celibacy of the clergy is a change from the earlier non-celibate custom. The adjustment of the papacy to kingship and the development of the political theory of the "two swords" denote very momentous changes and developments in the church. The assimilation of Aristotelian philosophy in the Middle Ages, and of modern psychology in recent times, point to a progressive "culture-lust" in the church. In diverse ways the church has adapted herself to the desires and prejudices of her children in this country and that. In Spain she allows dancing in the church; in France she encourages pilgrimages; in America she smiles benignly on politico-religious demonstrations and organizations. She has allowed in deference to the pious wishes of her children, scapulars to be so multiplied that there are now scapulars of all the colors of the rainbow. In fine, it might be argued that the church allows herself to be led too easily, as she did in the past when she yielded to the demand of infuriated theologians for the blood of heretics. The church, being composed of humans and guided by hu-

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mans, is necessarily and inevitably under pressure of current thought and ideas, and influenced by their development. In every direction she is of necessity syncretistic. Her absolutist doctrines of government were in the beginning "adaptations" to current politics; her present-day preference for "constitutionalism" in government, whether it be a limited monarchy or a republic, is likewise an adaptation to current ideas. The royal trappings at the papal court which seem to many little else than futile baubles likewise represent the assimilation of customs that prevailed at an early epoch.

Neither Catholics nor non-Catholics seem to realize fully the potential elasticity of the church. Very much of what is ordinarily regarded as Catholicity is perfectly dispensable. What the church has instituted or created she can, when she wishes, destroy. All the rubrics and ritual and devotions and disciplinary regulations of the church can be abolished or changed. The celibacy of the clergy, which was only finally insisted upon after long centuries of hesitation, could of course be abrogated. The pope himself could, did he think it right, set out from Rome, as a plain man, married, and disencumbered of all symbols of dignity, to visit his people throughout the world. All the precepts of the church regulating the hearing of mass and the frequentation of the sacraments could also be rescinded. Catholics would then lie abed on Sunday mornings and eat good meat and plenty of it on Fridays without any scruple. The cult of the saints, pilgrimages, and every external display of that piety which is regarded by the unsympathetic as savoring of "superstition" could likewise be vetoed. In fact, little else save the "deposit of faith," and the infallible decrees, together with the sacraments, are outside the scope of change. Whether or not the church at some future time will demonstrate dramatically her elasticity in any or all of these respects remains to be seen.

That certain changes of moment are actually taking place in the church is evident to the careful observer. It is interest-

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ing, for instance, to notice that at present there is at work a process which is tending toward the "laicization" of the secular clergy in this country. Religious, male and female, monks and nuns, have taken a step into the world and are now doing the major part of the work that formerly fell to the lot of the secular priests. Meanwhile pastors (parish priests) and their assistants have become the business men connected with the financing of the church. The collecting of funds for building purposes and for the development of parochial institutions, together with the administration of such funds, takes so much time and demands so much technical skill that pastors have little energy left for spiritual enterprises. They are largely business managers of their parishes, and little more. The economic law has asserted its inexorableness. Bishops as well as pastors are caught in its grip. The wealth of the church, great though it be, is none too great for the efficient working of Catholicism in the modern world. Propaganda and publicity along scientific lines, through lecturing, the press, and the radio, represent other material demands on the pastors' time. They need to be "contact" officials with the world as well as business managers. All these duties imply departure from the old status of the secular priests, and involve what I have called "laicization." This new "status" no doubt resembles the "diaconate" of the early church, but it also marks a significant change that the church is undergoing in its effort to keep pace with modern life. Whether or not such changes as I have referred to previously should be taken into consideration before forming an opinion on the "reactionism" of the Catholic church must be left to the reader to decide.

In inviting my reader to take a wide sweep of vision over the history of the church, its vehicle of thought, and its modes of change and adaptation, I suggested that in so doing there would be found a "key to the opening of a fresh interpretation of Catholicism." The vision of the hurried and perilous journey of the "deposit of faith" and the difficulties of its pro-

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tectors should incline one to re-examine the perspective in which he has hitherto seen the "Iron Virgin of Nuremberg" or Pope Pius excommunicating Victor Emmanuel. The vision of the strange esoteric language of Scholasticism should prompt one to study, without prejudice, as though deciphering a puzzle, the dogmatism and *finesse* of official Catholic utterances, the hardness and frigidity of which may belong to the vehicle of thought rather than to the thought itself. Lastly, a fair consideration of the many changes through which the church has passed should modify the opinion, common among non-Catholics, that the church is *utterly* obscurantist and unprogressive.

Beneath the rind—and the rind is old and thick—of Catholic doctrines there may be found, and Catholics believe there is to be found, very much beauty and tenderness and sweetness. The spirit, the mind, of Catholicism, which is more important than aught else, finds its native and true expression, so at least Catholics believe, in charity rather than in intolerance. Whether or not the American people will, as a result of a deeper understanding of Catholicism, find it to be so, remains to be seen. If they do, a permanent and perfectly peaceful domicile will be opened in this country for Catholicism, a result that will be of greater importance to Rome than even the adoption of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine.

That there is solid hope of an ultimate cordial acceptance of Catholicism by the people of this country, as a religion of which the spirit harmonizes well with true Americanism, can be gathered from the fact that in most political and social questions the average native-born American and the average Catholic think alike. The spontaneous reactions of each in face of big public problems is identical. About prohibition, about delays in the administration of justice, about rough-riding over miners by capitalists, about purifying state administrations and preventing graft, about keeping the country out of war, about tolerance for every form of religious worship,

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and equal rights for all—in fact, about everything that counts, American and Catholic feel and think alike. Neither is inclined to advocate coercion of thought, nor preferential treatment for any particular denomination. The policy of both is "live and let live."

This community of thought is profoundly significant. This common outlook on public affairs and moral questions means more than anything else. To the Catholic it is a vindication of Americanism, and to the American it should appear as a vindication of Catholicism. It proves, if anything can, that at basis there is no essential antagonism between the Catholic and the American mind. Further, since American and Catholic think and feel alike about so many things touching morals, one has reason to look for some religious kinship between them, however distant it may be. In any case it seems more than probable that when America fully realizes that Catholics, no less sincerely than those of other religions, stand for the things she prizes most—patriotism, liberality, and justice—she will accept as perfectly consonant with Americanism the religion from which they derive their inspiration.

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CAN PHILOSOPHY PROGRESS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH?

ANONYMOUS[1]

M. GILSON, professor of medieval philosophy at the Sorbonne, must be thanked for having directed Mr. Horton's attention to the study of the Abbé Bautain. This wise suggestion has yielded us a first-rate work, which will endure,[2] on this too long neglected thinker.

Bautain was professor of philosophy at the University of Strasbourg from 1816 to 1827, in which year he became a priest and was put in charge of the Petit Séminaire by the bishop. Having tried to correct what he called the "rationalism" of Catholic philosophy, he was denounced, obliged to give up the direction of the seminary, and, in 1849, to sign a formula in which he was required to admit that in religious apologetics external evidence (miracles, prophecies, written and oral testimony) could not be replaced by religious experience. He signed, and ceased to occupy himself with philosophy.

"Christian neo-Platonism, modified by the influence of Pascal, Malebranche, and Kant, combined with French traditionalism and German romanticism"—such, according to Mr. Horton, was Bautain's teaching. His clear and objective exposition of it makes evident its depth, its originality, and its boldness. Many of its ideas have been incorporated in modern intuitionist and pragmatic philosophies.

[1] [The author of this article is an eminent French Catholic publicist who prefers to remain anonymous for the present, not so much from motives of caution as in order that the question he raises may be debated purely on its merits. He hopes that both Catholics and non-Catholics may see fit to join in the discussion of this important issue.]

[2] Walter Marshall Horton, *The Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain*, New York University Press, 1926.

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It is not my present intention to discuss Bautain's philosophy. I shall leave that to abler minds, more settled than I in their systems of thought. I should simply like to reply to a question which arises in my mind as I consider the spectacle of this eminent thinker arrested in his intellectual activity by his condemnation. I belong to no philosophical sect. I have studied and taught the scholastic philosophy and the other philosophies. I believe myself to be above the battle of the schools, while at the same time I remain deeply attached to my creed, to my church (the Catholic), and to the rational truths which that implies. As a disinterested spectator (although a believer) I ask myself whether the progress of philosophy is possible within the framework of Christianity; whether it is consistent with Christian teachings. And this is why I ask myself this question:

Christian thought, within all the confessions, if it be not an empty symbol, a fleeting sentiment, a pretty fable to tickle the imagination, or a soothing melody to lull our misery, presupposes a system of dogmas which postulate a philosophy of reality and the possibility of the mind's attaining to it. To escape from these requirements is impossible, even were one a Mormon, a Quaker or a Holy Roller.

To satisfy them is not the adoption of a set philosophy, fixedly adhering to the necessary affirmations, indispensable? If the substance and the existence of dogmas is to escape through all the openings of metaphysics, why take the trouble to study and believe them? On the other hand, if only one philosophy among those that present themselves is considered capable of safeguarding these dogmas, it confines them within the inflexibility and inevitable partiality of its views on the human mind. They are imprisoned in these pigeonholes like dead men in a tomb. They are plainly no longer in danger of being lost and vanishing away in the torrents of those systems which appear today and tomorrow are parched and dry; nor in the open air of the free mind which corrodes them and tosses

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them to the winds; but hidden and well guarded in their retreat they have no contact with the thoughts and the hearts of men, forever on the march; and they are powerless to steer the ships which are carrying them along the stream of life.

I

In Catholicism, the most logical and consistent form of Christianity, many of her thinkers believe that only Aristotelianism is capable of protecting her dogmas against destructive intellectual tendencies. It is an interesting point of view, and it has its illustrious and authoritative protagonists; but it seems to us that the church taken in her wholeness, in the multiplicity of her *doctores* and in the total expression of her teaching, does not accept it. Above Aristotelianism, which has its greatness and its indisputable usefulness, especially in epochs when discursive reason is impugned, she places *philosophia perennis*. She would never consent to exile from the goodly fellowship of her "Fathers" a Clement of Alexandria, an Origen, an Augustine, a St. Anselm, a St. Bernard, a St. Bonaventure, a Duns Scotus, nor even a Bossuet or a Newman. Do not we know from history that Aristotelianism aroused her mistrust even against the man who had performed a work of genius in breaking its pagan armature and Christianizing it? The Bishop of Paris, the Dominican Archbishop of Canterbury, the Franciscan Bonaventure, and Pope Gregory IX lifted their voices against the utilization of the peripatetic philosophy in the service of Catholic doctrine.

The church desires above all, then, that *philosophia perennis* should preserve her faith and its truths. She looks to this philosophy for doctrines which do not presuppose the utter powerlessness of reason and will to conceive her dogmas and apprehend their object, and which do not make of them mere abstractions parading in syllogistic array, out of touch with the deep vital processes of the heart and mind. With these reservations—supreme wisdom!—she leaves it free to dis-

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cover the proper means to protect her dogmas against dissolving and gelidifying forces.

And what are these means; or better, what is the philosophy which will offer the church these guaranties?

To speak sincerely, there is in philosophy but a single redoubtable problem. All the difficulties, controversies, and clashing of systems revolve about this central point, in the endeavor to pierce its obscurity. I mean the problem of knowledge. The multitude of theories built up by the mind in its effort to cast light upon this *punctum coecum* and solve the mystery may be reduced to two. One implies an object making itself equal to, conforming itself to the subject *(veritas est adaequatio rei et intellectus)*; the other implies a subject unequalizing, distorting the object *(inadaequatio rei et intellectus)*. In the first theory sensation, the simple and primitive element of knowledge, is the *sensatum*, involving in its definition the self and the not-self, the sense and that which senses; a concept of a being is a new edition of it, as in an animated mirror, a representation *(representari)*. In the second, the original element is "sensation," meaning the self impressed, the subject sensing *(percipi)*. A concept of a being is in this case a modification or an effulgence of the mind perceiving itself: *esse est percipi*, said Berkeley.

1. The *objective philosophy*, whose illustrious chief is Aristotle, verbally guarantees in good clear fashion the reality that lies beyond the mind and the possibility of its being reached by the mind; but from the start it presents the appearance of a vicious circle. It presupposes the existence of the not-self, the object, the thing sensed, and its apprehension in sensation, which is just the question at issue. It does not posit the existence of the real world without an act of faith, and therein it joins hands with the subjectivist system, which it reproaches for the same act. The "impressed and expressed image" in which it claims to apprehend the object is but a fleeting modification of the subject, in which the objective goal

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is no more reached than in a memory, properly speaking. The comparison is cited of the imprint of a seal upon wax; but an imprint displays a form; it does not reveal the reality, the substance of a thing.

The abstractions which the active intellect and the passive intellect will extract from these sensory images will be a frozen solidification of elements. They will permit an artificial systemization of the finite and the static, but will have no sensitive antennae reaching out into infinity and into life. We should admit it: the metaphysic of Aristotle, built upon his psychology, is the metaphysic of common sense. But common sense is simply an organization of concepts built upon appearances and images which it treats like realities. It does not look behind the mirror to see if there be nothing more. It knows therefore only the soul in the act of abstract reasoning; the soul which feels, lives, and loves will escape it. Common public knowledge will satisfy it. It will not attempt to lift the veil and correct false interpretations of the signs which the mind unfolds and combines.

With Aristotelianism there will be no progress of the natural sciences; but it will build up a marvelous technique of reasoning, which will enable it to reply victoriously, with words, to the difficulties raised by things. It will be able to apprehend spirit and God only through the medium of abstractions and syllogisms which will rob them of immortality, infinity, and Providence, since they will be perceived only as representations of certain phenomena emanating from the world. The world, for Aristotle, exhausts reality—which is known by the mind only as an image and an abstraction.

Devoid of all desire for anything which transcends him, and transcends the phenomena exhibited upon the screen of his mind, man cannot aspire, by the logic of this system, to attach himself to an Infinite with all his being. He therefore seeks his happiness not in satisfying the living and volitional side of his nature, but in bringing his intelligence to bear upon

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sense data, and combining abstractions. A rational fragment of the world, he becomes necessarily the absolute chattel of the state which organizes this world. A cog on the wheel, he has no choice but to turn at the pleasure of the machine, and of the *anankê,* the fatality which keeps it in motion; all complaint is forbidden him. The slave, in turn, is but a worthless atom in the cog of more or less precious metal which represents the aristocracy of the city state. In itself, therefore, the human substance in these various modes has no dignity. In contrast to the teaching of Christ, the soul of a man is "worth neither more nor less than that of a sheep."

It remains clear, nevertheless, that Aristotelianism appears to be the best built, the most solid, the most satisfactory doctrinal formulation of that common knowledge and that good sense which are every day and everywhere taken as the bases of human thought and action. Hence its incontestable value and attractiveness in the eyes of all those who wish to preserve the efficacy of thought and action. But closely examined, this system speedily discloses itself as an intense form of rationalism and "scientism,"[3] reeling itself off without any foothold in the reality of the self and the not-self. It kills science by feeding the mind's inquisitive appetite for empty abstractions; it kills mysticism by scorning and neglecting the heart's aspirations toward that which transcends the phenomena of the world of the senses, or by offering it, to satisfy its hunger, the dead and bloodless idea of being-in-itself. It deifies the universe of space and time, and seems headed for a plunge into nothingness in company with Spinosism.

It is perfectly comprehensible, then, that many Fathers of the Church, many Popes, many bishops, many theologians should have risen repeatedly in revolt against Aristotelianism; it is comprehensible that certain minds should feel an invincible repugnance against accepting it in its entirety or even in

[3] [A term much used in France to describe the scientific emphasis of the agnostic and positivist philosophies.—TRANSLATOR.]

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its dominating aspects. They consider it absolutely incompatible with Christianity.[4] "And are they not confirmed in their repugnance when they see the most fiery partisans of Aristotelianism allying themselves with those who regard the church, not as a leaping flame of life, but as a coat of armor, and showing favor to the "atheist Catholics"[5] who, having emptied their religion of every trace of soul and of Jesus Christ, appreciate it only as a corral in which they pen up the contemptible common herd of men for safekeeping.

2. The *subjective philosophy,* whose most eminent representative, if not founder, we may see in Descartes, does not even verbally guarantee reality. Reality is nothing but the mind itself, and it exists only through thought: I think, therefore I am. The will locates reality outside the subject (among the first principles of knowledge or innate ideas, wherein the existence of God is included) by a blind leap into the shadows of the unknown. The self thinks the not-self, but does not succeed in pulling it out of its own inwardness.

Descartes defines substance as that which subsists in itself. Encountering this definition, the genius of Spinoza unfolds its consequences. He shows that that which subsists in itself is universal being considered as infinite and necessary; contingent beings are merely modifications thereof.

Pushing this subjectivist philosophy to its limit, transcendental idealistic Pantheism will declare that the only being which subsists in itself is the thinking self (Fichte), the absolute (Schelling) or universe (Schleiermacher), thought or the idea (Hegel)—and the last of these will be the most logical. Thus all that is real—God, man, the worlds, the different be-

[4] As I write this, I have before me a pamphlet by the celebrated German philosopher Eucken, in which he attempts to prove that the Aristotelianism which was brought over by Thomism into Christianity is absolutely opposed to the genius of Christianity. I have not made use of this work. On the struggle of the church against Aristotelianism, see Father Jules d'Albi's *St. Bonaventure,* Librairie franciscaine, Paris.

[5] [Term applied to Léon Daudet, Charles Maurras, and other leaders of the *Action Française* group, recently condemned by the Holy See.—TRANSLATOR.]

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ings—all these things exist only in thought. Thus all the religions, all the most contradictory laws and customs are of equal value as manifestations of the same being. In morality there is no difference between good and evil, since everything is justified as a necessary development of the idea; in politics as in private life, freedom and responsibility disappear, man being, not a person, but a mode of the one substance.

Is it not surprising that Cartesianism and Aristotelianism, in the final outcome of their systems, appear to meet face to face? As a matter of fact, they both start with the abstract reason, and proceed to deduce the world and God therefrom. In the subjective philosophy, being is the thinking subject; in the objective philosophy, it is the object of thought; and both these correlative aspects of being wind themselves off in long reels of thought only to meet again at the ends of their logical chains. Bautain had noted this in making his criticism of the philosophy of Lyons taught at that time in the seminaries, as Mr. Horton shows.[6]

Nevertheless the subjective philosophy, starting with the self, was destined to help the development of science more than Aristotelianism had done. It thus put itself in relation, no longer with a dead object, the image idea, but with a living object, the subject embracing nature in thought. Discovering in nature nothing but the laws of mind, which are those of space and time, mathematics and geometry, Cartesianism naturally depicts her as a pure system of mechanics and an objectified calculus. Raising to science a magnificent monument, it is absolutely incapable of proving that science is anything but a geometrical mirage which the mind projects into vacancy.

It seems clear that Christianity, if it wishes to survive, must not imprison itself in any of the philosophies among which the two tendencies of the human mind are parceled out, any more than it imprisoned itself in the fideistic panvitalism of Bautain. Is it therefore to remain stagnant while thought—

[6] *The Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain*, p. 253.

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the enemy of all that is static—runs along with the flux of things to penetrate and know them? Or does it shrink from all rational comparisons and appraisals? No, for certain points of view in the systems we have analyzed are perfectly consistent with Christianity. With Aristotelianism, Christianity recognizes the reality of the object, and the possibility of its extramental existence; with Cartesianism it recognizes the reality of the subject and the necessity of obeying the laws of the mind in order to reach real being; with Bautain it recognizes the vital exigencies, the aspirations, the confused appetites of the mind; the will, first apprehending being and afterward knowing it through intelligence and reason.

II

Any philosophy which will satisfy these essential postulates needful for the safeguarding of dogma may develop and move forward in alliance with Christianity and Catholicism. Now the philosophy which would adequately meet these primordial requirements apparently does not yet exist. Is it a possibility?

Why not—at least in the long run, in the fulness of time?

Be it noted, the two great systems which compete with one another in the effort to satisfy our psychological and metaphysical curiosity are both synthetic. Doubtless they could not be otherwise; for hitherto that which was well known—although dimly, and as the product of a long and complicated elaboration—has had either to be the image of things in the mind or the mind in the act of thinking upon things. But knowledge of this sort interests and satisfies us only if it can be pulled apart so as to show its elements, and their source and outcome.

Synthesis, by itself, is a confused mixture of diverse abstractions, forces, and materials. It tells us nothing about the content of the abstractions, nor about their component parts. And so the two contrasting philosophical syntheses which we have been discussing are tainted with unreality; they seem like

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mere mental constructs. They are incomplete; neither the one nor the other guarantees the self and the not-self. Hence they fail to meet the requirements of Christianity.

Only a genetic philosophy, starting neither from the thinking subject nor from the object of thought as simple resultants, but from their most distant origin, and following them in their development and in their setting—only such a philosophy will reach by analysis a satisfying solution. It will be, not a rational, but an experiential synthesis. The subjective philosophy will help us toward it by discovering an end of the skein of being, and then permitting us to follow it up to the hidden sources whence the stream of being, myriad-mouthed, issues forth.

To escape from the thralldom of self, in order to contemplate, up to the measure of one's powers, that being which is the source of things and of thought—it is an arduous task. Yet only he who follows this method can succeed in establishing the self and the not-self in their true relations as objective realities, not images or subjective abstractions. Bautain had seen this; he traced the river of life from its source, and on its stream he met successively with faith, will, intelligence, and reason. But in spite of having studied medicine, that he might plant his feet on solid ground and avoid a priori speculations, he took as his philosophical point of departure a very complex phenomenon: man, a being too high in the scale, and whose portrait he had too hastily put together. He ought to have gone farther up the stream, back to the first elements capable of making an impression on the senses, returning to trace their combination, to follow them and catch them in the act of being assimilated by the most rudimentary forms of life.

He who gets out of himself and retraces the path which contingent being traveled as it evolved, positing objective and subjective knowledge in its onward urge—that man will be the perfect metaphysician, and will answer to the rational and vital requirements of Christianity. On the way he will meet Bautain; but he will round out Bautain with all his new dis-

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coveries. With him, he will see that to know is not merely to perceive or to conceive, but to react; and that reaction represents the tendency of a subject to respond to the stimulus of an object and incorporate it, meanwhile assimilating it, impregnating it with meaning, or squeezing it out to keep its residue in the shape of image, idea, or memory.

This pursuit of being from low to high, from the simple to the complex, does not imply its real evolution. Its growth, its blossoming out, its gradual perfecting may represent the operation of the higher designs of the One who created things hierarchically ordered, or who created them by working out their hierarchy in the course of time.

The effort of analysis to reach a synthesis of truth will demand that all sciences and all philosophies be known and utilized. It will not be an eclecticism, putting fragments of systems together side by side in an artificial frame but a true creation, a complete and independent system of doctrine, incorporating truths which at first sight are farthest opposed to one another: objectivism and subjectivism, faith and reason, will and intelligence, mysticism and rationalism, finite and infinite, intuition and intelligence, quality and quantity.

It is God alone (who, according to Plato, is the only one who knows how to define) who can realize in its fulness this complete and final synthesis. But why not have a try at it? Has not the time come to attempt it, with all the wonderful discoveries of the physical sciences concerning matter, of biology concerning life, of psychology concerning mind?[7] If it is true that the scientific syntheses of our day are indebted to the partial truths which the different hypotheses have left as a solid basis for present-day constructions, why should not the metaphysical theses of the different schools be considered as so many incomplete truths ready to be set in their places in the all-embracing metaphysical synthesis? And was not that what Thomas Aquinas attempted in his day with the elements then

[7] The suggestive studies on the genesis of perceptions of space are a proof of the fecundity of the method and resources with which psychology already furnishes the philosopher.

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at his disposal? Without doubt, he gave the great preponderating place to Aristotelianism; but those who have not studied him through the medium of disciples who imprison him in their extreme and decadent peripateticism wonder at the wide span of his syncretism. It is not surprising that very contradictory systems should appeal to his authority. It has been shown that his intellectualism was not so simple and clear-cut as that of the Thomistic manuals.

While we wait for the appearing of the genius who is to conciliate the philosophies and sciences by the genetic method, let us who are still groping our way among isolated systems be very humble, convinced that they yield us only broken lights of truth. The full flood of light can only come from the complete weaving together of things, beginning with their faraway birth; and only a God can exhaust it.

Let us be patient and charitable. Long and arduous is the road to the attainment of a little truth. Let us not talk loudly about "total error." There is never any total error in a system. At least some one of its points of view expresses some aspect of complex reality. Augustine and Leibniz understood that.

The desired genetic synthesis of contingent being is not even within the powers of a man of genius. It demands in any case repeated trials before it can be centralized in a grand and solid structure, satisfying to the eye of the heart and the intelligence. But as it slowly elaborates itself, to reach at length a relative completeness, it will truly realize the ideal of the *philosophia perennis:* a fusion of truth of the most opposite systems into a single body of thought, progressing within the framework of the Christian faith, whose requirements it fulfils. This metaphysic will not be that of Aristotle or Descartes, reason or intuition, the finite or the infinite, the Occident or the Orient; it will be the all-embracing metaphysic of all humanity—spirit and body, reason and heart moving calmly toward their allotted destiny, guided by the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into this world.

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BALTHASAR HUEBMAIER AND BAPTIST HISTORIC COMMITMENTS[1]

JOHN W. JOHNSON
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"TRUTH is Immortal," said Balthasar Huebmaier, and after four hundred years of relative obscurity the mighty stream of time brings again to the surface the noble figure of the man who for freedom lived and died confident in the imperishability of the truth he sought and found. What meager facts are known about him are the results of relatively recent research. There are encouraging signs, especially in Central Europe, of scholarly endeavor to focus attention, too long deferred, upon one of the brightest stars in the galaxy in the dawn of the New World of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Balthasar Huebmaier was born at Ach, near Augsburg, in the year 1480. Of his family little is known. It may be safely conjectured that his was a pious Catholic home, that he was early instructed in the "Faith," and somewhat late started on his academic career for the priesthood. In 1503 he matriculated at the University of Freiburg. In 1511 he took his Master's degree. With Eck for his companion and colleague he proceeded to Ingolstadt University as a lecturer and, in some sense, as a chaplain and chancellor. In 1512 he became a Doctor of Theology. In 1515 he was called to be the preacher at the University of Regensburg. From Regensburg he was called to Waldshut, leaving with the good will of the people of Regensburg and a gift of forty gulden. Up to this time there seems to have been nothing in his life and thought which

[1] Paper read at the Commencement Theological Conference at the Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, Berkeley, California, May 1, 1928.

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would indicate that he was anything other than a dutiful son of the Catholic church.

Waldshut is a little town on the border of Switzerland, which at that time was under the Austrian Prince Ferdinand, a strong arm of the Church of Rome and a relentless pursuer of all reformers of religion. After about two years in Waldshut a change began to come over Huebmaier's thinking. He devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures with steadfastness and zeal. It has been claimed that among the scholars of his day such men as Eck and Luther and Erasmus might know more than he, and be more ready in the appeal to the writings of the Fathers, but none among them was more versed in the Scriptures. If anything, at this time, Huebmaier was more zealous than ever before in his devotions, ritualistic observances and practices. Whatever else may be said for him, it cannot be gainsaid that he was ever learning. The spirit of Huebmaier as a student and an open-minded Christian is repeatedly reiterated in his writings in a sentence such as this: "Here, brother, you have my opinion; if I err call me back." Five years after Luther had nailed his ninety-five theses on the door at the University at Wittenburg, one year after Luther had been finally excommunicated from the church at Rome, one year after Ignatius Loyola had been converted, one year after Pope Leo X had died, when the Turk was beginning again to knock at the door of Central Europe and Switzerland was seething with disaffection toward the old faith and was on the eve of religious revolution—in that pregnant time, in the year 1522, Huebmaier began to regard the Catholic church as having departed from the Christian faith. Huebmaier, always cautious and slow to arrive at final convictions of truth, went to Basel to confer with Erasmus, only to find him more willing to talk than to commit himself in writing. He visited Zwingli and conferred with him on the teachings of the New Testament regarding infant baptism. Zwingli at that time agreed with Huebmaier that the practice was unscriptural.

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Later Zwingli sought to justify it by relating it to the practice of circumcision in the Hebrew economy.

In 1522 Huebmaier was recalled to Regensburg, but during the next year he returned to Waldshut, doubtless because of the freer intellectual and religious atmosphere there. In October, 1523, he took part with Zwingli in an ecclesiastical council. With Zwingli, Huebmaier made his appeal to the Scriptures regarding the use of images; with Zwingli he argued that the mass was not a sacrifice but Christ's testament. He held that Christ did not say "This offer," but "This do." To all intents and purposes Huebmaier was now an evangelical preacher. The King of Austria demanded of the town of Waldshut that he be given up to the Austrian authorities. The people of Waldshut resisted the King for their pastor. The Bishop of Constance remonstrated with the officials of Waldshut and demanded that Huebmaier appear before him. It became evident that the Austrian government was determined to arrest Huebmaier, even if it were necessary to resort to war upon the town. This situation raised an ethical problem for Huebmaier. It became a question of his personal safety or sacrifice for the sake of the city. He chose the latter alternative and, escorted by three knights, he left Waldshut for Schaffhausen, where he was met by three other knights, to be escorted under promise to safety. It was here that he wrote his plea for religious liberty entitled: "Concerning Heretics and Those Who Burn Them," which he closed with the immortal words ever to be associated with his name, "Truth is immortal"!

Suddenly he returned from Schaffhausen to Waldshut, which had not escaped trouble by his leaving. It still sought freedom, and Austria was determined to deny it. We next find Huebmaier in Nicholsburg, in Moravia, at that time the only part of Europe that had any semblance of freedom. Nicholsburg, however, soon passed into the hands of Austria, and Ferdinand, as the loyal son of Rome, demanded that Nichols-

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burg surrender Huebmaier to the Austrian authorities. He was finally surrendered, taken to Vienna, and cast into the palace prison. Later he was taken to the government prison in the castle at Greifenstein. Here his old friend and schoolmate, Faber, came to discuss doctrine with him. Huebmaier was willing to concede to almost all Catholic doctrine except that Faber could not persuade him on scriptural grounds that infants should be baptised, and that the elements of the Eucharist undergo any change in the celebration of the mass.[2] Under torture Huebmaier at least once recanted, but let none ignorant of torture of body and mind for the sake of unwelcome truth raise the finger of scorn and reproach. Encouraged and stimulated by the Christian devotion of his noble wife, he recovered the clarity of his faith and the courage of his convictions. Taken to Vienna, he was led through the streets to the stake. Seeing the faggots, he lifted up his voice and cried, "O Gracious God, forgive my sin in my great torment. O Father, I give thee thanks that thou wilt take me out of this vale of tears. With joy I desire to die and come to thee. O Lamb that takest away the sin of the world! O God into thy hands I commit my spirit!" To the people he said: "O dear brothers, if I have injured any in word or deed, may he forgive me for the sake of my merciful God. I forgive all those that have done me harm."[3]

Three days later, with a great stone tied to her neck, constant to the very last in fidelity to her faith, his wife was thrown into the waters of the Danube.

By this brief biographical sketch we have sought to orient our thought so as to see our Baptist historic commitments in their very inception. Exact conformity to our theme would require a treatment of a more severe academic character than we are able to give. We are confronted at the outset with the striking difference between the world in which Balthasar

[2] Cf. Vedder, *Balthasar Huebmaier*, pp. 235 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 242–44.

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Huebmaier lived and the modern world of religious life and thought created for us since Strauss wrote his *Life of Jesus*, and Baur his *Church History*. For well-nigh a century theologians have sought to see and interpret religion and its phenomena in the light of history. Figuratively speaking, their most used tools have been the spirit-level of a priori historic normal causalities and the yard-stick of historic successions. We have come upon a time when the historical method has itself become subject to criticism. The historical method has not been, and cannot be, discarded, but it must deliver itself from the claim of absolute exhaustiveness in matters of religion. To know the trail and keep one's eye only upon it, may leave us largely in ignorance of the wealth of the landscape.

So important is this matter that Troeltsch named it *The Present-Day Crisis of the Philosophy of History*. The third volume of his collected works is devoted to this problem alone.[4] We are here interested in the matter of historical method only in respect to the methods of approach to the problems confronting us in any appraisement we may make of Huebmaier and the beginnings of Baptist history.

If today we tend to rely too much upon the historical method, a totally different condition prevailed in Huebmaier's time. William Adams Brown says that the sense of the historic character of Christianity is lacking in Zwingli, and in this he remained a true son of the Catholic church.[5] Baur says in his *Kirchengeschichte* (Bd. IV, s. 440):

> Nothing is more characteristic of the Anabaptist than his complete lack of all historical consciousness. Does Protestantism wish to carry on its reformation upon historically given levels and to retain as much as possible of the established religion with which its evangelical conscious-

[4] Cf. Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Problems*, Erster Kapitel, "Die Heutige Krisis der Historie," pp. 1–11; *Gesamelte Schriften*, Band III; *Glaubenslehre*, Erster Teil, "Glaube u. Geschichte," pp. 81 ff. Georg Wobbermin, *Geschichte und Historie in der Religionswissenshaft* (*Tübingen:* Mohr, 1911). Debelius, *Geschichtliche und Übergeschichtliche Religion* (Goethingen; Vandenhoech und Ruprecht, 1925).

[5] William Adams Brown, *The Essence of Christianity*, p. 93.

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ness would permit it to combine, the Anabaptist, on the other hand, sets himself in opposition to everything in the status quo. He makes a breach with history and turns to religious and political radicalism. According to Baur, the Anabaptist claimed there should be established throughout a new order of things, and just as he most vigorously makes a breach with the past, so he recognizes for the future no historical mediation. The Anabaptist reformation ideas demand in one moment realization and to stand before it in the concretest reality.[6]

But this rejection of the historical inheritance in religion and method of reform is the primal result of an extreme emphasis upon the essential inner nature of religion. The inner life became the starting-point and the criterion of the outer life, and in place of the spiritual there steps in a Chiliasm of the crassest materialism. Baur further claims that it was on this ground, and other writers support him in this opinion, that the hatred of Protestant and Catholic alike against the Anabaptist is to be explained. "Death by fire and sword was the usual fate which met the worst of all heretics," and Baur in a striking sentence concludes: "Doch wurde dadurch das Feuer, das in ihnen brannte, noch nicht gedämpft" ("Still was the fire that burned in them not put out.")[7] These historic words were prophetic, and well might be a motto for the four-hundreth anniversary of Huebmaier and his contemporaries.

We may accept Baur's opinion of the lack of historic sense in the Anabaptist, reminding ourselves that the sense in which that term "historic" has been used for the last half-century and more would be equally inapplicable to any of the contemporary movements in the Reformation time. The evangelical experience of the Anabaptist, so vivid, so liberating, and so timeless in its nature to the believer, constitutes a phenomenon in history that refuses to be corraled in time—space limits and be measured by their criteria. Their religious experience could not then, and cannot now, be reduced to a this-world histor-

[6] Cf. Ferdinand Christian Baur, "Die Wiedertaufer und die Mennoniten," *Kirchengeschichte der Neueren Zeit* (Tübingen, 1863), pp. 438 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 441.

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ical account. It belonged too much to a yonder-world super-historical realm.

The method by which we must approach the study of the Anabaptist movement must take into consideration, not merely the horizontal plane of religious phenomena, for on this level much will remain unexplained and inexplicable. We recognize today two methods of historical study the statement of which will serve as a guide to a closer treatment of our specific theme. They are conveniently termed the Heuristic and the Hermeneutic methods. Langlois and Seignobos, of the French school of critical historians, make this distinction of methods, but American scholarship, both in university and theological studies, has given particular emphasis to the Heuristic method, which industriously seeks the facts and their verification in the lair of their original sources. So rich are the results of this method that there is of necessity a cautious approach to the Hermeneutic method, which concerns itself with interpretation of facts ascertained.

Along with the two methods of historical study we have today to reckon with a twofold view of science which corresponds to the twofold method of historical research. The twofold view of science embraces natural science and cultural science. This dual view recognizes on the surface a dual world —the world of nature and the world of mind, the world of fact and the world of value, the world of matter and the world of spirit. They are not separable, neither are they identical. This is the distinction made by Henri Rickert, of Heidelberg,[8] and is essentially supported by Streeter in his book entitled *Reality,* in which he distinguishes the world quantitatively known and the world qualitatively known.[9]

[8] Cf. Henri Rickert, *Die Grenzen der Naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung* (3 u. 4 Auflage), Drittes Kapitel, p. 1, Viertes Kapitel, pp. i–x; *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft,* Kap. III, "Der Hauptgegensatz"; *Kant als Philosoph der Modernen Kultur,* Dreizehntes Kap., "Wissen und Glauben," pp. 187 ff.

[9] Cf. B. H. Streeter, *Reality, a New Correlation of Science and Religion* (MacMillan, 1926), pp. 107, 108.

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If ever the Anabaptist wing of the Protestant Reformation is to receive its fair meed of vindication it must be discriminately studied with these distinctions of historical method and philosophical procedure clearly in mind.

We have a dual problem on our hands, one that is as significant for the student of religion in its spiritual phenomena as it has long proved of unique significance socially for the student of economic history and social ethics. We have the actual history of the movement in Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and England. If there is even partial truth in the account of the fanaticism of Munster and in some of the Anabaptist communes in Central Europe we may well join the conspiracy of silence in which Baptists are not wholly irresponsible. But there are signs that impartial historical students will not rest content with that conspiracy.[10] The best available book in English on the social and economic phases of the Anabaptist movement is *The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists,* by Belfort Bax (1903). Following Kautsky, Belfort Bax seeks to account for the Anabaptist movement chiefly in terms social and economic. It is significant, however, that Professor Hans von Schubert, of Heidelberg, who stands in the first rank of church historians, should publish as recently as 1919 a defense for the religious character of the revolution at Munster in a book entitled *The Communism of the Anabaptists at Munster and Its Sources* (*Der Kommunismus der Wiedertaufer in Munster und seine Quellen*).[11] The reviewer, Gustav Kruger, writes:

> The Anabaptist movement at Munster in Westphalia (1534) culminated in the erection of a communistic theocracy, which claimed to be the center of a universal revolution introducing the end of the world. As against the historians of the Marxian socialist school (for instance Kaut-

[10] Hans von Schubert, *Der Kommunismus der Wiedertaufer in Munster und seine Quellen* (Heidelberg, 1919). Carl Sachsse, *Doctor Balthasar Huebmaier als Theologe* (Neue Studien zur Geschichte und Kirche, 20), 1914; *Harvard Theological Review* (January, 1924), p. 8; J. Loserth, *Balthasar Huebmaier* (1893); H. C. Vedder, *Balthasar Huebmaier* (1905).

[11] *Harvard Theological Review* (January, 1924), pp. 8 ff.

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sky), who try to understand this communism as a merely economic movement, Von Schubert shows that its foundations were purely religious. In his inquiry into the spiritual sources of the movement he takes us back to the pseudo-Clementine literature of the early centuries, which give a communistic interpretation of the account of the Jerusalem Church in Acts, chapter 3. He shows how by a long process—in itself a history of misunderstanding, error, and falsification—the Clementine statements came into the hands of Sebastian Franck, the profound German mystic (1542), who enlarged them, combined them with kindred ideas of ancient and of later origin, and brought them to popular attention. In this way the evangelical preacher Brendt Rothmann, the intellectual leader of the Munster Anabaptists, gained knowledge of them. Then the apocalyptic idea, and finally the apocalyptic propaganda of action, attached themselves to them. This learned and suggestive monograph opens up new knowledge on this subject.

How different is the attitude of the anonymous author of *A Short History of the Anabaptist,* published in London in the year 1647, to that of Professor Hans von Schubert. The opening paragraphs of this ancient book are as follows:

As in a hot summer day, many times there riseth a great mist with the Sun-rising, the like comes to pass at the rising of the Sun of Righteousness. Since the days of the Apostles, that Sun never shone with more brightness and vigour than in Luther's beginnings; but it seemeth that this very strength of the Sun-shine of the truth which dispelled the dark night of Popery, raised the foul mist of Anabaptism; which sinister effect must not be ascribed to the nature of the Truth, but to the indisposition of the several subjects not capable to receive it; for where the Gospel meeteth with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit (which yet is the work of Grace, not Nature) it first enlightneth the understanding, and then sweetly perswadeth the will and warmeth the affections; but meeting with weak and turbulent natures, whose judgment is all passion, it fills them with a wild zeal, and that precious liquor turns into vinegar being poured into such unclean vessels.

This was seen in the common people of Germany, Low-countries and Switzerland, whose souls were as course as their condition; for no sooner had Luther and Zwingli begun to preach the true reformed Gospel, but the people made to themselves a new Gospel of Licentiousness and rebellion, which produced such furious effects, that it was like to have strangled the true Gospel in its cradle; and it seemed that God, angry at the

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wilful blindness of the world that loved darkness better than light, had prepared a worm to strike that gourd the next day after her sudden happy rising.

Professor Hans von Schubert's apology, at least in respect to recent Christian scholarly research, is symptomatic of a more exact study to be expected of the Anabaptist movement. Even at its worst it was a peoples' movement forced into action by economic slavery and ecclesiastical commerce in souls. We cannot in this paper enter into a discussion of the fanatical exuberances of religious zeal and fantastic apocalypticisms, nor the equally fanatical outbursts of the passionate and purblind statesmenship of their enemies, Protestant and Catholic alike, nor can we indiscriminately condone the fanaticisms of the Anabaptists.

We are standing today at a point in history from which we can see not only the deplorable in Zurick and Waldshut and Munster and Vienna. We can see in the dozen years between 1517 and the Protestation of the second diet in Speier in 1529 the mighty outwellings of a religious movement comparable only to the unleashings of the dogs of war and the releasing of religious, humanitarian, national and international idealisms, fanaticisms, and new tyrannies in the dozen years or so since 1914.

It is impossible to study the Anabaptist movement, whether sympathetically or unsympathetically, as a thing apart. It is but one tributary that ran into the great confluence of the stream of European religious and social reformation. As a social phase of the life of the time it was doomed to a relentless suppression and speedy extermination. As a religious movement, as Baur says, "Its flame was not extinguished."

Forsyth, while writing on the whole sympathetically, overstresses its subjectivism, but shows the spirit of Anabaptism leaping the British Channel as the vivifier of English independency and the modifier of Scotch Calvinism which tended

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to restrict spiritual freedom and confine British religion in a theocratic society.[12]

In his *Soziallehren,* Troeltsch, than whom there is no better interpreter of the significance of the Anabaptist movement, writes: "As the Sect and Mystic Types were included in the Mediaeval Church, so the expression of the idea of the Church in Protestantism included also the Sect and Mystic Types."[13] The Anabaptist movement was thus a profoundly spiritual movement being governed from *within* and finding its authority within for its entire field of external relations. If Lutheranism had at first rejected the authority of Rome for the conscience of Wittenberg, and Zwingli had overthrown all symbols of art for religion and reduced the sacraments to mere symbolism in the sanctions of an immanental theology, if Calvinism could overthrow the mystic sacramental claims of Catholicism in the interests of a theocratic Geneva, warranted by a theology of a transcendant sovereign lawgiver, the Anabaptists erred differently only in kind, and not in principle, when they refused to stop short of the absolute freedom of the inner religious consciousness, rejecting no less violently the economic status quo than did the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zwinglians in their respective antitheses. The Anabaptist movement was the common people's share in the religious and social life of the later Renaissance and Reformation. It spread in a fashion remarkably similar to the spread of amorphous religious groups in the first one hundred and fifty years of our era and the phenomenal spread of Methodist societies in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Not only was the Anabaptist movement similar to these movements in religious fervor, but also in their fissiparous character, to use a term of Baron von Hügel.[14] They broke up into numerous sects according to local conditions, local leader-

[12] Cf. P. T. Forsyth, *Faith, Freedom, and the Future,* especially chaps. i–vii.

[13] Cf. Ernst Troeltsch, *Gesam. Scrift. Soziallehren,* Bd. I, p. 794.

[14] Baron fr. W. von Huegel: *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion,* p. 242.

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ship, or peculiar doctrinal emphases. Baur says "Protestantism has originally in itself a mystical element in its inwardness and depth."[15] The history of Protestantism has its starting-point in Luther's predilection for the historically significant little book called *German Theology,* and then especially in Karlstadt, Schwenfeld, and Sebastian Franck. The Anabaptists were the spiritual kin of the Waldenses, Vaudois and the Piedmontese. Their leaders included such fanatics as Jan of Leyden and Muntzer, Hut, an extremist in Chiliastic beliefs, Wideman, an extremist in communism. They were led also by such scholarly priests as Reublin, Grebel, Mantz, and Huebmaier.

With little discrimination the name Anabaptist was applied to a wide variety of men and groups holding highly divergent views in the sixteenth century.

Thus far we have sought to distinguish the Anabaptist tributary in the stream of the Reformation and to characterize it as the extreme representation of the essential principle of the Reformation, viz., inward and spiritual freedom from all external bonds and restrictions. It would take us too far afield in this brief hour to discuss its religious and theological relation to Luther's *sola fide,* Calvin's theocracy, and Zwingli's spiritual city-state.

We consider it will be more profitable in the time at our disposal to discuss the problem from the point of view of philosophical principles involved, and consider in closing its application to the historic commitments which have characterized Baptists more or less throughout the years.

In his book,[16] *The Significance of Protestantism for the Rise of the Modern World,* Troeltsch shows that Protestantism was an affirmation of autonomy over against authority, a relativism over against absolutism, a this-worldness over against the Catholic "other-worldness, a self-trusting affirma-

[15] F. Ch. Bauer, *op. cit.,* "Die Protestantische Mystik," p. 347.

[16] Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Enstehung der Modernen Welt,* pp. 1–17.

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tive progressive optimism over against the despair of suppression by transcendent authority."

The historic background of the modern Protestant world was the world of authority-culture where all life was brought under a *lex dei* which in practice meant the law of the church, and a *lex naturae* which practically meant a Stoic view of life and of nature. The consequence of this *lex dei* and this *lex naturae* was to seek release in a thoroughgoing asceticism.[17]

At bottom we are confronted with a philosophical principle lying in the relation of the Anabaptist movement to its social and religious objectivities, i.e., in the relation of autonomy to authority, of spiritual life to external law, of inner to outer religion, of the matter of the religious experience to the form of the religious institution. Institutions are the organized expressions of ideas. The architecture of a city is the exposure of its mind. Organizations exist as the articulation of an organizing spirit. At the heart of every formulation of doctrine is an organizing reflection upon religious life. Within every creed is a cultus. Some truth or other is the kernel of every community. Every change in a community or creed or church is due to the bursting life of cultus and to the communal spirit. The relation is that of the inward to the outward, and is not chemical,[18] nor mathematical, nor mechanical in its analogy, but organic. It suffices here merely to mention the parables of Jesus by the sea. Dean Inge significantly says that "The Catholic may quote the fine saying of a medieval mystic that he who can see the inward in the outward is more spiritual than he who can see the inward in the inward."[19]

Whether he is more spiritual or not I will leave it to you to debate, though I agree with the mystic, but this we may

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

[18] Cf. G. P. Adams, *Idealism and the Modern Age*, chaps. i–iii.

[19] W. R. Inge, "Institutionalism and Mysticism," *Hibbert Journal* (July, 1914), pp. 766–79.

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claim, that he who can see the inward in the outward and uses the outward as the expression of the inward is a sound philosopher and a good Baptist to boot.

By the very complexity of the Anabaptist movement, interwoven as it was in geographically widespread groups under varying leadership and emphases, it is not easy to delineate exactly their doctrines any more than it would be precisely to state the Baptist beliefs of the present company. There can, however, in spite of wide variation, be found a common ground of faith exercised and grace experienced in personal and communal life. In these we share the liberation of the soul from the bondage of sin, which liberation carries with it the implications of mental, ecclesiastical, social, and political freedom. As stated many times, the genius of Baptists is faith, freedom, and fraternity. These concepts cover their spiritual releasement, their intellectual liberty, and their ecclesiastical democratic polity. It is this genius which explains the denial of authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion; it explains the independence of the local congregation as an organic unity in a covenant bond of believers in Christ. This bond, being spiritual, is beyond the reach, hence beyond the control, of all external authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical. No final formulation of creed can be reached which can have binding force, since its genius is organic and too speedily outgrows its forms. Its forms cannot but be variants; its genius, constant.

It is here that we meet both the strength and weakness of the Baptist genius. Its danger is its subjectivism. When it is spiritually strong it tends to a charterless sea of mysticism; when the fires of its spirituality burn low it tends to colorless independency. Baur writes of a minister named Weigel (d. 1588), the spirit of whose mysticism was expressed in the remarkable sentence": "Gott erbarme sich selber im Menschen" ("God comforts himself or nourishes himself in

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Man").[20] In that sentence says Baur, rightly, he leads away from the essence of faith. The mysticism which has its alpha and omega in a subjective experience only self-derived and self-tested is not only solipsistic, egocentric, but unscriptural and ultimately fanatic. The claims of subjective experience must be subjected to the criterion of an inner objective of fact known, of truth perceived, of life experienced.

The claims of Christian subjectivism must always be tested by Christian objectivity in the person of Jesus Christ. By the same principle the claims to spiritual, intellectual, ecclesiastical freedom can, in our judgment, only be supported by the appeal to an authority logically objective to itself. We must stand free and not become again entangled in a yoke of bondage, but the criterion of our freedom is in that place where we found it—the objective redemption in Christ Jesus.

It is this which sets the heart aflame, burns up the dross of sin, enlightens the mind, and transmutes the liberated spirit to a torch of freedom for all the nations.

It is this inner freedom which becomes the charter and only guaranty of the emancipation which will reverse Rousseau's dictum, "Men are born free, but everywhere they are in chains," to read "Men are born slaves, but everywhere they become free men."

It is by this same principle of a subjective-objective relation that Baptists test their relation to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Anabaptists were not so much the objects of hatred and persecution because they were Anabaptists and their ministers shared both elements with their flocks, but because of what their observance of these ordinances symbolized, both for themselves and the ecclesiastical and state authorities. They might not have perished literally by the thousands by water and fire and sword had they

[20] F. Ch. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 347: "Der Geist seiner Mystik ist in dem bemerkenswerthen Satze ausgesprochen—Gott erbarme sich selber im menschen—Diesen Satz leitete er aus dem Wesen des Glaubens ab."

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not acknowledged in these ordinances the mediatorship and lordship of Christ alone. In these symbols they had displaced the magic-working sacraments by an experienced immediacy of forgiveness through Christ and the communion in the living word and fellowship with Christ in joy and pain in the union of believers.

Again, we would test the matter by the form and find the value of the form in the matter. The ordinances are thus institutions symbolizing the freedom of the soul and invisible bonds of imperishable union of the believer with Christ and spiritual communal life and sustenance and triumphant joy and sorrow.

Standing behind the white marble altar in the Luther Memorial Church in Speier is a white marble statue of the Christ, on the pedestal of which are the words in German, "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me."[21] At the foot of this statue Lutheran and Anglican, Calvinist and Arminian, Congregationalist and Baptist join hands in common confession and timeless confidence. Let him who has found his freedom here rejoice in the hope of the day when there will be no Catholic or Protestant, no Jew nor Gentile, but all men shall bear branded on their inner lives the sign and symbol of the immortal truth which makes men free.

[21] "Niemand kommt zum Fader denn durch Mich."

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THE SECOND RESCUE OF THE SECOND ISAIAH

WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM
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EVER since the publication in 1910 of his *Ezra Studies* it has become a habit, among those who follow, however tardily, the literature of Old Testament studies, not only to listen with respectful attention to Professor Torrey, but also to expect from him arrestingly striking and stimulative contributions. Those who eagerly secured and read his work on *The Second Isaiah*,[1] published in 1928, will not have had those expectations disappointed, nor will they have had any cause to revise, in a deprecatory direction, their estimate of Dr. Torrey's significance as an Old Testament scholar.

That the foregoing may not be regarded as the usual perfunctory offering on the altar of academic politeness the writer hastens to say that he does not feel at all favorably disposed to the major thesis of the work under discussion. That, however, has no bearing on the achievement of its author. He has written another work of real significance, a work which, like his *Ezra Studies*, will be influential for years to come in stimulating research, and in molding, in important respects, the methods and conclusions of those who engage in it. Higher tribute than this paid to any author would savor of adulation. Biblical criticism will be a living and progressive unit in the army which marches under the banner of truth so long as its devotees have wit enough to respect brains and wisdom enough never to assume that the best of brains is infallible. The writer enters the lists with his helmet doffed in sincere and respectful admiration for the conception and the execution of the book

[1] Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (New York: Scribner's, 1928), xii+477 pages. $5.00.

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which he discusses, and for the technical skill, critical acumen, imaginative power, and literary ability of its author.

Professor Torrey's book has three parts: a series of literary essays arranged in twelve chapters, a translation, with indication of metric form, of Isaiah, chapters 34, 35, 40–66, and a commentary on the text. The thesis of the work is expounded in the first eight chapters. Only these will be dealt with here and limitations of space will make detailed treatment of these portions impossible. It is to be hoped that those who feel disposed to criticize the critic will remember that he essays a well-nigh impossible task.

The eight chapters under discussion fall logically into two groups: one of five chapters which are constructive in the sense that they present to us the author's "new view" of the prophecy and the prophet; the other, of three chapters which are destructive inasmuch as their aim is to expose the weaknesses of what is called the "modern view" of the latter half of Isaiah's prophecy. In the book itself this second group is placed first. The method adopted in discussing the work will be to reverse the order, the reason being, as will later be shown, that the conclusions of the second part everywhere condition and prejudice Professor Torrey's judgment in his treatment of the critical position he assails.

I

Chapter iv is most happily styled, "A New View of the Prophecy." Its salient points may be briefly summarized from page 53 as follows. The work of the Second Isaiah consists of a series of twenty-seven poems comprising chapters 34, 35, 40–66 of the present Book of Isaiah. These poems stand even now in their original order and display such unity and homogeneity as to make inevitable the conclusion that they are the work of one man. They were written in Palestine near the end of the fifth century B.C., are addressed to a people which lives in its native land and which has never lived elsewhere, a peo-

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ple whose peculiar cultus is in active operation as the prophet writes.

The argument from which these conclusions are drawn runs somewhat as follows: There is made, to begin with (p. 53), the statement that one main theme only runs through all the poems, which is "the hope of Israel, the people chosen of God to save the world." The age in which this theme was developed is the latter half of the Persian period because the conditions of the people addressed fit those which existed at this time. The towns are decimated by reason of a long-continued emigration of the populace. As a result the people of this vassal province have become a miserable remnant, and the Holy Land has come, to most of this remnant, to seem to have no religious future.

The genesis of the poems is explained by Professor Torrey as follows. The exhaustion and decimation of the country through emigration has resulted, not only in the religious pessimism before referred to, but in the rise of a new evil, apostasy. The newness of this evil is defined as "new as to its prevalence." To counteract this pessimism and apostasy the prophet wrote this poetical reinterpretation of the nation's history, present status, and future possibilities.

The prophet himself was a pessimist inasmuch as he saw no hope at all in the present order and utterly disregarded the political situation. It was this helplessness about human agencies which made him predict an intervention on the part of deity. Emphatically this divorce of the prophecy from history, which reminds one, by the way, of Hölscher's treatment of Deuteronomy, is reaffirmed on page 55: "There is no *human helper,* no other occasion for acting than his [Yahweh's] own feeling of necessity." The cause of the prophet's distress does not lie at all in any external circumstance, but only in the moral and religious condition of his people.

This pessimistic messianist is no prophet of a return or restoration, but rather is the prophet of the dispersion. He is not

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disturbed by the failure of a political kingdom, but by the break-up of a nation through voluntary exile. Indeed, long before the fall of the nation Judah, the paganization and decline of Israel had uprooted all hope of a united kingdom. The populace was not interested in nationalism per se. The religious "restoration" which took place under Zerubbabel was due to the tenacious loyalty of "the Jews" and the power of the religious motive in them. Economically, however, the recovery was rapid, and on this side of life the Jerusalem of the times of Cyrus stood in no need of any outside assistance at all. There was, in short, no motive for the Zionism which the Second Isaiah has been supposed to have preached in Babylon.

On the contrary, all the tendencies of the times were against a racial concentration in Palestine from the end of the seventh century on. Migration was the order of the day. In such a time of racial ebb and flow these bucolic Hebrews, in their isolated "land of small farms, quiet villages, and diminutive cities," became "for the first time fully aware of countries incomparably richer and more prosperous than Palestine." They emigrated in increasing numbers. That meant an infilling by foreign stocks and a dilution of the racial strain at home. This was a moment of crisis. Israel was in danger of dissolution. Looking at the Holy Land now, the Jews would be likely to see in it merely the scene of a preliminary training for a larger life, a training now accomplished. The danger was that they should come to feel that there was nothing of unique value in their own religion, and so come to feel freedom to assimilate to the world about them. The masses did not see this danger. Even their leaders were no more than "perplexed" by it. In fact they were immersed in practical concerns and had no time for theology.

There was, in Jerusalem, late in the Persian period, a nucleus of earnest and open-minded seekers after truth "who saw plainly that the old order was gone in religious philosophy as well as external affairs." They were impressed by the excel-

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lences of the heathen cults, but they did not know how to correlate the new liberalism with the old dogmas. The Second Isaiah was, then, the man who rose to fulfil this need of the hour. Judaism had to show that it had something "to contribute to a wider world" or die of inanition. This prophet saw "how the hoarded property of a small people was intended to become the property of the world." Consciously and with deep reflection he sat down to meet the need of the hour.

The doctrines which the prophet produced as a result of his cogitations were as follows. There is only one God. This God is "equally the God of all races and nations on earth" (p. 67). He requires only the spiritual approach because he himself is a spirit who dwells in no temple. What he desires of Jew and Gentile alike is faith, repentance, uprightness, good will, and kindly dealing among men. The prophet is not only a spiritually minded ethical monotheist, he is also a genially liberal cosmopolitan.

As an expression of, and proof of, the rightness of his attitude the prophet developed what Professor Torrey calls his "argument from history." That Yahweh is as before represented is shown especially by the historical evidence of his having conceived an eternal plan embracing all mankind which he has thus far carried out. The Hebrews are the custodians of the record of this plan. As such they, with their written record, are Yahweh's witnesses. The content of the witness they are to bear is that the God who performed the wonders told of in the written record is such a God that he will carry out his eternal plan. Their message, it would seem, has only two tenses: past and future. It has nothing really to do with the present. But Professor Torrey guards this point. The present enters into the plan as a period of discipline. The present distress of Israel, especially the fact of its dispersion, is God's technique for winning the heathen. Not only are the Jews of the Diaspora to witness for Yahweh, but by their suf-

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ferings they are to "make atonement for the sins of the heathen world" (p. 73).

Professor Torrey admits, however, that the foregoing argument had one weak point. It had no appeal to skeptics and foreigners. The one link needed in the chain of evidence was "the actual triumph of Israel as a visible fact." It is this need which accounts for the prophet's habit, "whenever he is depicting the Gentiles as acknowledging the God of Israel," of joining the future to the past. That is why there seems to be no present tense, no actual contact with reality, in his witness.

The reader now has before him as fair and complete a survey of the heart of Professor Torrey's book as it is within the writer's power, in the space available, to give. He will also, no doubt, have realized that this new view of the prophecy raises many problems, four of the chief of which are dealt with *seriatim* in chapters v–viii.

One thing which the reader will have realized is that the chapter outlined above gives us, not only a new view of the prophecy, but also a new conception of a prophet. The earlier prophets, one has always believed, were essentially forthtellers rather than foretellers. Whether the technique they employed was historical narrative or the study of present conditions, or the prophetic look into the future, they were always men who sought to influence a situation in real life. This prophet, as the author tells us in the closing lines of chapter iv, is one who "may have imagined an approaching crisis in real life," but who "more probably gave no thought to such external incidents." He was a poetical eschatologist (p. 74), a poet and herald, an evangelist (p. 75).

It is not surprising to find, then, that the fifth chapter is devoted to the enhancement of the distinction between this prophet and the majority of his predecessors, and in particular aims at divorcing him once and for all from any connection with real life. The author's reason for the line he follows here is that the historico-critical methods have had the effect of

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obscuring the literary unity and the spiritual value of the poems. Too much interest in the mere theology of the writer and in the historical background he reveals, and no interest in, or capacity for, literary appreciation has resulted in the perpetration of exegetical absurdities, a point which is later splendidly illustrated at the expense of Duhm. Even now, the author continues, in spite of the recent discovery of and emphasis upon the formal scheme of Hebrew poetry, "the atmosphere" in critical circles "has not seemed favorable to literary appreciation." The reasons for this, he thinks, are two: first, the innate inability of the historically minded to appreciate the moods of the poet, and, in particular, "to take account of the figurative and idealistic character of such writings"; and second, "the current low estimate of Hebrew literature and religion of the Greek period." On this latter point, which is discussed at length on page 85, it should be said, one thinks, that Professor Torrey seems to be oblivious of the influence which he himself has exercised in the last few years. The writer, for one, finds himself very largely in agreement with him and believes that many others, like him, have not developed any prejudice against such writings on the ground of their lateness. So this chapter proceeds to make of the Second Isaiah a poet rather than a prophet, a religious philosopher and teacher with "no consciousness of a divine election other than that which any devout man of letters might claim." One wonders if the prophet has not been sacrificed needlessly in order to save the prophecy from a criticism which has been transcended though not overthrown.

A second major issue raised by this new view of the prophecy is the unity of these poems. The criticism which now holds the field denies the unity of 56–66 and 34, 35 with 40–55. This chapter maintains it and even asserts (p. 92) that "when these masterpieces were rescued and preserved for the world by being brought under the cover of Isaiah's great name" they even then had long been circulated as a separate unit. Professor

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Torrey's distinction, then, is not so great as it seemed at first. He is only the second rescuer of this great work which has so strangely needed succor. But, unseemly levity aside, the evidence for the continuous unity of these chapters is found in the preservation of an original order, and in the presence throughout them of one definite and characteristic chain of ideas. These things may be observed in spite of the admitted fact (p. 93) that there is "no such progress in thought . . . . as to fix approximately the relative position of each," so that it is "hardly ever the case that a poem takes formal account of its predecessor."

This last rather damaging admission is safeguarded, however, by the contention that "these songs, homilies, and dramatic scenes are the product of very diverse moods." This is perhaps the heart of the chapter, for it is, in effect, a justification for an essentially subjective approach to the study of the poems. The interpreter must have freedom to use his imagination so that he may enter into the poet's mood. That is, of course, a privilege any interpreter may claim; and if criticism ever adopts it there will be as many schools of opinion about the prophecy as there are eloquent and persuasive writers like Torrey. It is unnecessary to deal further with this first phase of the chapter. Its main point has been apprehended. It is a plea for a subjective approach.

Under the caption "The Library of Israel's Prophets" and in justification of a previously expressed view that the Cyrus-Babylon passages have been added "in the interest of a theory," the assertion is next made that by the end of the fifth century B.C. prophecy was officially pronounced dead. Consequently it became necessary, when the prophetic writings were collected in the third century B.C., to retouch all writings which obviously originated from a later date with a view to making them *seem* to be of earlier origin. This rests upon a hypothesis propounded in *Ezra Studies* to the effect that in the third century there was serious rivalry between Samaritans and Jews

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over the priority of their respective sanctuaries, which caused the Jews to antedate certain writings so that their prophetic authority might be maintained. Here the question will at once arise in the reader's mind: Is this not a case of fitting theory to theory? Are we not being asked to believe that because the Jews and Samaritans may have had some differences in the third century it necessarily follows that the Second Isaiah was not only "rescued" but "retouched"? Further, one will ask, is this science or speculation? Is it scrutinizing the question or begging it?

After propounding the "view" that chapters 36–39 of Isaiah were placed between 35 and 40 as a "satisfactory literary joint" (a rather plumber-like process, to be sure), Professor Torrey proceeds to discuss the date of the prophecy. The real basis of the argument here is the assumption of previous proof that "there is here no question of successive dates." In other words, if unity and *close composition in point of time* be granted, then it is necessary to find some date of production for the whole which will fit those passages which are demonstrably later than the Babylonian exile. In the preceding argument an effort is made to demonstrate unity of authorship. But so far as the writer can discover, no proof is offered for close composition in point of time, and the Second Isaiah may have lived a good many years, and, like the rest of us, may have moved about a good deal in his world. The section on the date closes with a brief discussion of the social background. At this point one would only remark that it seems to be almost the work of a wizard to be able to divorce a man so absolutely from his "historical background" and yet leave him any "social background" at all. How is it possible, one may ask, to distinguish so nicely between the two?

The seventh chapter need not detain us long. It is written to elaborate the contention of chapter iv, a contention essential to Professor Torrey's position, that the Second Isaiah was not only a spiritually minded ethical monotheist, but also a

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genially liberal cosmopolitan. That proposition in itself bristles with difficulties. Behind it lies the ancient problem of the one and the many. How shall one be himself if he is thrown closely into contact with others? How can a man believe at the same time that all races are equal in God's sight and that his own is in some respect superior?

Under the caption "The Dies Irae" this difficulty is resolved in the obvious way by asserting that the prophet's particularism is moral, and not racial or national, a distinction quite as finely drawn as that between "historical" and "social." The Second Isaiah takes the same stand as Paul and James and Peter on the matter of relationship between Jew and Gentile. Both belong in the divine plan, but they do not belong in the same rite. It is admitted by the author, though only in a footnote, that Israel is, however, "an enduring entity, not merely an incidental unit . . . . brought forth to play a temporary part." But this is something more than pure moral or spiritual particularism. It is racial, and therefore cultural, and therefore ultimately national. Nothing further need be said on this chapter here. As a whole it is disappointing and adds no strength to the substantiation of the "new view."

One other problem arising from the "new view" is discussed in the next chapter. By rejecting Cyrus as a temporary present manifestation of the world-serving and controlling Force Professor Torrey has left to fill this rôle only Abraham, Abraham's nation, and the divine Messiah, "last great protagonist of Abraham's line." Of these only the nation can function in the actual present. But the prophecy admittedly makes it clear that it is not doing so. Professor Torrey boldly takes the only course possible. The emissary of God is fundamental to the prophet's theology and is always Israel or Irael's personified representative. Now according to the "modern view" there is no confusion as between the various manifestations of this emissary. In passages which refer to the past it is Abraham or his idealized seed in history. In passages which seem to sug-

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gest immediately present activity on the part of the emissary, he is Cyrus. In passages which look to an ideal future, he is the Messiah or the purified nation. But whoever reads Professor Torrey's first three chapters will be struck by the continual "blurring" of the several manifestations of the emissary. One can discover no principle by which he decides in a given passage whether the emissary is Abraham, the nation, or the Messiah. This chapter is written to explain that difficulty. The explanation (p. 135) is that "the *poet's* figure of speech is varied, sometimes even suddenly changed, according to the play of a restless imagination." No wonder, then, that imaginative power is a prime requisite for the interpretation of such a writer.

Remains now only the necessity of proving the unity of the so-called "Servant Poems" with their context. The argument here is that they are "not in any sense complete in themselves, nor even possessed of characteristics not shared by the rest of the book of which they form a part." This is a statement which the writer believes may be conclusively refuted for all of these poems except 42:1–4. When, for example, our author comes to deal with 52:13—53:12 he makes no effort at all to link it up with its context unless he is assuming here his "collocation of contrast." Instead he remarks "The Second Isaiah does not 'surpass himself' in this effort; he merely presents a feature of his theological scheme which *happens* not to appear elsewhere." (The italics are the writer's.) No other comment is necessary.

II

Having now explored the fundamental positions upon which Professor Torrey always stands in his avowed attack upon the "modern view," we are prepared to survey his argument in chapters i–iii.

The first chapter is entitled "The Eclipse of a Great Prophet," and, as the title implies, it is a denunciation of the results

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of previous criticism rather than an impartial examination of the position and its possible modifications. Every proponent of "new views" must dislodge previous views which hold the field. In such a situation he may take one of two courses. He may try to disprove those prevalent ideas or else he may attempt to discredit them. Every propagandist knows that the latter is much more likely to prove the immediately successful method, and all the more so if it can be skilfully blended with the former. As Samuel Wesley once remarked to his son John, "Passion and Prejudice govern the world, only under the name of Reason."

Drawing his material chiefly from the works of Cheyne, Duhm, and Marti, surely somewhat antiquated exponents of the "modern view," he traces the several stages through which the criticism of this literature has passed with no little justice and acumen. As a résumé of the criticism of these scholars little fault can be found with this section. A great deal of his ground is well taken. Yet the fact remains that no general position stands or falls necessarily by the work of its individual exponents. Cheyne may have had a rather low conception of the religious worth of some parts of 56–66, but that does not prove their unity with 40–55.

It is indeed disquieting to find here that Professor Torrey does not content himself with giving us a history of this criticism. He gives us also his theory of the underlying psychology of it. And this theory springs directly from his own positive conception. Cheyne's low opinion of parts of 56–66 is due entirely to his employment of historical criticism, for which, according to our author's theory, there is, as we have seen, no place in this prophecy which he would divorce from history. One's distaste grows, moreover, when one learns that Torrey has a prejudice, developed years ago through his *Ezra Studies*, against the view of history which those earlier scholars accepted, a view which has not, as yet, been driven from the field. When added to this we learn, as we shall in subsequent chap-

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ters, that Professor Torrey would destroy the most striking evidence for that other view by a series of clever textual manipulations, we find more cause to pause and consider. It is disquieting also to find here the unspoken assumption that the analysis of a literary document into several portions of different authorship is of itself a "disintegrating" process. That being the case, one might call Professor Torrey himself to task for what he has done to the books Ezra-Nehemiah.

The title of the second chapter, "The Supposed 'Prophecy of the Return,'" indicates at once the course which the argument will follow. Having skilfully suggested that the disintegrating results of previous criticism are such that the critics must have erred in their premises, and having suggested further that their error is in point of historical fact, the next obvious step is to destroy the idea that these poems are in any way concerned with a supposed "return" of "exiles" from Babylonia.

As a matter of fact the finally deciding factor here is those passages in which Cyrus is mentioned by name and in which Babylon and Chaldaea or the Chaldaeans are definitely referred to. The author, of course, knows himself to be quite capable of expunging these, which he will do in the following chapter. Yet before coming to the main point it is highly desirable to impugn in advance the historical probability of the situation which those passages suggest, as well as the spiritual status of prophecy and prophet when interpreted in the light of that situation.

It is incumbent upon a critic to be as fair as he can to positions which he criticizes adversely or otherwise. If Professor Torrey thinks it is fair to the "modern view" to say (p. 20) that according to it the principal themes of 40–48 are "the glorification of Cyrus and the return of the Jews from Babylonia to Jerusalem," then he ought to be told to read the works of his contemporaries, as, for example, J. M. P. Smith's *Prophets and Their Times* (pp. 180 ff.). It is almost inconceivable

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that when he accepts as representative the view of Cheyne, if indeed it was his view, that this prophecy was born of the excitement caused by Cyrus, plus the prophet's "childlike, almost superstitious trust in a single written document," namely Jer. 29:10, he is not aware that few, if any, of his contemporaries who hold the "modern view" would accept such an account of the matter.

The third chapter deals of course with the Cyrus-Babylon-Chaldaea "interpolations" in 44:28, 45:1, 43:14, 48:14, and 48:20. One is reminded here of Welch's effort to remove a troublesome passage from Deuteronomy, chapter 12, as well as other similar attempts which are always made in the interests of a new orientation of biblical literature. One should not be constitutionally averse to new orientations because they are new. Yet in this hard-headed age one may be pardoned if he begs leave to look very carefully into all amazingly clever and astoundingly subversive hypotheses. It it said that a certain scientist, on being questioned whether or not a theory advanced in a recent volume of his were true, replied, "Vot doss id madder? Id iss new." That principle produces diverting and stimulating literature. But its direct value for the advancement of science may be called in question.

III

It is a matter of regret to the writer, though certainly to no one else, that the space in this entire number of the *Journal of Religion* could not be allotted to this discussion. It could easily be filled with a detailed examination of Professor Torrey's arguments and his hundreds of proof texts. As it is, one must be content to offer relatively few examples of such problems as arise.

A work such as that under discussion rests upon textual criticism, historical criticism, psychological criticism, and literary appreciation. A discussion of a few problems raised in each of these branches of biblical criticism should suffice as a

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kind of preliminary assay of the value of the ore which has been mined so patiently, refined so diligently, and finally turned out with such superb craftsmanship.

One of the passages cited on page 24 in support of the contention that a Hebrew poet could not have spoken in certain terms of Cyrus is 46:11. Here we read קרא ממזרחעיט מארץ מרחק איש עצחו. In dealing with the phrase איש עצחו, Professor Torrey says that it must mean "the one who shares his counsel, whom he takes into his counsel," and argues that such a characterization of Cyrus is inherently impossible. In the foregoing line the phrase איש עצחו is parallel to עיט. In his textual notes on this verse the author changes עיט to עבדי. This is done contrary to all the versions, save that the Targum "interprets correctly." Now, since the versions are the mainstay of the textual critic, one wonders by what scientific principle their overwhelming evidence is rejected here while in many other places the support of even one of the chief versions is gladly accepted. It is an almost universal fault of exegetes to use the versions purely as an aid to establishing desired texts.

In support of the dubious interpretative evidence of the Targum, 44:26 is cited as an example of the juxtaposition of עבד and עצה. When that verse is examined it is seen that the parallelism supports this and that there is no logical or theological difficulty such as Professor Torrey finds in 46:11. For in 44:26 עצה expresses the counsel given to the people by Yahweh's messenger. But our author is in difficulties in 46:11 because, first, the one whom Yahweh takes into his counsel is described in the parallel clause as a bird of prey. This is very awkward, since Professor Torrey desires to make this verse refer to the divine Messiah, The gordian knot is cut by amending the text, that never failing refuge of the exegete in exigency. Were there space to spare, it could be shown that עצחו איש is better interpreted as "man who is endowed with my counsel," and that the parallelism with "bird of prey" just ex-

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actly paints the picture of Cyrus, who swoops victoriously upon weak countries and conquers them, but only because that is a part of the divine plan for the present. There are more ways than one of using the interpretative imagination.

The "Cyrus Interpolation" in 45:1 will give us an opportunity to test our author's methods in practically all phases of critical endeavor. It is stated (p. 40) that certain terms definitely applied in some contexts to Israel are in 45:1 ff. applied to Cyrus, and that *logically* all these passages *should* refer to the same chosen instrument of God's purpose. Yet even in Torrey's own view one must distinguish between the "servant nation" and the "messianic individual." The passages cannot all refer to "the same chosen instrument" unless one is ready to infer, not merely a confusion between Abraham, Israel, and Messiah, but a real identity. Now it may readily be admitted that such passages do all refer "to Israel or Israel's representative." That, however, has no bearing on the identity of the representative.

We are now told that לכורש in 45:1 is "metrically superfluous." In support of this view we are asked to note that in "Cheyne's edition . . . . the length of this particular line cannot fail to attract attention." This is scanning poetry with the eye. We are then told that in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* לכורש is relegated to the second half of the verse, but with no improvement in the result. "Neither in the first half nor in the second half can the word find a place." Yet unless Torrey insists on stressing the אשר- the line may be very well read as a 3:3. Again, if לכורש is removed verse 1*a* becomes prose, since it has, in that case, no parallelism. Moreover, if a word must be removed, why may it not just as well be למשיחו? It is just as likely that a later interpreter might have wished to explain Cyrus' function here as that he should have been desirous of identifying the Messiah by name—more so, perhaps.

In commenting on his argument here Professor Torrey says, "Someone, it seems, saw in our poet's frequent songs of

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exultation promising deliverance to captives, predictions of the return from exile and wished to make them more definite. This was in every way most natural. He [God] is on the point of raising up a great deliverer who shall trample upon the heathen nations, and bring release to the chosen people."

In the first place it is risky to assume that what was so clear to the alleged "interpolator" should appear to him to need further clarification to his contemporaries. If they were wont to interpret the passage in some other way, for example, as Dr. Torrey does, the interpolation could surely not pass without protest.

Such arguments may be multiplied ad lib. Once these contentions are examined apart from their specially prepared basis of assumptions, the Cyrus-Babylon passages seem to stand the test very well indeed.

Let us take now an argument which is based mainly on historical criticism. The case against the congruity of Isaiah, chapters 40–48, with the Cyrus background is built up by many arguments of a character which is, to say the least, calculated to cast doubt upon the validity of the whole thesis. It is argued for example (p. 23), that since *we*[2] know nothing of any special activity of Cyrus between the years 547 and 540, we have no right to believe that a Jew living in Babylon would be able to foretell such a turning-point in history as the fall of Babylon. This is, of course, an argument from silence. But aside altogether from that, the fact is that Babylon seems to have fallen, not directly because of hostile action on the part of Cyrus, but because of serious division within the city itself. This being the case, there is surely no historical absurdity in the idea that a Jewish resident within Babylon might have had knowledge and insight enough to see what other Hebrew prophets resident in Samaria and Jerusalem had been able to see about the fate of those cities.

Again it is pointed out on the same page that although "Cyrus was hailed by a considerable party of Babylonians as

[2] The italics are the present writer's.

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a deliverer," there was yet no "general expectation of any greatly improved conditions following the inauguration of his rule." General "expectations" are always a bit hard to corner, and it may be submitted that a judgment about their distribution like the foregoing has little or no historical value. But the real point is, however, that what we are dealing with here is not a "general expectation" at all, but a wish-prophecy of a highly unusual individual. Indeed, those who hold the "modern view" would be the first to insist that those whom the prophet addressed did not share his hopes. A religious or idealistic dreamer basing unwarranted hopes on the turn of political events is surely no such rarity in history that those who so regard this prophet may be laughed out of court. It would also be admitted by most people that the lustre of the idealist's idealism is not one whit diminished by any lack of judgment which he may show on practical matters.

Open to similar objection is the argument (p. 24) that "nothing in the character or career of the Persian king satisfies any part" of the characterization which is attributed to him in chapters 41–48. When the prophet calls the deliverer Yahweh's "Shepherd," "Anointed," "Loved One," "Man of Counsel," and so on, it is not necessary to assume, as the author does, that these terms must express an actual relationship to which both of those related are consciously party. It is just as reasonable, even more so, to take these terms as expressions of the prophet's interpretation of a relationship to which one party (Yahweh) consciously adheres and the other party (Cyrus) unconsciously conforms. Take for example the statement in 48:14, יהוה אהבו. Granting that the word אהבו is here original, which is doubtful, it certainly expresses the idea that the relationship, so far as consciousness of it is concerned, is one-sided. Any reader of the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi[3]

[3] In the prologue Hammurabi uses the following expressions to indicate his relationship to the gods: "they called me," "named me," "the beloved of Tu-to," "whom the wise god Ma-ma has clothed with complete power," "the favorite of the exalted god," "who makes the face of Naha to shine," "the servant whose deeds are pleasing to Anunit," "the favorite of Nana," "Marduk sent me."

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will have perceived that the words before listed are similar to, or precisely identical with the words which the king there uses to impress his relationship to the gods for the purpose of establishing his authority to promulgate the code which follows. If the Second Isaiah wished, as according to the "modern view" he did, to convey to his readers the idea that the career of Cyrus was under divine authority and would further the divine plan, then he would inevitably use these very expressions, regardless of whether he considered Cyrus to be conscious of the relationship or not.

The space allotted to the writer is exhausted. He has doubtless used it neither too wisely nor too well. After so careful a checking of every line and reference in the first eight chapters as he has been able to give, he cannot see his way as yet to accepting Professor Torrey's notable and stimulating thesis. He finds himself, on some important points which he trusts he has indicated, in substantial agreement, as indeed he has been for years. But he cannot believe that any part of this great work was written, no matter in what age, by one so divorced from real life as is Dr. Torrey's religious poet and philosopher. Nor can he accept the unity of 56–66 with 40–55, nor the close composition, in point of time, of those so-called "Servant Poems" which occur in 49–55, with their context. These great utterances come at least from another and later stage of the prophet's development, if not from another prophet, and they must be explained apart altogether from 42:1–8, which latter, as Dr. Torrey rightly points out, cannot be arbitrarily divided at verse 4.

The writer leaves the lists, or hopes he is able to do so, with his helmet still doffed to the author. *The Second Isaiah* is a great book. And whoever spends hours upon hours of careful study upon it will rise up and call its author blessed.

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LUTHER AND BUTZER

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THE Strassburg reformer Martin Butzer (1491–1551) is remembered only by scholars who in their research deal with the history of early Protestantism. He does not live in the memory of Protestants as one of their great leaders. But in his day he was a very influential person. Not only Strassburg, but all Germany, needed his energy, his practical advice, and his political skill. Many a diet and many an ecclesiastical conference heard him phrase formulas and doctrines which were intended to relieve tense situations and to work for progress in religion. But the result of his work has been forgotten, it seems, with the memory of his energetic, spirited face. The few copies of his books that have been carried over to our generation adorn the rare-book rooms of great libraries. The catalogues of common book collections remember him only by a chapter on divorce that he incorporated in his swan song, *De regno Christi,* written for the English king, Edward VI, which young John Milton happened to discover when his divorce kept his mind occupied with appeals to the parliament.[1] His secretary planned to publish his collected works after his death in ten big folio volumes, but he succeeded in getting only the *Scripta anglicana* (Basel, 1577) into print. The mass of the other material rests probably in Strassburg. Perhaps one day it will be revealed to interested historians, enabling them to judge thoroughly the man, his thoughts, and his influence. His writings that are now accessible have been studied mainly in reference to Calvin, and there seems to be proof enough that Butzer was Calvin's fore-

[1] *The Judgment of Martin Bucer Concerning Divorce,* translated by John Milton. London, 1644.

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most teacher. They reveal, not an original mind, but one rich in many very suggestive ideas which, in their full scope, remained unrealized and not successfully applied by Butzer himself. Therefore they were forgotten and left to emerge in the minds of later generations under new conditions. Anglicanism and Puritanism alike could rightly claim him as their godfather.[2] The ideas to which we here refer are concerned with practical religion, with the church and state in their essential nature and in their relationship to each other.[3] These ideas we shall here compare with those of Luther in order to exhibit them in their full character and to estimate them at their own value. Perhaps the result will be a clarification of our own thought about the principles of practical religion as it is seen in its relation to the secular order. Such ideas are generally comprehended under the concept of the Kingdom of God. It may be well, therefore, to commence our comparative study with Luther's and Butzer's understanding of this notion.

Luther identifies the Kingdom of God with the invisible church, the *communio sanctorum,* i.e., the communion of those who have accepted the word in faith,[4] who have become real children of God through their God-given faith. Driven and inspired by the Holy Spirit, they love God and their neighbor because they cannot do otherwise. Through their faith they are able to fulfil the commandments of the Sermon on the Mount.[5] The Kingdom of God is "that which binds hearts and consciences together in a living communion." "It is a communion of love of purely spiritual character which compre-

[2] Cf. Wilhelm Pauck, *Das Reich Gottes auf Erden. Eine Untersuchung zu Butzers "De regno Christi" und zur englischen Staatskirche des sechzehnten Jahrht.* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1928), p. 111. The ideas of Butzer, to which this article refers, are fully represented in this book.

[3] Cf. "De regno Christi" in *Scripta anglicana,* pp. 1–170; "De vera cura animarum," *ibid.,* pp. 260–356; Dialogi oder Gesprech von der gemainsame [=res publica; commonwealth!], und der kirchenübungen der Christen, Und was yeder Oberkait von ampts wegen aus Göttlichem befelch an denselbigen zu versehen und zu besseren gebüre. Augsburg, 1535.

[4] *WA,* xi, 271, 20.

[5] *Ibid.,* xi, 249, 26 ff.

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hends all times and all lands."[6] The constitutive element of the Kingdom of God is faith. This conception is thoroughly religious. The citizens of the Kingdom are thought to be those to whom God grants, out of his mercifulness, justification by sanctifying them with the Holy Spirit and by assuring them in the preaching of the word of full certainty of salvation. "The Kingdom of God is a kingdom of grace in which through the name of Jesus all sins are to be forgiven."[7]

In his thought on the Kingdom of God Butzer emphasized its *moral* character. He understood the gospel primarily as a moral phenomenon. It was to become a moral power. When by the fulfilment of the Scripture the communion of love is established among men, the Kingdom of God is realized; Christ rules.[8] He does not stress, like Luther, the religious content of the Gospel as being of very first importance. That accounts for the different conception of the relation between Gospel and law. Luther sharply distinguished them from each other. But Butzer appreciates the Gospel also as a law.[9] Old and New Testaments belong closely together.[10] The Scripture as an entity is obligatory.

Roughly speaking, then, the two reformers have a different concept of morality. For Luther, it is mainly a good inner attitude put into action, nourished by the grace of God. Butzer has the attitude originate out of the conscious and strict observation of the will of God given in the Gospel, which is to be realized as such in all orders of life and is to comprehend the whole social and cultural life of man.[11]

This general difference must be proved in detail.

It is to be noted that Butzer's concept of the Kingdom of

[6] Emanuel Hirsch, *Die Reich-Gottesbegriffe des modernen Denkens* (Göttingen, 1922), p. 7.

[7] *WA*, lii, 266, 16.

[8] *Script. angl.*, p. 20.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 55. Butzer defines faith as *persuasio* (e.g., *Enarrationes in quatuor Evangelia* [1536], pp. 219 ff.); Luther speaks exclusively of *fiducia*.

[10] *Dialogi*, p. O3v. Cf. Pauck, *Reich Gottes*, pp. 60 ff.

[11] *Script. angl.*, p. 11.

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God is not unified. Two circles of thought are interwoven with each other. The Kingdom of God has come when the commandments and the truth of the Bible have permeated *all* human conditions; but, on the other hand, it is present only in the church of the elect, the invisible communion of the predestinated saints.[12]

If we observe how by using the narrower concept the two circles are combined with each other, we touch the fundamental difference between Luther and Butzer.

Both of them consider the Kingdom of God as the communion of the true believers, whom Christ governs and whom he leads to love. This means for Butzer that the Kingdom of God consists of the elect. But how can their communion appear as real? The election can never produce a vital contact between men, but concerns only individuals. It seems as if this "communion" lacks that connecting link which Luther finds in the word, given and effective in history. How does Butzer find it? He considers the election realized by incorporation of the Christian in the Corpus Christi, the church of Christ. The idea of predestination is combined with a peculiar idea of the church; Christ, who grants election by his spirit, has by his word constituted a church, an organization with offices and constitution, so that his elected followers might form a communion.[13] In this church, which is ordered by Christ himself and which is directed by himself through his instruments, the *ministri*, the flock of the saints represents a communion of sanctification and of love. From now on membership in the Kingdom of God, now identical with the visible organized church, reveals itself in love, in ethical obedience to the commandments of God and Christ.[14] In such thinking Butzer's strong emphasis on church discipline originates. The principle of election, however, is changed and enlarged. Everyone can consider himself elected who is a member of the Christ-

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[14] Cf. Gustav Anrich, *Martin Bucer* (Strassburg, 1914), p. 83.

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ordered church and who contributes to the common welfare by leading a life which conforms to biblical prescription, thereby promoting God's glory and mankind's salvation. Furthermore, because Christ's order is superior to all human orders, his word and his discipline are of highest significance for the formation of human life. In all human conditions the word must be obeyed as a law. Even the state is bound to it and obliged to propagate the kingdom of Christ on earth.[15]

At the center of Luther's church concept stands, not predestination, but the word of salvation. Members of the true church and of the Kingdom of God are those believers who have received their justification in the word and express such a gift in an evangelical morality. They also are elected, but that is not decisive for the formation of the church concept. The church, in its invisible character as a *communio sanctorum*, cannot exist without the word.[16]

The office of the pastor or preacher is therefore a necessity; the development of a visible church is required. Its only purpose is the preaching of the word and the administration of its sacraments, which are based on it. The form, order, and constitution of this earthly organization, the visible part (*Kultgemeinde*) of the invisible church (*Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen*), is absolutely voluntary and incidental.[17] Christ has given no special orders for it; the Bible does not prescribe its external character. No discipline can be exercised in this church; only the word in its saving character must be made effective. The Holy Spirit uses it as a means to gather the communion of the Christians who live in free expression of their faith. A church discipline does not make this morality

[15] Cf. Pauck, *Das Reich Gottes*, pp. 19 ff. Butzer says expressly in *De regno Christi* (*Script. angl.*, p. 149) that no law deserves the name of law unless it contains the fundamental law of love as it is given in the Bible.

[16] Cf. Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Die Doppelschichtigkeit in Luthers Kirchenbegriff* (Gotha, 1928).

[17] Cf. Henri Strohl, *L'épanouissement de la pensée religieuse de Luther* (Paris and Strassburg, 1924), pp. 322 ff.

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obligatory for a wider circle. The Gospel, truly received and accepted only by a minority, cannot be made a moral law for a disinterested majority. The communion of love, called the *regnum Dei,* is limited to the small number of the *fideles* or *sancti.*

If one thinks that Luther unjustly enlarged this concept of the church in his idea of the general priesthood of believers, one may well remember the statement of Holl: "Since the Kingdom of God is an invisible entity and it is reserved for God to call into it whom he will, no man has a right to deprive any other person of membership therein, or of the possibility of such membership, and thus to deny him participation in the communion of love."[18] The idea of the general priesthood of all believers indicates the incidental character of all church organization and the relative religious significance of ecclesiastical offices. Furthermore, by claiming that a secular profession could not hinder the perfection of a man's Christian character, Luther came to appreciate the religious importance of all secular callings.

Butzer took these notions over from Luther, but he emphasized almost more strongly the religious character of the professions and vocations. Religion's calling to salvation and the calling to a profession go hand in hand.[19] He sees the realization of the communion of love, required in the "word," guaranteed in professional and vocational work for the benefit of the commonwealth.

Luther stresses much more energetically than Butzer the idea that a calling, a vocation, is Christian only in so far as the persons engaged in it are Christians. In their Christian consciousness the orders of the world are Christianized. All orders of the world as such are non-Christian. Luther regards

[18] Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze, Vol. I, Luther* (Tübingen, 1923), p. 186. The interpretation of Luther's theology as it is given in this article depends largely upon Holl's work.

[19] *Script. angl.,* pp. 32 ff., 136.

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also state and magistrate as such an order. It is akin to the family and artisanship or craftsmanship. It is merely the divinely controlled, natural world-order that is fulfilled in these "offices." A non-Christian is capable of administering them just as well as a Christian, if the task is accomplished with "reason." "The procedure becomes Christianized only in the consciousness of the Christian person who knows that in filling his office he serves his neighbor."[20] As if directly refuting such an opinion, Butzer writes in the discourse on the magistrates: "The task of a magistrate is another task than to make shoes, clothes, and such things which fulfil bodily needs."[21] Here we touch upon a very important point of difference between Luther and Butzer, particularly with reference to their concept of the state.

Luther separated completely the sphere of the Kingdom of God from the sphere of secular orders.[22] State and Kingdom of God stand in strict contrast to each other: in the latter is freedom; in the former, coercion; the latter is dominated by love, the former by force; in the latter there is freedom for the inner man, untouched by external power, while the former disciplines the outer man.[23] What has the inner communion of love, fulfilling the sermon on the mount, in common with the external order, founded upon compulsion, right, power, and authority of the sword! But, nevertheless, the state is a God-ordained, natural order.[24] It even stands in the service of the Kingdom of God.[25] Without the state, i.e., the power of the civil magistrate, the flock of the true Christians could never

[20] Karl Holl, *Luther*, p. 347.

[21] *Dialogi*, p. U4b.

[22] Cf. Karl Müller, *Kirche, Gemeinde und Obrigkeit nach Luther* (Tübingen, 1910); Hermann Jordan, *Luthers Staatsauffassung* (1917); Julius Binder, *Luthers Staatsauffassung* (Erfurt, 1924). The remarks of John A. W. Haas, *The Problem of the Christian State* (Boston, 1928), are not quite adequate. The point of view of R. H. Murray in *Erasmus and Luther* (London, 1920), pp. 320 ff., and in *The Political Consequences of the Reformation* (Boston, 1926), is not always convincing, though stimulating.

[23] *WA*, vi, 258, 31 ff.

[24] *Ibid.*, xi, 257, 39.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 258, 3.

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exist, because they would be suppressed by evil men. The state furnishes to the Kingdom of God (not only to the church!) the possibility of growth, since it uses its coercive power to limit the expansion of evil and because it creates by its laws a morality which protects the extension of the Gospel. In its fight against crime, the state is related to the Kingdom.[26] As a "police régime" it becomes a "left hand" for the Kingdom of God.

How different Butzer! He also knows of the limitation of political power in regard to conscience, which it cannot rule.[27] But under no circumstances does he put it in antagonism to the Kingdom of God. The political magistrate has a spiritual task. By having received with the power of the sword the power over the *lives* of its subjects or citizens, it is responsible for the best *living*. It has to see to it that life be lived *bene beateque*. According to its utmost ability, it must promote the highest type of morality, not only peace and concord on the principles of "law of nature." Because the highest morality is founded on religion, it is the duty of the magistrate to establish the true religion in his country, i.e., the moral powers of the Kingdom of God shall have absolute influence in the lives of its subjects. Butzer does not hesitate to declare the secular government must propagate the Kingdom of God by its own means. However, the presupposition is that the true magistrate is Christian. All others he calls tyrants. The State is in the service of the Kingdom of God, directly, not indirectly. It does not only prepare for the highest morality; it is obliged to spread the true and best one among its subjects. "It is the duty of the government to see that its subjects live right and well. That is not possible where they are not, above all else, drawn to the true service of God. On this depend all virtues, as well as all felicity and well-being. For they who seek the Kingdom of God and his righteousness will themselves obtain all good things, said Christ the Lord. The pious

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 248, 29. [27] *Script. angl.*, p. 5.

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rulers must therefore not use religion as a means for the maintenance of external peace as impious tyrants do, but the establishment of religion itself must be their aim. Therefore they will leave nothing undone which glorifies the name of God among their subjects by their activity of governing and which propagates His Kingdom and builds it up in the best way."[28] So it follows that the state promotes and serves the church and that it stands beside her, is even inferior and subject to her, as it hears from the ministers of the church the word of Christ. The result is a Christian state which endeavors to develop all its life under the law of the biblical word. A distinction between the political and ecclesiastical power is recognized, but their separation is not stated.

For Luther, it was a principle that church and state comprehend two strongly separated spheres.[29] The idea of a Christian state is for him impracticable, if not inconceivable.[30] The Gospel, to be experienced only by a small number of men and in its moral applications first of all valid for the individual, can never become, as for Butzer, a rule of the political laws. Throughout his lifetime Luther complained about the fact that there were not enough Christians. Although he also related the life in the world to the highest moral communion (the *communio sanctorum*) by saying that love ought to regulate and permeate all secular orders, he hesitated to make it obligatory or binding. He only wanted to see the moralizing influence of the Kingdom of God at work in yielding practical results. Butzer had probably the same aim in mind. But it

[28] *Dialogi*, p. N4v: "Die regierung sollen sehen, dass ihre unterthonen recht und wol leben. Das mag nun nit sein, wa sie nicht vor allem zum waren Gotsdienst gezogen werden. An dem hangen alle tugenten, auch alles glück und heyl. Denn die das reych und die gerechtigkeit Gottes suchen, wirdt alles gutes selb zufallen, sagt Christus der Herr. Darum müssen die gottsäligen obren die Religion nit als ein mittel zum eusserlichen friden brauchen, wie die gottlosen tyrannen thund, sondern die Religion selb lassen jr end sein, darumb sy alles thun und anrichten, das bei den jren durch jr ampt der regierung der nam Gottes als mehr gehailigt, und sein reych mehr ausgepreytet und bass erbowen werde."

[29] *WA*, xi, 262, 7.

[30] *Ibid.*, xii, 330, 30.

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can easily be felt that he wanted to make religion and its moral expression a law, thereby tending to secularize religion itself. Luther wanted to prevent just that. The principles of Luther concern themselves with free religion or a free church in a free state, while Butzer's ideal of a Christian state correlates church and state so closely that his principle must result either in a politically or in an ecclesiastically controlled theocracy. Since the reformation both have been realized: in anglican England and in puritan England and America. It is one of the ironies of history that the less free and progressive type of early Protestant religio-political thought, represented by Butzer, promoted or even produced the realization of full religious liberty, while Luther's foremost principles were, on Lutheran soil, not directly materialized, due to his lack of political skill and especially to a wrong interpretation of his ideas by his immediate followers and successors. However, the Lutheran state-churches have never been theocracies, and they have never lost a sense of appreciation for the high principles which Luther developed, when he was at his best. Democratic religious bodies, originally standing for religious liberty, have nearly always shown a tendency to become theocratic and have not completely lost that trait up to this day. But since theocracies have now become totally impracticable, Luther's principles, it seems, may help toward an acceptable redefinition of the problems involved.

Luther gives to religion its own sphere, clear and precise, and leaves to the secular orders a legal status of their own *Eigengesetzlichkeit*, which shows his profound insight into the reality of things, for as long as economics are economics they are ruled by economic laws, and as long as politics are politics they are governed by political laws. Luther sees that the connection between the secular orders and religion can come about only through persons who in their Christian consciousness may raise secular affairs to a higher moral level, while the church in preaching the word enables them to review

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things *sub specie aeternitatis*, under the aspects of the invisible Kingdom of God.

Butzer's ideal of state is a "commonwealth" wherein the common welfare is best guaranteed by the Christian nature of the state and its actions. Thus he blends two spheres that are essentially foreign to each other. The true Christian communion seeks more than welfare. Butzer's own ideas regarding the realization on earth of the Kingdom of God promoted by the state display traits which concern happiness and utility. He claims that a Christian state will be the most *powerful* and the wealthiest one,[31] not feeling that the very existence of *such* a state would destroy the most distinctive features of the Christian religion.

One may read, as though a direct answer of Luther to Butzer, the rather pessimistic, gloomy words: "But see to it that you fill the world with true Christians before you rule it in a Christian and evangelical way. You will never be able to do so, for the world in the mass is un-Christian and will remain un-Christian, although all are baptized and are called Christian. But the Christians (as it is said) live far apart from each other. Therefore it cannot be in this world that a Christian government becomes common everywhere, not even over a country or over a good number of men."[31a]

That is why Luther feels no justification for demanding that a prince *must* be Christian.[32] He recognizes—surely in contrast to Butzer—that an unbeliever can sometimes rule and govern in a better way than a Christian.[33] Though, naturally, he would greet a Christian prince with joy, he is of the opinion that the office of government *per se* is not influenced by the Christian character of its responsible leader. It is his function to maintain power in his country, to keep right and peace, to punish the criminals, and to protect the orderly citizens. Legislation is therefore governed by the common "posi-

[31] *Script. angl.*, p. 158.
[31a] *WA*, xi, 251, 34.
[32] *Ibid.*, xxxii, 307, 19; 440, 9, 23.
[33] *Ibid.*, li, 242, 6.

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tive law," and not—as Butzer advised—by Christ's precepts or by the decalogue. For the Gospel does not contain a rule about the method of government; it prescribes only that one shall honor the civil magistrate. How superior is Luther, with his profound description of the Mosaic law as the Jews' "Saxon Code," which may be used as a pattern of a law code and as a good example,[34] to Butzer, who was always inclined to consider the Mosaic law, not as a code of natural or common law, but as a law of God, deserving preference to all human laws! How much superior is Luther to Butzer when he writes: "Thus God has subjected secular government to reason, because it is not supposed to rule the soul's salvation or eternal things, but only goods of body and of time which God has subjected to men (Genesis, chapter 2). That's why the Gospel does not teach how to govern and how to rule. It merely commands that one shall honor the magistrate and not rebel against him."[35]

However, that is not to say that Luther does not want the preacher to exhort the prince to morality and fear of God. Such attitudes are required on the basis of the natural world-order. Hence the combat against atheism, the punishment of blasphemies, the fight of the state against heretics, as far as they are unbelievers of God's existence and skeptical of the fundamental truths of Christianity.[36] In this respect, owing to the point of view of their time, Butzer and Luther follow the same lines. A compulsory oppression of members of another Christian group, e.g., Catholics, a coercion of conscience, was unacceptable to them both, but they were of the conviction that a state with two confessional groups could not be governed.

This law against heretics suggests that the state has to pursue positive politics in regard to religion. It is a task according to the "law of nature." On the same basis Luther con-

[34] *WA*, xvi, 377, 6.

[35] *Ibid.*, li, 242, 1.

[36] *Ibid.*, li, 239, 21.

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siders it the state's duty to insure the welfare of its citizens. Establishment of universities and schools, the issuance of marriage laws, propaganda for relief of the poor, suppression of begging and vagabondry, of usury and exorbitant luxury,[37] belong to its program. These propositions for civic improvement, published in the "Manifest to the German nobility," are identical with those of Butzer in his "De Regno Christi" for the reorganization of social and cultural life in England. But the presuppositions out of which they grow differ radically from each other. The place of religion in their plans for a *Kultur- und Wohlfahrtsstaat* is not the same.

Finally, we have to deal with the ideas concerning the relationship between church and state. It has been made evident that Butzer never felt the contrast between the two orders as sharply as did Luther.

When in the course of time, in order to complete the work of reformation, Luther saw himself compelled to use the help of the prince in church matters, he did not thereby surrender his principles. The duty to *reform* is conferred upon the prince as the *praecipuum membrum ecclesiae,* on the basis of the general priesthood of all believers and as *Notbischof.* It is true, all this led finally to the establishment of a church government appertaining to the sovereign, but Luther did not desire this result. According to Butzer, the sovereign is obliged, in fulfilment of the divinely ordered purpose of his office, to promote a reformation and supervise the church. He formulated the first Protestant theory for the church supremacy of the English kings.

If, in conclusion, we state that the difference between Luther's and Butzer's church concept is the result of a difference in world-view, we are led to a general historical comparison. Though Butzer became a Protestant reformer through the direct influence of Luther, he remained, throughout his life, a loyal disciple of that school to which he was introduced as a

[37] *Ibid.*, vi, 457, 28 ff., 467, 17 ff., 450, 21 ff., 466, 13 ff., 465, 25 ff.

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student at Schlettstadt and Heidelberg. He never ceased to be a Humanist.[38] Hence the moralistic color of his Christian ideal. The difference between his and Luther's concept of the Kingdom of God is, therefore, largely due to the antagonism between Humanism and Lutheranism, between Erasmus and Luther, between an anthropocentric, rationalistic, and moralistic use of the Bible and a theocentric, inspirational biblicism.

[38] When Butzer met Luther for the first time he was an enthusiastic Erasmian (cf. Anrich, pp. 4 ff.). He heard Luther in a disputation on the *theologia crucis* at an Augustinian convent in Heidelberg, 1518 (*WA*, I, 353 ff.). Butzer wrote his impressions to his friend, the Humanist Beatus Rhenanus (cf. Daniel Gerdesius, *Introductio in Hist. Ev. Seculo xvi* [Groningen, 1774], pp. 175 ff.). His comparison of Luther with Erasmus is interesting: "Cum Erasmo illi conveniunt omnia, quin uno hoc praestare videtur quod quae ille duntaxat innovat, hic aperte docet et libere" (!). Even at Butzer's funeral, his friendship with Erasmus is mentioned (*Script. angl.*, p. 885). The following references on Butzer's Erasmian character are worth remembering: Erasmian influence upon Butzer's method of exegesis (A. Lang, *Evangelienkommentar Mart. Butzers*, pp. 20 f., 30, 54 f., 58); humanistic influence upon Butzer's attitude in the controversy about the Lord's Supper (Cf. W. Koehler, *Zwingli und Luther*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1924). The same influence governed Butzer in his political efforts to bring about a religious union (cf. P. Vetter, *Die Religionsverhandlungen auf dem Reichstage zu Regensburg* [Jena, 1889], pp. 79 ff.; M. Lenz, *Briefwechsel Philipps des Grossmütigen mit Butzer* [Leipzig, 1880 ff.], I, 271 ff., III, 31 ff.). The moralistic concept of religion and the plan to bring about a moral reformation of the world was common to all Humanists (cf. W. Sohm, *Die Schule Joh. Sturms und die Kirche Strassburgs* [München, 1912], p. 112; R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte* [Leipzig, 1920], IV, 2, 629; Otto Ritschl, *Die reformierte Theologie des 16. und des 17. Jahrh.* [*Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, Vol. III, Göttingen, 1926], pp. 123 ff.).

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EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

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ONE of the most exciting biblical discoveries occurred in the year 1872. George Smith, a young Englishman, working in the British Museum on some clay tablets which had been lying there nearly twenty years, found a considerable portion of the now famous Babylonian flood story. His discovery was hailed with delight by both scholars and laymen. Smith read his translation at a meeting of the Society of Biblical Archaeology at which Gladstone was present. The London paper, the *Daily Telegraph,* offered the discoverer a thousand guineas for an expedition he should lead in quest of more such finds, and within three months after his first announcement Smith was in Mosul ready to begin excavations.

The enthusiasm over George Smith's brilliant work was partly due to the fact that the Babylonian flood story was believed to establish the accuracy of the biblical parallel. It appeared to be an early and independent record of the same event. Further study has not only secured a much fuller text of the Gilgamesh epic as it is now called; it has also changed, though not lessened, the significance of the Babylonian discovery. For here is ample proof of a definite character of the influence of early Mesopotamian culture on the records of the Bible. The Hebrew stories are manifestly embodiments of an older and alien tradition. And the Hebrew-Babylonian parallel on the flood still remains the clearest evidence of that influence.

That a similar influence upon biblical thought was exercised by the culture of the Nile has often been conjectured.

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Even before our era the Jews claimed that "Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts 7:22). It is natural to suppose that this other ancient civilization should have affected at least at some point the canonical literature of the Hebrews, but demonstration to confirm this conjecture has heretofore been lacking. Now it transpires that fifty years after Smith's discovery the first clear case of Egyptian literary influence on the Bible has come to light.

This latter discovery has been much less spectacular than the former one, or at least it has been much less advertised. Perhaps the discoveries of science and adventure have of late been occupying the center of the stage. But the circumstances have been somewhat similar. In this case, too, the material lay long unrecognized in the British Museum. In this case, too, the literary connection is chiefly with a single brief section of the Bible. As the Egyptian document and its significance appear to be not generally known, now that a revised and corrected English translation has recently become available, a brief account of it may be offered.[1]

The papyrus was brought from Egypt for the British Museum by Sir Ernest Budge in 1888. It remained practically unknown until, in 1922, 1923, 1924, this same scholar published in various forms, including a photographic facsimile, the original text with translation. The papyrus is almost entirely complete in clear hieroglyphic characters. It has been called the teaching of Amen-em-ope or of Amenophis, and consists of thirty chapters with a preface.

The author was an officer of some kind in Egypt. His position is described in the preface as superintendent of cereals and regulator of the wheat measure. His name is not an unusu-

[1] F. Ll. Griffith, "The Teaching of Amenophis, the Son of Kanakht. Papyrus B. M. 10474," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII (1926), 191 ff. I acknowledge with gratitude the use of this translation. A large literature has already grown up concerning this papyrus and its relation to Hebrew literature and is used and listed by Griffith. Especially important has been the work of Dr. Lange in Copenhagen and of Professors Erman and Gressmann in Berlin.

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al one, even among the known wise men of Egypt. He may be distinguished therefore as Amen-em-ope, the son of Kanakht.

Unfortunately the date neither of the author nor of the scribe of the manuscript can be determined within very close limits. The very latest date for either would be the reign of Darius I. Part of the work is also known on a small wooden tablet in Turin of no later date. The tablet, probably a school text or exercise, suggests that the book was already a favorite work of moral instruction.

A work of moral instruction its contents may well be called. In the form of advice of a father to his son a series of lessons of conduct is offered which the boy is admonished to obey that he may secure spiritual and temporal blessings. Its character and purpose are described by the author himself in his preface and in his charge to the pupil in the first chapter and in the epilogue of the thirtieth chapter:

Beginning of teaching how to live,
guidance for welfare;
every direction for intercourse with elders,
rules for (intercourse with?) courtiers;
knowledge how to answer a statement to its pronouncer,
and return a report to one that has sent him;
to direct him to the path of life,
and make him prosper upon earth;
to let his heart enter its shrine,
and steer it (?) clear of evil;
to save him from the mouth of others,
praised in the mouth of men (1. 1–12).

He saith: First Chapter:
Give thine ears, hear (the words) that are said,
give thy mind to interpret them;
to put them in thy heart is good,
(but there is) woe to him who neglecteth them;
let them rest in the casket of thy belly,
that they may be the threshhold (?) in thy heart;
verily (?) when there cometh a gale of speech,
they will be a mooring post in (?) thy tongue.

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If thou spend thy life-time with these things in thy heart,
thou wilt find it a success;
thou wilt find my words a storehouse of life,
and thy body will prosper upon earth (3. 8–4. 2).

Thirtieth Chapter:
See for thyself these thirty chapters,
they please, they educate;
they are the foremost of all books;
they instruct the ignorant.
If they be read before the ignorant,
he will be cured (?) by reason of them.

Fill thyself with them; put them in thy heart,
and be an interpreter of them, explaining as a teacher.

As to a scribe who is experienced in his office,
he will find himself worthy to be a courtier (27. 6–17).

The units in the book are small and the result is a considerable variety of subjects. The same subject is often repeated in different parts of the work, and single couplets stand alone. On the other hand, the separate chapters into which the work was already divided had a certain unity, and the English rendering of some of these (in spite of occasional doubts about the translation) will speak for themselves as illustrating the document.

The third chapter deals with moderation in argument:

Third Chapter:
Do not join wrangling with the hot-mouthed,
nor goad him with words.
Pause before an intruder,
and give way unto him that attacketh.
Sleep a night before speaking;
the storm, it bursts forth like flame in straw.

The passionate man in his hour
withdraw thyself before him;
leave him to his own devices;
God will know how to reply to him.

If thou spend thy life-time with these things in thy heart,
thy children shall see them (5. 9–19).

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The fourth chapter consists of two stanzas contrasting two types of character. As in the first of the Hebrew Psalms, these two moral types are likened to two trees, though to the Egyptian the difference of prosperity and adversity is typified by the forest tree that is felled for its lumber and the garden tree that is saved alive for its fruit and shade.

Fourth Chapter:
As to the passionate man in the temple,
he is like a tree grown in the forest (?);
in a moment comes its loss of foliage;
its end is reached in the dock-yard (?);
or (?) it is floated far from its place,
the flame is its winding-sheet.

The truly tranquil man, he setteth himself aside,
he is like a tree grown in a plot (?);
it grows green, it doubles its yield,
it (stands) in front of its lord,
its fruit is sweet, its shade is pleasant,
and its end is reached in the garden. (5. 20–6. 12)

Chapter x reveals a refinement in the matter of sincerity. Even in greetings one's words and feelings should not be at odds with each other.

Tenth Chapter:
Do not salute thy passionate (opponent), forcing thyself,
nor grieve thy own heart (thereby);
say not to him "Hail to thee" in falsehood,
when there is terror in thy belly.

Speak not to a man in falsehood,
the abomination of God;
sever not thy heart from thy tongue,
that all thy ways may be successful.

Be thou resolute before other people,
for one is safe at the hand of God;
hated of God is the falsifier of words,
his great abomination is the dissembler (?) (13. 10–14. 3).

Chapter xiii is advice particularly appropriate for both the author and his son, for it deals with the work of a scribe. In

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Egypt all transactions were matters of record and the scribe's opportunity for honesty and kindness were as great as was his place of honor. Evidently, like the steward in Luke 16:1 ff., he had it quite within his province to reduce or cancel debts. Such generous conduct is advised as conducive to his own happiness.

Thirteenth Chapter:
Do not pervert a pen-man (?) in regard to a papyrus,
the abomination of God.

Bear not witness by a false statement,
nor displace another man by the tongue.

Do not make assessment (?) (of) one who hath nought.
nor falsify thy pen.

If thou find a large debt against a poor man,
make it into three parts;
forgive two, let one remain;
thou wilt find it a path of life;
thou wilt lie down at night and sleep soundly;
on the morrow thou wilt find it like good news.

Better is praise and (?) love of men
than riches in the storehouse;

better is bread with happy heart
than riches with vexation (15. 19–16. 14).

A variety of subjects appears in chapter xviii, but its principal thought is the familiar biblical theme of the providence of God and the consequent futility of worry.

Eighteenth Chapter:
Lay thee not down at night fearing the morrow;
when day appears, what is the morrow like?
Man knoweth not how the morrow will be,
(The events of the morrow are in the hand of God);

God is (ever) in his success,
Man is (ever) in his failure.
The words which men say are one thing,
The things which God doeth are another (19. 10–17).

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Chapter xxvii deals with respect of youth before age. The sun God Re^c and his disk Aten are of course Egyptian deities.

Twenty-seventh Chapter:
Curse not one older than thou,
for he hath seen Re^c before thee;
cause him not to accuse thee to the Aten at its rising,
saying "Another, a youth, hath cursed an old man";
very painful before Re^c
is a youth who curses an old man.

Let him beat thee, with thy hand in thy bosom;
let him curse thee, while thou keepest silence.
If next day thou come before him,
he will give thee bread without stint.
The food of a hound is (the affair) of his master,
and he barks unto him that gives it (25. 16–26. 7).

Many other subjects are dealt with in other chapters. Their general likeness to the Hebrew books of proverbs is evident, but to one section of Old Testament literature the likeness is even more striking. It has long been recognized that our book of Proverbs is a composite work, a collection of collections of maxims. The titles within the text itself disclose this characteristic of its origin. The third section of the book begins with 22:17 and has the title, "The Words of the Wise." Its ending may be given as 24:34 or 24:22, or perhaps it originally ended at 23:14 or 17. It is this section of Proverbs which is specially close to the teaching of Amen-em-ope. This passage in Proverbs has a definite literary connection with the newly discovered Egyptian work. The exact date of neither work can be exactly determined, but unless the unanimous verdict thus far made by the scholars who have examined the matter should be reversed, the Egyptian work represents the source of the Hebrew. We have here therefore a definite case of the dependence of Hebrew literature on a written Egyptian original. A full comparison of the relevant passages in parallel columns is most convincing and instructive.[2]

[2] See A. Erman, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1924), pp. 86 ff.; H. Gressmann in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissen-*

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Of course the dependence may not be immediate and direct. The writer in Proverbs does not take over everything in Amen-em-ope *en bloc* and verbatim. There is paraphrase, selection, addition, and revision. Possibly the Hebrew or its more immediate source once had thirty lines or couplets. The word "thirty" actually occurs in the Hebrew text of 22:20: "Have not I written unto thee thirty sayings?" though before the discovery of the Egyptian parallel (quoted before), "See for thyself these thirty chapters," translators for two thousand years have failed to understand it.

The Hebrew version has some differences due to the difference of culture between Palestine and Egypt. It substitutes eagle for geese in the familiar saying about the transitoriness of riches, "They make themselves wings, like an eagle that flieth toward heaven." The Egyptian had written, "they have made themselves wings like geese, they have flown to heaven." Each version has its own particular local color. For example, the Egyptian description of generosity in ferry-boats (chap. xxix) could hardly be transferred from the land of the Nile:

> Make not for thyself a ferry boat upon the river
> and then labor to seek its fare;
> take the fare from the person of wealth
> and welcome him who hath nothing (27. 2–5).

But when a similar passage (chap. ii) continues with advice to help the evil man with food we recognize the same motive as in Proverbs 25:21 and Romans 12:20:

> Steer that we may carry the bad man over,
> for we will not do as he (hath done).

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schaft, XLII (1924), 272 ff.; D. C. Simpson, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII (1926), 232 ff.; L. Keimer, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XLIII (1926), 8 ff.; T. J. Meek, *Journal of Religion*, VII (1927), 246–48; G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 5th ed. (1927), 558–62.

A partial exception to the general opinion that Proverbs is dependent on Amen-em-ope is now offered in the views of W. O. E. Oesterley in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLV (1927), 9 ff., and in his books, *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament, in the Light of the Newly Discovered Teaching of Amen-em-ope* (1927).

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Lift him up, give him thy hand,
commit him to the arms of God;
fill his belly with bread of thine,
that he may be satisfied and understand (?) (5. 1–6).

An inevitable difference between Amen-em-ope and "Solomon" is in the terms of religion. The Egyptian document is fully as religious as Proverbs, and its use of "God" without a special name suggests as do other ancient records an almost monotheistic sense toward which the sage was approaching. The names of several Egyptian deities are also used, and these of course find no parallel in the Hebrew. The same may be said of the Egyptian references to life after death, as

How happy is he who hath reached the West
when he is safe in the hand of God (24. 19 f.).

The authors of Proverbs are too early in date to have attained any of the Jewish belief in resurrection.

On the other hand, the likeness between the backgrounds of the two writings is more conspicuous than the difference. We have in Amen-em-ope the familiar patriarchal family, the monarchical government, the agricultural society, the court and the noblemen, the poor and the oppressed. In Egypt earlier and more insistently than in Palestine would develop the need for honesty among scribes, for correct weights and measures, and for stability of the boundary lines of real estate. Twice in the brief section of Proverbs (22:28, 23:10) occurs the sentence, "Remove not the ancient landmark." In the second case is added, "And enter not into the fields of the fatherless." The Egyptian sage (chap. vi) has a quatrain that makes a like connection:

Remove not the landmark on the boundaries of the sown . . . .
nor throw down the boundaries of the widow (7. 12, 15).

The discovery of the *Teaching of Amen-em-ope* may well have for us a greater interest than as the source of Proverbs 22:17 ff. That after all is less than one page in a Bible, or but one-thousandth part of the whole Old Testament. But the

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Egyptian book shows a literary, moral, and even religious kinship with much beside in the Old Testament and the New. Like Semitic poetry and proverbs, it tends in its literary form to couplets. It shows a peculiarly religious sense almost unique among the known Egyptian gnomic writings. One need only mention how both Proverbs (16:11) and Amen-em-ope (chap. xvi) make deity concerned for the weights of the balance, or one may compare the proverbs on conscience:

> The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord
> Searching all the inward parts (Prov. 20:27).
>
> The heart of man is the nose of God;
> beware lest thou neglect it (Amen., chap. xxiv).

Or

> Man proposes, God disposes (universal proverb; cf. Prov. 16:9).
>
> The words which men say are one thing,
> the things that God doeth are another (Amen., chap. xviii).[3]

Such attitudes of piety and resignation have long been the heritage of our religion.

It is particularly instructive in an age of ethical uncertainty to see the antiquity of much of the familiar morality. We are too prone to think of the ideals of both Old and New Testaments as a stream of limited and indigenous ethical achievement. We need have no less reverence for the pioneers of morality if we find we cannot quite so plainly place them. Evidently ideals were an international commodity, and it is worth our while to know that honesty in speech and in trade, care for the widow and the alien, respect for physical infirmity, preference for bread with a happy heart over "riches with vexation," for soft speech, for freedom from anxiety or overconfidence, for inner tranquillity and for kindness "even to the unthankful and the evil" were found long ago along the Nile as well as in Judah or in Galilee.

[3] See K. Sethe, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philol.-Histor. Klasse (1925), pp. 141 ff.; B. Gunn, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXII (1927), 83 ff. The latter quotes (p. 85 n.) an earlier form of the proverb from *Ptah-hotpe*, 115 f.: "The designs of man have never been realized: it is the ordinances of God that are realized."

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THE MOVEMENT TOWARD CHURCH UNION IN SOUTH INDIA

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IN THE November, 1926, issue of the *Journal of Religion* the writer traced the history of attempts at church union among the churches of South India and discussed the current negotiations between the Anglican church, the South India United church, and the South India Provincial Synod of the Wesleyan Methodist church. Up to the time of writing there had been six meetings of the Joint Committee on Union, considering such subjects as the principle of the historic episcopate in constitutional form, the election and power of bishops, the equality of the ministry, the equality of membership, the matter of intercommunion, congregational freedom of worship, and the matter of church government.

Although it was the intention of the Joint Committee to hold another meeting in 1927, the convenors felt that sufficient progress had not been registered to make such a meeting worth while, and so the seventh session was delayed until June 29–July 4 of the current year. It will be recalled that the two most difficult problems facing the committee have been the question of the ministry and the question of intercommunion. At its sixth (Trichinopoly) session the Joint Committee recommended "that in order to secure the full mutual recognition of the ministries of the uniting churches the existing ministers of the three churches be accepted as ministers of the Word and of the Sacraments in the church after union, with the distinct understanding that no minister ordained before the union shall minister temporarily in any church or congregation without the consent of the parish minister and the congregation, or shall be transferred to any new congregation without the con-

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sent of the congregation and the bishop." It was further resolved that during the fifty years succeeding the union, ordained ministers of the churches that had established the missions at present connected with the uniting churches might be received as ministers of the United church provided they are willing "to make the same declarations with regard to the faith and constitution of the United church as are required from persons about to be ordained or employed for the first time in the United church." It was the expectation of the Committee that at the end of the fifty-year period all ministers in the United church should have been episcopally ordained. With regard to intercommunion the following principles were laid down: "(1) that intercommunion and intercelebration should be definitely regulated with the general consent of the authorities of the United church; (2) that the authority of the diocese should be respected in every case; and (3) that in all actions the preservation of unity within, the attainment of wider union, and the avoidance of immediate contests on particular cases should be the guiding factors."

The resolutions of the Joint Committee were referred to the three churches, and although they were not acceptable in their entirety, each governing body reappointed its committees on union in the hope that some workable plan of action might be evolved.

At the seventh (Bangalore) session of the Joint Committee, resolutions were passed upon six major subjects. "We are agreed," said the delegates, "that the only union which Christians should aim at is the union of all who acknowledge the name of Christ in the universal church, which is his body; and that the test of all local schemes of union is that they should express locally the principles of the great catholic unity of the body of Christ. Our only desire, therefore, is so to organize the church of India that it shall give the Indian expression of the spirit, the thought, and the life of the church universal."

The Old and New Testaments, the Apostles' and Nicene

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creeds, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the constitutional episcopate are confirmed as the basis of union. The bishops are to be elected, to perform their duties according to the written constitution of the United church, and although "continuity with the historic episcopate is to be effectually maintained . . . . no particular interpretation of the fact of the historic episcopate" is to be demanded. It is suggested that at the inaugural service of the United church, ministers from the two uniting free churches and bishops from the Anglican church shall successively lay hands on the heads of the new bishops, "thus conserving for the United church the traditions held by each of the uniting bodies."

The proposal of the fifty-year time limit for non-episcopally ordained ministers was reconsidered, and in its stead it is recommended that after a period of thirty years the United church shall itself consider and decide the question of the status of its ministry. To meet the anxiety on the part of some Anglicans that they would be compelled to take the sacraments from the hands of non-episcopally ordained ministers it is agreed that "any congregation accustomed to an episcopally ordained ministry will not either temporarily or permanently be placed in charge of a non-episcopally ordained minister unless all the communicant members of the congregation have been informed of the suggested appointment and no one has signified his objection to such an arrangement."

The Committee expresses the hope that the United church will maintain fellowship with all the various churches with which the uniting churches are now enjoying fellowship, but insists that none of these denominational bodies shall have any authority over the United church. The most difficult problem, of course, is the relation of the United church to the Church of England in India. Moreover, the new freedom of the Anglican church in India raises certain administrative problems. The problems were discussed but were left to the continuation committee for further consideration.

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With regard to intercommunion the Committee is agreed that no minister or lay member of the United church will forfeit any previous rights of intercommunion or intercelebration. Every effort is to be made to safeguard the conscientious scruples of both ministers and laymen.

Although the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed are accepted as a basis of union, it is left to the United church to determine the use of the creeds and to determine what profession of faith will be required of its ministers. It is agreed that "the manner in which men accept the church's standards of faith varies with their spiritual capacity and experience, and such variety is not incompatible with fitness for the discharge of the duties of the ministry."

Several other matters, such as church government, were considered by the Committee, but were referred to the continuation committee for further discussion.

The question that naturally arises is, "Does the Bangalore conference represent an advance in the direction of church union?" And we believe that the answer is "Yes." The general feeling among close students of the union problem in India seems to be that most of the theoretical obstacles to union have been encountered, and that it now remains to proceed with the concrete plan of union. A continuation committee of ten members has been appointed, and it is hoped that by April, 1929, a complete scheme of union may be ready for presentation to the churches.

We have already stated that the two most difficult problems confronting the Committee were those of the ministry and intercommunion. The proposed fifty-year period in which episcopally and non-episcopally ordained ministers would be working side by side was not received cordially by either Anglicans or non-Anglicans. The Anglicans felt that the continuance of a mixed ministry for so long a period would not contribute to the unity of the church. The Free church men felt that it was a serious matter to absolutely close the door of the

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church to the ministrations of visiting non-episcopally ordained ministers. It seems therefore a fair solution of the difficulty to lay down the principle of an episcopally ordained ministry as the goal to be reached in a thirty-year period, but to leave the matter of future exceptions to the good judgment of the United church itself. Certainly there can be no union worthy of the name unless men are prepared to place confidence in one another. The Church of England has made a real concession in its recognition of the dual ministry, but by its insistence that a non-episcopally ordained minister should not be placed in charge of a congregation accustomed to an episcopally ordained ministry, save upon the unanimous consent of the congregation, it makes entirely possible the spectacle of a United church divided into two separate compartments.

Shortly after the sixth session of the Joint Committee (1926) the Anglican bishops in India issued a pastoral letter stating that the members of the Anglican church were not free to receive the communion from non-episcopally ordained ministers. It was but natural that non-Anglicans should feel that such a pronouncement was a direct blow at the cause of union. Accordingly, from the very beginning of the seventh session the question of intercommunion was to the fore. Writing in the *National Christian Council Review,* Rev. J. H. Maclean, a Free church man, says, "At the opening meeting the different views regarding intercommunion found frank expression. . . . . The desire was expressed that it be made clear that the United church of the future would not take the exclusive position which the Anglican church does now. The matter was fully discussed in a smaller committee as well as in the larger gathering. In the end we had to recognize that while most of us would like the United church to adopt what we regard as the more truly catholic position, we must respect the views of those who think it wrong to accept non-episcopal ministrations." Certainly, however, the Bangalore resolutions represent a distinct advance from the earlier Trichinopoly position.

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Compare the negative "It will not be a condition of union that any of the uniting churches or any ministers or members of them shall forego any rights of communion with other churches that it or he possessed before the union" with the positive "It is the intention and hope of the uniting churches that all the sections of the United church will be regulated by the principle that it should maintain fellowship with all those branches of the church of Christ with which the uniting churches now severally enjoy such fellowship, and that it should constantly seek to strengthen this fellowship and to work toward the full union in one body of all parts of the church of Christ," and the advance becomes apparent. If the principle of fellowship actually gets into action we are bound to see progress. The committee expressed itself as certain that the United church will avoid on the one hand "any encouragement of license or condonation of breaches of Christian comity and fellowship, and on the other hand any non-Christian rigidity in its regulations or in their application."

The problem of the relation of the United church to the Anglican church in India must still be dealt with. Will the European Anglican congregations in South India be willing to enter into the United church? By the terms of the Indian Church Act, 1927, by which the church in India gained its freedom, the churches known as "maintained churches" must make provision for the clergy connected with them. Just how this can be arranged by the United church remains to be seen. But such problems are more or less technical problems, and as such can undoubtedly be brought to satisfactory solution.

The outstanding thing about the whole South Indian situation is the widespread *will to union*. The leaders see the obstacles, but they are determined to surmount them. Speaking in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, at the Episcopal Synod, the Indian bishop of Dornakal said:

> The church in India has the advantage of inheriting the Gospel and its outward expression from the West; but there is one inheritance to

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which it is only an unwilling partner: and that is the divisions of Christendom. The church of India did not create these divisions and will not care to perpetuate them. A well-known writer on Hinduism claims that Hinduism has developed an attitude of comprehensive charity to all differing beliefs. It has brought together, he says, into one whole all believers in God. "Hinduism," he says, "stands for a large comprehensive unity." This comprehensiveness is at once the strength and weakness of Hinduism. But this genius for comprehensiveness will certainly show itself sooner or later in a sanctified earnestness for Christian unity within the church itself. Moreover, the necessity for union in India appeals to us with an urgency that is unknown in Europe. There the union of Christendom is a desirable ideal; here it is a vital necessity. In Europe disunion is a weakness; in India it is a sin and a scandal. Face to face with millions following other beliefs, the compulsion will be irresistible for the various churches to draw nearer and nearer together so that they may present a united front to win India for Christ.

And the Bishop of Bombay, speaking upon "The New Freedom of the Church in India," said:

We are called to freedom that we may be pioneers of reunion. It is my firm conviction that the need and possibility of reunion are special revelations of God to the church of India. In England also there are efforts after reunion. There are two groups of people making such efforts; one is keen on union with Protestants, the other on union with Rome. Neither group has advanced nearly so far toward its goal as we have in South India with the South India United church. Not because of our virtue or wisdom, but because we are called of God, we are the pioneers of unity in the world. . . . . Because we have got so far, God will enable us to the end. Because He has blessed our endeavor, He will continue to bless it. . . . . Unity will come because the Spirit is moving men toward it, and they are responding, and moving in response to His motions.

Whenever men believe seriously that they are chosen of God to do a great work, results generally follow. The Bangalore scheme, as at present before the churches, seems to present a wholly feasible basis for reunion.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA

The author warns us in the preface that "this book[1] aims to be at once an apologia and an eirenicon." For the writing of such a book Dr. Kenneth Saunders is unusually well equipped. He has sympathy and insight, knowledge and appreciation of Oriental religions, so that his eirenicon is kindly, intelligent, and free from condescension. He is a sincere and serious Christian, loyal, not to institutionalized Christianity, but to an idealized Christ, so that his apologia is directed as much to Christendom as to the Orient. His service in the East might have made him simply another missionary, but humanity and kindliness transformed him into an interpreter of religions to each other. In clear and graceful English he presents here the claims of the Christian gospel to Asia and at the same time interprets the evangel of the Orient to his readers in the West. Even as apologist he is interpreter.

Mr. Saunders has long been convinced that the Bhagavad Gita, the Lotus scripture, and the Fourth Gospel are the noblest expressions of the three great religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. He feels also that it is a fact of deep significance for the philosophy of religion that they should have come, at approximately the same time, so closely to agreement in these, their highest reaches toward truth. "That they are all inspired works we may believe: the comparative study of religion is surely indicating the Johannine doctrine of the Logos as the enlightening Word which is in all men." Binding them together with this thread of revelation, the author turns to the empirical treatment of the books as the products of historical situations. In successive chapters he deals with the founders (a word that is scarcely exact), the environment of the three books and their aims, their ideas of ultimate reality, the contents, the goal of the gospel of each, the ethical heritages and ethical ideals, their doctrinal heritages and teachings. "The aim of all these books is then to relate the Beloved One to Cosmic Truth and to set forth the Mystery of Divine Love that man may accept it and find salvation." Each has its own idea of what the supreme reality is; each interprets in its own way the maze of natural and moral evil from which salvation is

[1] *The Gospel for Asia.* By Kenneth Saunders. New York: Macmillan, 1928. xv+245 pages. $2.50.

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to be won; each draws its own picture of the abode of bliss which is salvation's goal. They agree in presenting the Savior as the earthly manifestation of God for the loving purpose of saving helpless mankind. Even the theory of this earthly embodiment in *avator, nirmanakaya,* and incarnation has a historically different development in each religion.

Since the book is an apologia it must be judged in terms of its fairness of presentation of the rival faiths. It is unlikely that any Hindu *bhakta* would have anything but praise for the author's interpretation of the Gita. Moreover he knows Buddhism and has entered into the spirit of it as have few men of the West. He says, shifting his ground temporarily from the Fourth Gospel, "Asia's millions are by nature and nurture nearer to the Sermon on the Mount than we." "For a thousand years this great religion [Buddhism] did much to keep the peace of Asia. It has indeed very much of the spirit of Christ." In his treatment of Buddhism the eirenicon so overshadows the apologia that a Buddhist might well say, "You persuade me to be, not a Christian, but a more worthy Buddhist, since your personal devotion to an idealized Christ can never be as real for me as my personal devotion to the idealized Sakyamuni."

The apologia of the book has several presuppositions, expressed or implied, namely, that the ideology of personal theism coupled with the Logos incarnation is the highest form of religious philosophy; that the Fourth Gospel is the expression of the central Christian truth; that the Christ of the Fourth Gospel is an adequate presentation of the historic Jesus; that the personal and social salvation of men depends at last upon acceptance of and devotion to the historic person of Jesus theologically interpreted. Sincere and thoughtful Christians will disagree with Mr. Saunders on all these points.

The issues are quite clear. In the first place, it is the difference between the fundamentalist and the developmental view of religion. The former thinks of Christianity as truth which remains eternally true whatever historic transformations may overtake the folk religions. Thus the author laments that the real Christianity has never found embodiment in any temporal form of Christendom. The other view is of religions as living movements which take changing embodiment in thought forms and in ideals with the changing situations of the centuries. The true religion, or the truth of the religion, is not a crystallization at some specific period of its history. To impose the theology of some ancient age, long dead, upon the living religion today is not only impossible but a renunciation for modern men of the right claimed for themselves by the makers of the ancient dogmas. These two points of view cannot be

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reconciled. For the one religion finds its center in authoritative, revealed truth; for the other religion is a living creative quest for the good life. We cannot get our doctrine, our morals, our ideals, or our program of salvation from the past. Each age must find its own embodiment.

The issue involved in the person of Christ has a double difficulty. New Testament scholars would certainly not take the Christ of the Fourth Gospel as the historic Jesus. Neither, in fact, does the author. "The Jesus of history is the differentia of the Christian religion. He is his religion." He speaks of the Logos-Christ, but he falls back for materials upon the larger picture of Jesus found elsewhere. More important still, he reads into the historic Jesus the highest ideals of the modern age. This is the normal method of idealization and is the process at work today upon all the historic religious figures of all the great religions. It may be possible that the symbol of Jesus can be an emotional factor in stimulating loyalty to ideals which arise out of our life-situations today—for Christians. It is also probable that the same ideals may be better symbolized for Buddhists, Moslems, and Hindus by their own historic heroes. "It is only when we press upon them the exclusive claims of the historic Jesus that they find themselves unable to go with us," says the author. Nothing could be more natural than that.

Deeper than all this is the realization that is taking hold upon the hearts of men in all the religions of the world today and which moves as the inspiring note through these beautifully written pages: that mankind can really be saved only when it learns to actualize the ideals of love and peace and justice in the structure of civilization. Mr. Saunders feels that a loyal devotion to Jesus would produce this result. Others are just as sure that it will come only by the intelligent and co-operative labor of men in the analysis of problems and the remaking of society so as to overcome its maladjustments and to integrate the desired habit, custom, and institution. Again it is a contrast of personal faith and social engineering.

While this book is an apologia to Asia, its greatest service may well be in giving the lay reader of the Western world an intelligent appreciation of the noble beauties of the religions which produced the Gita and Lotus gospels and "a larger vision of the bonds uniting the races." Perhaps the passing years will prove that the builder of the bridges of understanding between peoples has a greater claim to honor and gratitude than the apologist.

A. EUSTACE HAYDON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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AN AMERICAN TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

In certain quarters the bare mention of a translation of the Scriptures into modern speech provokes, if not violent frothing at the mouth, at least ominous growls. Just why the super-purists should "act up" as they do is not clear. In Great Britain and on the Continent, where literary taste is as good as in America, such translations have been in use for years without apparent detriment to individual morals or national safety. Certainly there is no desire anywhere to do away with the King James version. Its terse Anglo-Saxon diction, the limpid purity of its style, and, withal, its firm hold during three centuries upon the affections and devotion of English-speaking folk everywhere assure it a permanent place as *the* classic of English literature and religion.

Granting this, is it not conceivable that there may yet be room for other translations side by side with that of 1611? Consider the advantages incident to the existence of such alternative versions: (1) Translation involves interpretation. In effect each new translation is a commentary whose value varies in direct ratio to the translator's equipment for his task. There is surely room and need for more than one interpretation of the Bible. (2) A new translation, by virtue of the very fact that it is new, delivers from the deadening triteness of the too familiar phrase. Freshness, vitality, and surprisingly increased impressiveness are often the result of restating old truths in new language. (3) In the Old Testament especially it is a matter of vital moment that the reader recognize poetry as such. The fact that half of it consists of verse is of no small importance for the understanding thereof. One dare not apply the same canons of interpretation to works of the poetic imagination as to bald prose. Experience has abundantly demonstrated that the mere detail of printing the poetry of the prophets as prose often results disastrously so far as gaining a true comprehension of these writings is concerned. The newer versions have a distinct advantage over the King James, and even over the English and American Revised versions, in that they are free *always* to print poetry as poetry. (4) Freedom from too slavish adherence to the Hebrew text means much. It is notorious that the standard versions are often so literal, even where the Hebrew is manifestly corrupt, as to make nonsense. In other cases the clash of opposing "schools" of interpretation has resulted in the utter rejection of the better of two readings or its banishment into the limbo of the margin. Again, we frequently meet those irritating compromise readings which satisfy nobody except, perhaps, the demons of confusion. Every student of the Old

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Testament knows that it is occasionally necessary to take into account the readings of the Greek and other ancient versions. In certain desperate cases one may even be driven to the dangerous expedient of textual emendation, "that last infirmity of *critic* mind." Wisely used, and not abused, this liberty of recent translators enables them to put out a much more accurate translation. (5) Finally, the very fact of the existence of a number of translations aids in establishing saner views of biblical inspiration. There are many who come dangerously near to believing that, like the reputedly infallible Greek translation of the "Seventy," the 1611 translation is verbally inspired. With several differing translations in existence the average church member must needs realize that he is not justified in clinging to the letter of any particular version. Thus the new versions have their part in shifting emphasis from the "letter that killeth" to the "spirit that giveth life." All these advantages, and many more, inhere in the new *American Translation*.[1]

In addition, moreover, to the advantages just enumerated, there are two yet more fundamental reasons for issuing such new translations. First is the tremendous and unremitting advance in Old Testament scholarship during the last half-century. Studies in the fields of archaeology, textual and historical criticism, comparative religion, oriental history, social, economic, and political conditions—to mention but a few subjects—have opened up new worlds of thought previously unknown. Second must be considered the momentous changes in form and meaning to which that living and growing organism, the English language, has been constantly subjected. Only by way of new words and phrases can the old truths find entrance to the mind of today. Sometimes we forget that the King James translation was made for the distinctly avowed purpose of being "understood even of the very vulgar." The brutal fact of the matter is that it is not clearly understood today. Words like "let," "prevent," "virtuous," have radically altered in meaning. Archaic forms of the second personal pronoun, such as "thou," "thy," "thee," and "ye," are handicaps to him who would get the message of the ancient seer. So, too, the verb endings in "eth" and "est" seem barbarous and uncouth, and are repellent to modern youth. In order, then, to make accessible for popular use the results of the toil of generations of scholars, it is needful that we render our holy books into dignified modern English.

There are two principal requirements, or tests, which we may justly

[1] *The Old Testament. An American Translation.* By Alexander R. Gordon, Theophile J. Meek, J. M. Powis Smith, and Leroy Waterman. Edited by J. M. Powis Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927. xii+1713 pages. Cloth, $5.00; leather, $10.00.

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lay down as guiding lines for our judgment of any particular translation. These correspond roughly to the two major reasons mentioned before as justifying—nay, necessitating—the issuance of new translations of the Scriptures. First of all, we must have accuracy. Almost we transfer the demand for infallibility from the original text to the translation. Everything that has been written of importance for the translation should be taken into account. Only as the work is based on the soundest, most painstaking and illumined scholarship has it a right to appear. The second requirement is that of effective and, if possible, noble literary form. This it is that has made the King James version so worthy a vehicle for the mediation of the greatest truths of religion. At the very least we may fairly expect that the new version shall bring the ideas home either in better or in fresher form. The question is: How well does the American version meet the double test of fine accuracy and worthy form?

With the wealth of the whole Old Testament from which to choose, it is difficult for the reviewer to know where to begin. Perhaps it will be as well first to "dig in" at a definite passage, and then to browse a bit here and there.

The Books of Samuel offer an excellent test for the translator. The text is often corrupt, and the meaning is not always clear. In many cases the Greek and other versions preserve the original and true reading. Here the translator must needs show both resourcefulness and balance.

Let us begin at a venture with the fourth chapter of II Samuel, noting occasionally some of the variations from the American Revised Version, most recent of the standard versions. We find, naturally, both points of which we approve and others which we are inclined to criticize. To mention first a few of the many renderings which impress us favorably: In II Sam. 4:6 the superior text of the Greek has been adopted in place of the Hebrew. Thus we read: "And at that particular time the doorkeeper [better, *portress?*] of the house was cleaning wheat, but she had become drowsy and slept. So Rechab and Baanah his brother slipped through. . . . ." In 6:4, where a copyist has awkwardly duplicated part of his text, the error is corrected and we have the straightforward statement that "Uzzah was walking beside the ark of God, while Ahio was going before the ark." In 6:21 several words have fallen out of the Hebrew, which are here restored, to the great improvement of the sense. The beginning of the verse now reads: "It is before the LORD that I dance. Blessed be the LORD, who chose me rather than your father." In 7:7 the text is rightly corrected, by the change of one letter, to read with I Chron. 17:6, "judges" for "tribes." The latter half of 7:19, and the greater part of 7:23, which are both badly damaged in the Hebrew text,

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are restored to order and sense. In 8:18 the impossible translation "chief ministers" of the ARV (where the correct translation is lost in the marginal note) is corrected to "priests." On the whole this part of Samuel gains greatly in accuracy and clarity.

On the other hand, there are certain renderings which do not so readily commend themselves. Take, for example, II Sam. 4:10. "I arrested him and executed him" seems rather stilted and formal as compared with the ARV, "I took hold of him, and slew him," or Moffatt's "I seized him and killed him." In 6:7, without apparent justification and without mention in the notes, the words, "and there he died by the ark of God" are omitted. Apparently someone blundered here. In 6:12 the more vivid direct discourse is changed to indirect; the result is a long, involved, and awkward sentence. A note on 8:17 indicates the correction of the text (after I Sam. 22:20 and the Syriac) to "Abiathar the son of Ahimelech." This necessary correction has not been made. It is thus apparent that certain inaccuracies and infelicities are present in this part of Samuel.

One might range hither and yon with similar results, sometimes pleasing and sometimes the opposite. In I Sam. 13:1 the translator wisely refuses to conjecture Saul's age. I Sam. 14:41, the *locus classicus* on the use of the Urim and Thummim, is rightly restored after the Greek. In II Sam. 1:14, 15, on the other hand, it is open to doubt whether, in view of the connotations of that term, it is best to render "anointed" as used of Saul by the technical term "Messiah." We notice that in Amos 5:5 the play on words is rendered: "Gilgal shall go into galling captivity?" Why, then, is no corresponding attempt made to do this for Amos 8:1, 2, or Jer. 1:11, 12, or that most striking massing of word-plays, Mic. 1:10–16? A certain measure of uniformity and consistency would seem to be in order on this point.

In Genesis it is reassuring to find that the familiar "garden" and "ark" are retained in preference to Moffatt's more adventurous "park" and "barge." Whether, however, "clever" in 3:1 is rather too modern an adjective to apply to the serpent is open to debate. In 3:8 there is a flavor almost of irreverence when the LORD God is described as "taking a walk in the garden for his daily airing." In 6:22 "LORD" is substituted for "God" without any justification in the notes. To be commended is the rendering in 12:6 of the Hebrew word for "place" as "sanctuary." But why not the same in 22:3, 5 and 28:11? The Joseph stories, it should be emphasized, become far more realistic and interesting in their new coat of modern colors.

Isaiah, chapters 40–66, is, in general, excellently rendered. The

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translation is marked by the qualities of dignity, vividness, and grace. One gains the impression, however, that this matchless collection of prophetic lyrics is dissected into too minute fragments. Where the most recent commentator, Torrey, has twenty-five sections, this version has forty-four. In two cases (57:1, 2; 58:13, 14) separate division headings are provided for units consisting of only two verses each. The translator has evidently failed to discover the true clue to the structure of these poems. The transposition of 41:6, 7 to a place after 40:19 is, despite the dicta of well-known scholars, quite without justification. In evident dependence on Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica,* 44:9–20 is wrongly printed as prose; as a matter of fact, this delicious bit of sarcasm has the same characteristic meter and parallelism as its neighbor chapters. In 65:7, "first" is to be regarded as a marginal gloss (cf., similarly, "third" in Ezek. 21:14, and the impossible "three heights" of Joshua 17:11), and has therefore no legitimate claim to a place in the text.

The homely wisdom of Proverbs finds terse and revealing expression in the *American Translation.* Such a passage as 20:2, "A king's fury is like a lion's roar," is far more direct and clean-cut than ARV's "The terror of a king is as the roaring of a lion." Likewise the "ABC of the Good Wife" (31:10–31), from its opening words:

> If one can find a good wife,
> She is worth far more than corals, ...

clear through to the end, is an excellent illustration of the way in which modern English may add simplicity and reality. The rendering of the difficult Book of Job, revealing as it does adequate scholarship and real literary feeling, is one of the best specimens of the translator's art in the volume. Perhaps no other book reveals in such surpassing measure the freshness and beauty of the new translation as the Song of Solomon. Read, for example, 4:1:

> Ah, you are beautiful, my love;
> ah, you are beautiful!
> Your eyes are doves,
> behind your veil.

The division into speeches, the poetic arrangement of lines, and the vividness of the style, all contribute to make the Song a new book to the old reader.

As to more general features, mention should be made of the treatment of conversations. Instead of being hidden in long and forbidding paragraphs, these are printed in modern dialogue form, with quotation marks. It is remarkable how much more attractive and interesting this

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device makes the matter. Again, the print everywhere runs clear across the page. This is greatly to be preferred to the dull and heavy double columns of the usual versions. All in all, the pages seem to welcome rather than repel the prospective reader.

But we may not continue our browsing indefinitely. How shall we sum up our impressions of the *American Translation*? It is easier, usually (alas, for the good repute of our common humanity!), to find fault than to grant due praise. There are, accordingly, many points of detail to which, both on the score of exact scholarship and literary quality, exception may readily be taken. For example, the notes should be carefully revised throughout so that changes in the text may not go unrecorded. Furthermore, a number of passages that now offend the ear should be smoothed out. On the other hand, the translators have really performed a great and worthy service. Whatever deficiencies this product of their enormous industry and scholarly skill may exhibit are in large measure due to the very nature of their task. It requires, not four, but forty and four, scholars to carry out such a work to satisfactory completion. As it is, the pressing need for the incorporation into a popular translation of the more significant results of modern biblical study has been met in an astonishingly acceptable fashion. Even while we lament the fact that the work could not be done perfectly, we heartily congratulate the translators in that it has been done so well. Surely the general editor is more than justified in the modest hope that the work "may at least serve as a stepping-stone toward those greater translations which time will surely bring."

GEORGE DAHL

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A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE

This[1] is another book about the Bible. The question might be raised, Why? and the answer might well be that there is a constant demand for books which present in a popular but reliable way the modern point of view. The source of this demand is suggested by the author's own statement in the preface that he "has kept primarily in mind the needs of the college classroom, the Sunday school, the religious institute, and the week-day school of religion, without, it is hoped, sacrificing the usefulness of the book for private study and the home." This is a survey of the history, literature, and religious teachings of the Bible. The comprehensive

[1] *The Bible Unlocked*. By Henry Martin Battenhouse. New York: Century, 1928. xiv+553 pages. $3.50.

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scope of this volume of 553 pages may be inferred from the following list of main headings under which the chapters are arranged: "I. The Bible: Its Background, Origin, and Content." "II. The Building of the Hebrew Nation." "III. The Age of Prophecy." "IV. The Establishment of Judaism." "V. The Life of Christ." "VI. The Apostolic Age." In such a survey as this the value of the book depends largely upon the wisdom of the author in presenting the material he has selected. One especially noteworthy feature of this treatment is the constant endeavor throughout the volume to relate biblical to contemporary history. The reader is made to appreciate that the history underlying the Bible is not isolated, but a part of and dependent upon the course of events in the entire ancient world. Another welcome emphasis is the relative importance given to the section entitled "The Establishment of Judaism," in which the gap between the Old and New Testaments is well bridged, with a brief treatment of the apocryphal as well as the canonical literature in relation to the historical situation.

Considered as a college textbook, the chief drawback to *The Bible Unlocked* is its professedly untechnical character, the large compass of the material involved, and the necessarily rather summary treatment of separate topics. In courses where a general résumé of the entire field is desired, the book ought to be of real value as a sympathetic interpretation. It is, however, to be questioned whether the author did not attempt the impossible in planning a book which should be adapted for such widely varying groups as the college classroom, the religious institute, the week-day school of religion, the Sunday school, and the home. The needs of most college courses in Bible are more technical. In many of our leading colleges a full year or nearly a full year of academic work is thought essential to a critical presentation of the Old Testament alone. A recent book[2] intended for college use and devoted to the study of the New Testament alone occupies 489 pages, or nearly the amount of space devoted in the volume under consideration to the history, literature, and religion of the entire Bible. Where textbooks are used in college courses, moreover, they are frequently considered as little more than a syllabus or guide to the reading of the biblical text itself and to reference books which present different interpretations of important problems. A rather extreme but suggestive example of this type of textbook is Chaplain Knox's *Knowing the Bible*,[3] which is little more than an expanded syllabus. This type of syllabus-textbook, equipped as it is with questions for

[2] *Getting Acquainted with the New Testament*. By Frank Eakin. New York: Macmillan, 1927.

[3] *Knowing the Bible*. By Raymond C. Knox. New York: Macmillan, 1926.

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study and specific reference readings at the end of each chapter, has two distinct advantages. In the first place, it sends the student to the Bible itself. In the second place, it has the advantage of compelling the student to decide for himself which of the various interpretations discovered in the course of his reading appeals as the most convincing. This is more in the line of self-education which President Lowell of Harvard claims is the only true education. So far as the first of these points is concerned, the title of *The Bible Unlocked* does suggest that the book is a key to the Bible itself. It is a key to an understanding of the Bible, but the very bulk of the book rather discourages the reader from going any farther than this volume alone. Moreover, the relegation of biblical chapter and verse references to the footnotes, and the reduction of even these to the minimum, while it enhances the quality of the book for general reading, does relieve the reader of any absolute necessity to turn to the Bible itself.

The point of view of the author is to be seen in his statement that he has sought to present the major results of present-day scholarship without "sacrificing inspirational values." At times this "inspirational" interest leans toward the traditional or more conventional approach, as for example in the case of the baptism of Jesus. We read: "As a symbol of spiritual rebirth the baptism of Jesus was of no special importance. . . . . It was to bear testimony to his faith in John's message . . . ." (p. 321). There is a tendency among modern biographers of Jesus to find more importance than this in the baptism. Is it really of more religious value to think of this opening experience in Jesus' public life in the old stereotyped terms, or to consider the possibility of such a view as that of Klausner,[4] that "Jesus' baptism in the presence of John was the most decisive event in his life" (p. 251), a tremendous dynamic moment of decision and purpose forming?

Nevertheless, remembering that the avowed purpose of the author is not technical, *The Bible Unlocked* is a genuinely helpful book, written with considerable freshness and a genuine warmth of religious feeling. It possesses a vivid, narrative style which ought to appeal to any reader. The value of the book, especially in the earlier chapters, is increased by frequent references to archaeological discoveries which confirm the biblical record. There are five maps, a chronological chart, an appendix to the fourth gospel, a list of reference books, and an index.

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[4] *Jesus of Nazareth.* By Joseph Klausner. New York: Macmillan, 1925.

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A MACCABEAN PSALTER

This is a collection of seven essays dealing with the literary criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament.[1] The subjects treated are: (1) "The Early Narrative of the Jahvistic Document of the Pentateuch," (2) "Ezekiel," (3) "The Jewish Priesthood," (4) "The Altar Fire," (5) "The Day of Atonement," (6) "The Historical Background of the Psalms," (7) "The Origin and Development of the Messianic Hope." The essays raise a good many challenging points, with which scholars in general are not as yet in accord. A lion's share of the space in the volume is given to the treatment of the Psalms. The general conclusion reached is that no psalm "need be assigned to a date later than 134 B.C." (p. 217), and that the year 130 B.C. may be taken "*more or less* as the date of the compilation of the Psalter" (p. 218).

This conclusion is merely in regard to the *terminus ad quem* of the Psalter, and little is said as to the *terminus a quo*, but the author's opinion seems to be that "the Psalter as a whole was composed during the period 168–41 B.C." (p. 145). A rapid survey of the content of each psalm arrives at this conclusion.

The Maccabean origin of some Psalms, e.g., 44, 74, 79, and 83, has been quite generally accepted by scholars since the days of Theodore of Mopsuestia; but the Maccabean origin of the entire Psalter is not as yet orthodox criticism. A rapid survey of one aspect of the evidence may not be out of place. The prologue to the book of Jesus ben Sirach speaks three or four times of "The Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our fathers." This third division was apparently not sufficiently organized at that time to have acquired a definite name. The canon of the prophets was closed in the time of the High Priest Simon (219–199 B.C.). It is altogether probable that the Psalter was the first and oldest book in the third collection, now known as "the writings." It certainly holds first place in both Hebrew and Greek texts, and probably always has done so. So that so far as this statement goes the Psalter might be as old, at least, as 200 B.C.

Another matter bearing directly upon this issue is the question as to when the Septuagint was completed. The Letter of Aristeas assigns the translation of the Pentateuch to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–47 B.C.). This letter is largely fanciful and legendary, but Driver thinks the Septuagint may have been translated by order of Philadelphus notwithstanding, and Ottley is confident that it was translated within a half-century after Philadelphus. This would put the translation

[1] *Old Testament Essays*. By R. H. Kennett. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; sole American agents, New York: Macmillan, 1928. x+270 pages.

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of the Pentateuch somewhere between 200 and 250 B.C., roughly speaking. As to the remaining books of the Old Testament, we have some data. Eupolemos, who is mentioned in I Macc. 8:17, wrote about 150 B.C. and he quotes the Greek text of Chronicles. A footnote to the Greek Esther states that this book was brought to Egypt in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra (probably Ptolemy Philometor, 182–46 B.C.); so that the Greek Esther would be prior to 150 B.C. The Psalter itself is cited according to the Septuagint in I Macc. 7:17. These facts demonstrate the existence of some books of the Writings in Greek form before 150 B.C. But the Greek rendering would follow the Hebrew only at a distance of some decades. The Psalter would almost certainly be among the first books, if not the first, to be translated. The tradition of Davidic authorship would give it great prestige. Its present position in the Canon points to its having had such prestige. So that the Psalter would have been translated in all probability before 150 B.C., to say nothing of 130 B.C.!

Then as regards the date of composition of the Psalms, we note that the psalm titles were already unintelligible to the Greek translators. I Chron. 16:8–36 quotes Pss. 96; 105:1–15, and 106:1, 47–48. The Chronicler cannot well be placed later than the first part of the second century B.C. Ps. 106:48 constitutes the doxology at the close of Book IV of the Psalter. So that the present organization of the Psalter would seem to have been complete at the time of the Chronicler. Not only so, but some of the generally recognized Maccabean psalms are to be found in the second and third books of the Psalter, which would naturally require an earlier date than the Maccabean age for them. *Pace* Dr. Kennett, who puts the entire Psalter in the Maccabean period! These advocates of such late authorship for the individual psalms and such late dates for the compilation of the Psalter seem to make no allowance for the time required for the growth of the Psalter, nor even any space for the editorial activity that was expended upon the Psalter after the Psalms themselves were written.

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THE TALMUDIC TREATISE ON FASTS

One can say without the slightest fear of contradiction that this is the best edition and translation of any of the Talmud[1] that has appeared.

[1] *Treatise Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud.* Critically edited on the basis of manuscripts and old editions and provided with a translation and notes. By Henry Malter. (Schiff Library of Jewish Classics.) Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1928. xlvii+243 pages.

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It is a pity that the noted scholar who did the work did not live to see the completion of his labors; it was not given him to see it through the press.

Talmud has always been a word to conjure with. The very formidableness of its folios frightens away many who would venture to become acquainted with it in any first-hand sort of way. Those who have attemped to translate even fragments of it will realize what a tremendously difficult task it is. Even if the text were in good shape—and it is far from being so—it would be difficult to render it into a modern idiom which would not sound like a bodily lifting-over of the words from the original. Aside from this problem of language, there are additional problems because of the talmudic method of dealing with its ideas, and because so many of the ideas themselves are so far from the ken of non-specialists.

Professor Malter has gone about his task in a truly scientific way, and has done his work along new lines (cf. Introduction, p. xix). He has based himself on manuscripts, using all the material available. In this case it meant dealing with six complete manuscripts and sixteen fragments. Since the text is eclectic, it is self-evident that the value of the work depends largely upon two factors: upon the excellence of the manuscripts and upon the knowledge and judgment of the editor. Here we are fortunate. For there are three good complete manuscripts (Introduction, p. xxxvii); and the work is filled with examples of the editor's tremendous knowledge and excellent judgment. Aside from manuscripts of the text itself, he has used all the other sources that might be considered material for critically editing a text (Introduction, pp. xxxv, xxxvi).

Upon comparing his text with the previously printed ones, one notes almost immediately that it is superior. Closer inspection and study serves to confirm this impression. I have noted all the differences between this text and that of the printed editions, and have found that in almost all instances the editor has improved things. Scribal errors that have accumulated through many years have been rectified. Repetitions and redundancies have been eliminated. But above all, many transpositions that make intelligible what was formerly confusing have been made. In general the present text is less verbose and smoother than the ordinarily accepted one. If one compares, for example, pages 12, 14, 15, 17, 20 with the corresponding parts of the ordinary text, one will readily see the nature of the improvement.

One cannot be quite so enthusiastic about the translation. It seems that it is almost impossible to reproduce the "flavor" or "spirit" of the

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original or even to get an English product that will be perfectly intelligible without reference to the original. I am, of course, not thinking of paraphrases. Malter has, in my opinion, translated better than any of his predecessors. While Cohen's translation (Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Berakot, Cambridge, 1921) often reads more smoothly, Malter's follows the original more closely without being, on the whole, clumsy. And it surely is more self-sufficient. Admittedly, one looks in vain for the "flavor" of the original; but perhaps one is here looking for too much.

Ta'anit contains a good deal of interesting historical, folkloristic, liturgic, and aggadic material. Most of this is of interest even to the broader student; but it generally requires elucidation. All of it has been made perfectly comprehensible, generally in the translation; if not there, in the notes. Especially well done are those passages in which Bible verses are handled very freely and imaginatively (cf. notes 65–67, 134, 151, 325 and the corresponding passages in the text). As an instance of the character of his efforts, one may point out that the editor makes clear for the first time the interesting account of the dance-festival that used to be held on the fifteenth of Ab and the Day of Atonement (cf. p. 202 and notes 389, 390).

One should not forget to mention the list of parallels, which is much larger than that found in the printed texts. The work is preceded by a valuable introduction which lists and describes the manuscripts used, and gives a concise account of the method employed. The editor has also prepared Hebrew notes in which the various details of the textual work and other elaborate matters are dealt with; unfortunately these notes have not yet been published, but they are often referred to in the notes to the text. However, the non-specialist does not need them in order to appreciate the book.

The translation is a great boon to those laymen who are interested in getting more than a mere glimpse of the Talmud; while the text will stand as a model to scholars. The Jewish Publication Society is to be congratulated upon the issuance of this excellent scholarly work.

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AN EXAMPLE OF JEWISH MYSTICISM

Recent years have witnessed a gradual growth of interest in the various types of mystical speculation that flourished in the eastern Mediterranean lands contemporary with the early history of Christianity. This

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interest has been stimulated by the studies of Reitzenstein in the Hermetic and the Mandean literatures, the investigations of Bousset and others in the origins of Gnosticism, and the new importance attaching to the oriental mystery religions as shedding light upon problems of Christian origins. But in all of these inquiries the question of mysticism's vogue among the Jews has received only minor consideration. In view of this situation Hugo Odeberg's volume[1] is especially timely. Here an obscure Jewish document is made available for the first time in a critical edition of the original Hebrew accompanied by an English rendering with lengthy footnotes and an extensive Introduction.

In the present connection the significance of *3 Enoch*—the author says he has the authorization of R. H. Charles to use this new title—heretofore called *The Hebrew Book of Enoch,* depends mainly on the date of composition. By older scholars the type of speculation here represented has usually been assigned to the period of Jewish contact with Islam in the early Middle Ages. Odeberg finds this view inadequate, and after an elaborate investigation of the available evidence he concludes that the book emanated from the Jews of Mesopotamia not later than the third century, A.D. It is not, therefore, post-Talmudic, as has commonly been imagined, but is indicative of a mystical tendency within Judaism contemporary with similar propensities among the Gnostics and the Mandeans. Thus *3 Enoch* is made equal in age to the well known mystical passage of the Babylonian Talmud in Chagiga 11b–16a. The persons responsible for *3 Enoch* are thought to have constituted, not a separatist society which regarded itself as the guardian of an esoteric wisdom; on the contrary, they possessed the learning of the schools and in general were "orthodox," yet they "apparently cherished with veneration the traditions of the earlier apocalyptic and angelological literature, especially the Enoch literature; naturally they concentrated upon the mystical experiences connected with the vision of the throne and the divine chariot, and may have accepted the various extraneous conceptions or forms of expression (or of visualizing) with which they were brought in contact and which seemed to them in keeping with their own experiences and speculations. Thus they accepted, already at an early time, the idea of a celestial representative of the Godhead, a vice-regent, a second, lower θρόνος, in the form of Metatron. They were also particularly interested in the elaboration of systems of angelology, picturing the vast angelic hierarchy from the lowest of common angels up to the

[1] *3 Enoch*, or *The Hebrew Book of Enoch*. Edited and translated by Hugo Odeberg. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1928; sole American agents, Macmillan, New York. 192+179+74+36 pages.

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highest angelic figure, the ruler—by God's authority—over all the hosts under him."

Of especial interest are the pages (79–146) dealing with Metatron, who in *3 Enoch* is the angel that has access to the presence of God, a kind of second deity. He has a great variety of functions. He is a kind of Hermes whom God employs as guide and instructor for Rabbi Ishmael, who ascends to heaven to secure this revealed wisdom. He is the guardian of all the divine secrets. Originally he was Enoch translated to heaven where he now has been transformed from an earthly human into a celestial angelic nature and given authority over the entire angelic hosts, and is the intermediary between them and God. There are vestiges of the notion that he was the primal man, the "first Adam." But his chief function now is to serve as the authentic mediator of the divine wisdom—a conception fundamental to all mystic gnostic types of religious thinking.

This document is a noteworthy piece of apocalyptic writing that unquestionably belongs to the legitimate succession of Enoch-books, but it invites further study, more particularly in relation to extra-Jewish interests and ways of thinking in the environment where its sponsors are assumed to have lived.

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THE UNIQUENESS OF PAULINE CHRISTIANITY

The interest centering in the Apostle Paul has notably broadened in scope during recent years. It now includes, not only his connections with the early Christian movement, but also his total social environment, gentile as well as Jewish. The study of Paul, the man and the missionary, has now become a "Study in Social and Religious History," to quote a title that is very familiar to English and German readers. In this environmental study the relationships that are being emphasized at the present time are Paul's gentile contacts and in particular his connections with pagan cults.

In line with his keen present-day interest in Paul's religious milieu, Rev. Thomas Wilson, a loyal pupil of Auguste Sabatier, devoted the Gunning Lectures of 1926, delivered before the University of Edinburgh, to a discussion of the apostle in relation to his pagan environment. After sketching the main elements in that environment Mr. Wilson singled out the influences of the mystery religions as especially significant for Paul's personal religious development. Next in sequence the importance of pagan guilds for the organization of Pauline religious communities

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received due consideration. The series was concluded by a lecture on Pauline eschatology in which the pagan and primitive origins of his belief in immortality were stressed, along with the Jewishness of his idea of the resurrection. As a series the Gunning Lectures were well balanced, but obviously they did not constitute a complete treatment of the subject.

In order to give the desired comprehensiveness to his studies Mr. Wilson more recently added five new chapters to the substance of his lectures and published the whole under the pointed title *St. Paul and Paganism.*[1] The added materials deal with the significance of the pagan home-religion for Pauline Christianity, the influence of state cults, and of imperial religion; Paul's conception of Jesus Christ as mediator, son of God, savior, lord, and spirit, together with the gentile parallels for these concepts; religion and morality in Paulinism and gentile cults; pagan and early Christian sacraments; and a final chapter on "St. Paul and the Modern Mind." The combined materials constitute a unified and comprehensive discussion of the main theme.

The central problem to which the author addresses himself is to determine the precise extent to which gentile religious influences were effective in the formulation of Paul's religion. On this question Mr. Wilson's position is moderate indeed, and but little in advance of the very conservative stand assumed by his fellow-countryman, Professor H. A. A. Kennedy, a decade and a half ago. Mr. Wilson recognizes that "Paul was a real man in a real environment," and that he "was the heir of a vast heritage of religious and moral ideas, some of them Jewish and some of them pagan." He would not stress the matter of Jewish inheritance as strongly as did Professor Kennedy, but more emphatically than the latter he would insist on Pauline uniqueness and originality. His representation is that at all important points, even where pagan parallels are evident, Pauline Christianity was perceptibly superior and indeed unique. In order to explain this alleged superiority Mr. Wilson has recourse to theology and invokes the doctrine of special divine revelation. Far more than a mere syncretism Pauline Christianity was "a mighty flood of radiant light straight from the heart of the sun."

The author's position is the illogical one of admitting gentile influences to the periphery of early Christianity, but at the same time insisting that the core of Paul's religion was unique and untainted. When it comes to a sharp definition of the particular aspects of Pauline Christianity that were unique the author has a difficult time of it, although he

[1] *St. Paul and Paganism.* By T. Wilson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1927. vii+285 pages. $3.75.

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labors the point conscientiously in every chapter. Usually his emphasis is on the ethical item of personal loyalty to the Lord Jesus and the mystical item of union with God through the spiritual Christ. But were not the various lords of the mysteries as real to their devotees as the Lord Christ was to the Christian? And were there not gentile systems that stressed ethics as pronouncedly as Judaism and Christianity did? And was not mysticism as vivid and real an experience to gentile religionists as it was for Paul himself? When in the concluding chapter the author makes Pauline mysticism normative for the present and the future, and contends that "there is no limit to the future achievements of humanity if only it can discover St. Paul's secret of life with God in Christ Jesus," the reader is ready to believe that Mr. Wilson's apologia for Pauline Christianity had a practical and homiletical motivation.

There are minor criticisms that might be recorded regarding the arrangement of materials in *St. Paul and Paganism*. Almost without exception the several chapters are chaotic, with a confusion of ideas that are important and pertinent, but are strung out in jumbled disarray with no proper emphasis on logical relationships. This is decidedly misleading. The religious situation in Paul's world was varied and confused, to be sure, but not quite as chaotic as Mr. Wilson represents it to have been. Also the footnotes in the book are so heavily overloaded as to be disconcerting rather than immediately helpful. Much of this material might better have been incorporated in the text, and some of it might effectively have been omitted altogether.

The footnotes call special attention to what is likely to be the chief value of the book for the student of Paul and his world. Mr. Wilson has read widely in the field of Hellenistic religions and he quotes freely from the best modern authorities on the subjects that he discusses. Böhlig and Cumont and Farnell and Harrison and Reitzenstein are generously represented in quotations and comments. His list is not exhaustive. The reader is sure to miss Macchioro and Angus, and is also likely to make mental note of a fact that the author has apparently overlooked, viz., that Gilbert Murray's *Four Stages of Greek Religion* has now become *Five Stages* (p. 33, n. 3). Minor criticisms aside, however, Mr. Wilson's *St. Paul and Paganism* serves to introduce the reader to an extensive and valuable literature concerning Graeco-Roman cults.

Incidentally it is interesting to note that the author is minister of the Stow parish in Midlothian. Where else than in Scotland are there ministers who think it worth while to write books about first-century gentile religions?

HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY

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REHABILITATING THE "DARK AGES"

That abysmal night, popularly assumed to have settled down upon Europe with the so-called "fall" of the Roman Empire and the incoming of the barbarians in the West, is not so black as it used to be. Of late voices have been raised here and there in defense of the cultural significance of this period of transition. Its latest champion is Professor Rand in his recently published Lowell Institute lectures.[1]

The part played by the church in the time of the barbarians has been variously evaluated. Some interpreters of the period have placed a large measure of blame upon Christianity for the cultural decadence of Rome. In fact, we have quite recently been told that Christianity was the disintegrating agency chiefly responsible for the dissolution of the Empire. If we assume that the church led people to despise every form of culture and directed men's minds more and more toward other-worldly matters, it is not unnatural—it is perhaps inevitable—that Rome's fall should have left Western Europe in deep darkness. The crux of the problem is the question of how far the church in this age of transition preserved in itself the genuine classical heritage and thus furnished the foundations for the later cultural developments of the Middle Ages. This is the general problem to which our author addresses himself, but he restricts his efforts within still narrower limits. What the church preserved from pagan culture in its institutional, ritualistic, and creedal developments does not specifically concern him. His interests are more personal and individualistic. He wishes "to make clear the importance of certain great men and of certain great movements in thought and culture . . . . and to point out the significance of these men and these movements as precursors of certain aspects of medieval civilization. Also it should be noted that his main concern is with the West; hence he may make much of a Tertullian, an Ambrose, a Jerome, a Cassiodorus, while quite ignoring or barely mentioning prominent figures of the East like Origen, Basil, Eusebius. It is the Latin heritage with which he chooses to deal, and with this interest dominant he presents a vigorous defense of the church as the vehicle of culture in the West.

After surveying the problem of the church confronted by pagan culture, Professor Rand sketches the main lines along which he finds the solution to have been accomplished. It goes without saying that he places high value upon the cultural attainments of individual Romans in the sphere of the humanities, but he esteems the church even more highly as

[1] *Founders of the Middle Ages.* By Edward Kennard Rand. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. ix+365 pages. $4.00.

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the repository of true wisdom derived from some extraneous source. At the outset "the message of Christianity was clear, profound, and new." This in effect is simply a reaffirmation of the familiar traditional view that Christianity, up to the close of New Testament times, had retained its original purity. The analysis of the gospels made by "disintegrating critics" and the findings of scholars who would recognize the influence of Stoicism or of the mystery religions upon a Paul are emphatically deprecated; "there is the authority of scholarship, and there is also the authority of tradition, based on information not accessible to us and sanctioned by the church." Ecclesiastically, Professor Rand seems to be a staunch traditionalist in his notions about the origins of Christianity.

How can a religion whose uniqueness is assumed to consist in its doctrine of the Incarnation (p. 37) ever justly stoop to recognize and adopt so worldly a thing as the cultural heritage of Rome? This was possible, says our author, because the church found in this pagan inheritance so much that agreed with its own new revelation. That particular phase of ancient civilization which Christians appropriated was its humanism, the love and practice of letters, as exemplified in princely manner by a Cicero. But not even did he, and much less did the learned doctors of the church, make the mistake of setting "the arts among the absolutes." They did not sacrifice the new philosophy that Christianity had introduced when they cultivated the ancient studies, but discovered that there was a legitimate and indispensable connection between the new and the old. Thus the classics would seem to have been redeemed from their pagan ancestry in much the same manner that the Old Testament is often thought by Christians to have been rescued from its less worthy Jewish guardians. The detailed story of how this torch of classical humanism was held aloft during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and thus passed on to the Middle Ages, is charmingly narrated in a succession of chapters entitled "St. Ambrose the Mystic," "St. Jerome the Humanist," "Boethius, the First of the Scholastics," "The New Poetry," "The New Education," and "St. Augustine and Dante."

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

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ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN ASIA

Two fresh sources for the history of Roman Catholic missions in Asia have recently been published, one belonging to the seventeenth, the other to the twentieth, century. Sir Hermann Gollancz has edited from a unique autograph manuscript the chronicle of the Discalced Carmelites

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in Mesopotamia (1623–1733), written by Agathangelus of St. Theresa (d. 1686) and continuators.[1] Having been interrupted by a protracted illness, the author has felt obliged to publish the work with a somewhat inadequate introduction, consisting mainly of a description of the manuscript, with a few paragraphs, based on an obscure book of 1816, on the development of monasticism. The author has in the main faithfully reproduced the text, in some instances suggesting corrections in his notes. He has, however, by his own confession, not scrupled to introduce some corrections without indicating the original; thus the exact state of the original is not discoverable from this edition. The Latin text is followed by an English translation (pp. 319 f.).

The site of the mission was the seaport of Bassora on the Persian Gulf. It was founded in 1623 by Rev. Father Basil, who was sent by the Spanish congregation of Carmelites. An Augustinian mission was opened at Bassora in the same year, but not long afterward abandoned.

The record is by no means a complete history. It begins with brief notices of the names and dates of the vicars and visitors to 1684. This is followed by a section of which Agathangelus expressly claims authorship, giving personal appreciations of some of the brothers he has known, and numerous incidents of much interest as illustrating the foreign influences in the town and the methods of the friars. Similar materials fill the remaining pages. The writers evince constant contempt for the cupidity of the Turks, and show that they well know how to utilize this quality in the interests of their cause. They were often busy with efforts to free Christian girls carried off by the Moslems, or to redeem other captives. They witnessed much violence, and saw, sometimes exultantly, in the deaths of enemies and blasphemers the vengeance of God. They regarded themselves as the prophets of divine wrath as well as of divine love. Often they interceded with the Turkish authorities on behalf of Europeans, such as the Frenchman who had stabbed a Moslem, or the three English youths who, insulted by a mob of Turks, snatched clubs from their opponents and laid out a number of them for dead. In such cases the Christians, if apprehended, were given the alternative of proselytizing or death. The brothers, however, by the use of gifts and influence, often succeeded in securing their release. The political influence which they exercised is explicable on the basis of the Eastern policy of Louis XIV. The French ambassador secured in 1673 and 1679 capitulations from the Sultan guaranteeing protection to Capuchins and Carmelites, and especially to

[1] *The Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia, XVII and XVIII Centuries.* By Sir Hermann Gollancz. New York: Oxford University Branch, 1927. xxiii+669 pages. $14.00.

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the church at Bassora. These and other diplomatic documents are incorporated in the chronicle. The friars were careful of appearances: "It should be observed," the chronicle explains, "that in the event of the death of any infidel, that is a European heretic, it was the duty of the father to accompany him to the grave, not with prayers, since they are useless to him, but to avoid offense, and that the Turks may understand that we are here for this purpose and are necessary."

It is the lament of the brothers that "few worship God and many worship gold." Surrounded as they were by Turkish and Arab Moslems, and by European and Eastern Christians, they felt the atmosphere of this mercantile environment unfavorable to true religion. Perhaps they were themselves in part to blame. While they lead us to admire their courage and cleverness, they give little evidence of constructive missionary effort. They zealously sought to convert heretics, it is true, and the decision of a wounded and bleeding Dane to renounce Lutheranism—perhaps in the hope of securing better nursing—is proudly recorded. Conversions from Islam were obtained only with the greatest difficulty, and professions were often insincere. The book is a treasury of social history and should prove of use to the general historian as well as to the historian of Christianity.

The second of these volumes[2] brings us to contemporary efforts in China. Roman Catholic missions in China have been making substantial progress under the leadership of the Foreign Mission Society of America, founded in 1911, which has its seminary at Maryknoll, New York. A region of 20,000 square miles in South China with a population of about 6,000,000 has been assigned to the Society, and this field has been increasingly occupied since 1918, when the first band of missioners arrived. A former volume of *Maryknoll Mission Letters* appeared in 1923 recording the experiences of priests of the mission from its beginnings to 1921. The present volume includes, in addition to letters from priests, a number from brothers in the service of the mission and from some of the Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic, who first joined the active work of the mission in 1921. The field lies mainly in the maritime province of Kwangtung, but reaches westward into Kwangsi.

The letters form pleasant reading, and indicate on the whole that joyous acceptance of discomfort and hardship which characterizes the true missionary of every creed. They indicate also a fine *esprit de corps*, based largely upon loyalty to the alma mater on the Hudson. There are few outpourings of the intenser type of missionary zeal, and there is no

[2] *Maryknoll Mission Letters. China.* Vol. II. *Extracts from Letters and Diaries of Pioneer Missioners.* New York: Macmillan, 1927. xvi+402 pages.

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expectation of a sweeping mass movement. The authors seem much less than most Protestant missionaries aware of the distinctly new aspects of the missionary problem in China. Father Ford, it is true, attributes the Chinese General Council (Roman Catholic) held at Shanghai in the summer of 1924 to the "problems raised by changes in the Chinese themselves." Though the existence of "a problem of young China" has been doubted, he believes that the development of education in China constitutes "a sharp break with the past." Generally the letters are taken up with the vivid incidents of travel in peril of brigands, with the traditional habits and customs of the common people, and with descriptions of the work and its need at the different centers. The stories of the exposure of infants, of panic fears of the foreign devil, of soldiers who confirm their courage by eating the hearts of brigands, remind us that China has not been extensively modernized. Such somber details mingle with the humor of many an odd situation to render the book at once informing and fascinating. Nor are all the dark beliefs confined to the Chinese. One good father has had to combat a diabolical visitor who rendered a woman's life wretched by throwing her out of bed, etc. He was disposed to think the case one of hysteria, but was finally convinced that it was "truly diabolical." Holy water freely sprinkled discouraged the demon only temporarily. In charity the priest felt obliged to baptize the victim, which he did, reading the exorcisms with unusual fervor. Ten days later, having meanwhile heard no adverse report, he writes: "We hope that Satan has been completely routed."

Some of the writers evince a different notion of how to exorcise China's demons. Father J. A. Walsh, superior of Maryknoll, recording in charming fashion his visit to the mission, urges the need for medical effort, and others stress the importance of education. Referring to the disappearance from the church of hundreds baptized in 1902 at Kochow, one priest insists: "Our one watchword must be *Instruction.*"

John T. McNeill

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JANSENISM IN ITALY

Jansenism in France was a movement which touched every class in society, affected a wide variety of interests, and created not only its distinctive type of morality and of piety and its characteristic mental attitudes but also its own roster of heroes, saints, and martyrs, and its own miracles and legends. Thus permeating the whole fabric of French cul-

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ture for two centuries, it was inevitable that it should find expression and record in notable works of literature. Such literary reflections of Jansenism, from Pascal to the *Jean Christophe* of Romain Roland, have carried the influence of the movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the memory of it in the nineteenth far beyond the circle of theologians and have made some familiarity with it the common property of all persons having any acquaintance whatever with French thought during this period.

But it has not been so in Italy. There were no popular expositions of it, no significant or widely read literary embodiments of it, no conspicuous figures among its representatives. In the eighteenth century it was in the main a body of opposition to the Jesuit order. With the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, its occupation was gone; and when the Society of Jesus was restored in 1815, Jansenism had disintegrated. It was always felt to be a foreign thing in Italy, uncongenial and exotic. In consequence, but slight attention to the Italian aspects of the movement has been paid by the general historians of Jansenism. For example, Augustin Gazier's *Histoire générale du Movement janséniste,* scholarly and comprehensive as it is, has scarcely a word to say about any phase of it outside of France. And in general little attention has been paid to the internal life of the church in Italy during this period. Those who have treated of it have been either pre-occupied with the effort to prove the essential orthodoxy of the patriots who supported the claims of the state as against the church, or, if not hostile to the church itself, at least impatient with what seemed to be mere theological subtleties.

A new phase of the study of Italian Jansenism began with the work of Ettore Rota, published in 1907, *Il Giansenismo in Lombardia e i prodromi del risorgimento italiano.* But still little attention was paid to the theological core of the movement. Even Croce could say that the Italian Jansenists were concerned more with the constitution of the church and its relations with the state and with opposition to the influence of the Jesuits than with questions properly theological. Which is doubtless true of the persons whom he had in mind, though whether they could properly be called Jansenists is open to some question. Rota and his followers have held that Italian Jansenism was only the religious aspect of that liberal democratic movement which issued in the Resorgimento and Italian liberty and unity.

The author of this book[1] opposes this view of Jansenism in general and of Italian Jansenism in particular. He holds substantially to the

[1] *Il Giansenismo in Italia prima della Rivoluzione.* By Arturo Carlo Jemolo. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1928. xl+437 pages.

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view given by the French students of the subject, especially Sainte-Beuve. It was, to state it briefly and not too accurately, the final expression of that intellectualistic Christianity which showed the triumph of the church in the field of reason and conscience. It was "the last wave of the Middle Ages washing the shores of the nineteenth century." Loisy defined it as "taking Christianity seriously as a wise and austere discipline." Quite obviously it was other and more than that. This author's interest is primarily in its theological aspects and in the implications of its basically Augustinian theology upon private morals and upon the discipline of the church. The limitation of his field, "before the Revolution," reflects the judgment either that Italian Jansenism did not exist in the nineteenth century, or that it did not constitute a significant factor in the religious or political life of the awakening nation.

WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE REVIVAL OF RITUAL

The liturgical movement among German Catholics had hardly begun before the war, but it has gathered great momentum. Its chief promoters are the Benedictine monks of Maria Laach and Beuron, but it is rooted in a general quickening of religious life. Its aim is to bring from the central springs refreshing and nourishment to people's everyday life.[1] The monks are clearing the old wells that thirsty men may drink of the living water; they are drawing men away from later and secondary forms of devotion to the central cultus. People's manuals and cheap devotional books are being issued,[2] some of them of unusual penetration and engaging piety;[3] and a new liturgical scholarship is taking shape.[4] At the same time Guardini, the head of the "youth movement" among Catholics, is at the center of a widespread revival of religion. They all find focussed in the Mass the potencies of the unseen world. "What takes place before our eyes," one of them explains,[5] "must find a response within us. It is indeed an objective fact, independent of what is within; that

[1] *Alte Quellen neuer Kraft.* By I. Herwegen. Duesseldorf, 1920.

[2] The two series in particular: "Ecclesia orans," and "Die liturgischen Volksbuecher."

[3] E.g. R. Guardini, *Vom Geist der Liturgie.* Freiburg, 1922.

[4] Three series: "Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen," "Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen," "Jahrbuch fuer Liturgiewissenschaft."

[5] *Das christliche Opfermysterium.* By O. Casel. Muenchen, 1926.

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is where the power of the Catholic mystery lies: it is God's act; the power of God is there at work. But that very power is straining to draw us within the action." If we open our souls, yield ourselves through Christ and with Christ to the Father, if we share as members of the body in the self-giving of the Head, we find all the forces which stream from a redeeming God, at work reshaping our lives.

In 1925 Mensching published a survey of recent efforts to adjust or reform Lutheran worship.[6] But it was not left to him to write its counterpart on the Catholic movement; in that field Walter Birnbaum anticipated him.[7] And to English-speaking students Birnbaum's book is of greater interest than Mensching's new one.[8] It includes both *Darstellung* and *Kritik*. It would have been of interest to us in Britain and America if Mensching had traced the roots of the movement and opened up more fully its chief interests. But he has not done that either. He discusses from the standpoint of Lutheranism certain points of dogma involved in the Roman liturgy. A good deal of the book might just as well have been written twenty years ago, or even two hundred years ago. For the criterion applied is a form of Lutheran dogma only a little less rigid than the Roman dogma under consideration. The book is essentially an exposition of old points of controversy with Rome.

The Lutheran view of the natural is set over against the Roman. To the former nature and grace stand opposed to each other. Whatever is of nature—the natural man—lies under condemnation, "under the wrath of God"; but Catholicism accepts nature and proceeds to reshape it; *gratia supponit et perficit naturam*. The one clings to the church visible, the other to the church invisible. Each has its own meaning for the word "symbol" as applied to the sacrament. Catholicism has always been hospitable to men's simple ideas and primitive means of approach to deity, taking a kindly attitude toward those elements of the liturgy that do not come from the Upper Room; to Luther they are anathema. At the same time Mensching is appreciative of much that is evangelical in the movement; and it must be gratifying to Christians generally that men are being recalled from many byways of religion to the crucified and living Lord.

RICHARD DAVIDSON

EMMANUEL COLLEGE
TORONTO, CANADA

[6] *Die liturgische Bewegung in der evangelischen Kirche.* Tübingen, 1925.

[7] *Die katholische liturgische Bewegung: Darstellung und Kritik.* Gütersloh, 1926.

[8] *Katholische Kultprobleme dargestellt in ihrem Verhaeltnis zur evangelischen Kultauffassung.* By Gustav Mensching. Gotha: Klotz, 1927. xii+96 pages. M. 3.

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DEFINING THE RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE

A comparison of three recent books on religion,[1] all psychological in approach, suggests that the progress of psychology may be bringing us at last within sight of agreement on the vexed question of the nature of religion.

In the course of a discriminating psychological analysis which reflects great credit on the British school of religious psychologists, Dr. Flower finds that religion is not an instinct, nor a sentiment based upon a group of instincts; it is an attitude arising when the organism finds all its instincts and specific response mechanisms frustrated by the presence of an element of strangeness in the environment, "a situation in which it is capable of discriminating something more than what is adequate stimulus to the innate tendencies" (p. ix). Three possible attitudes may be taken in the presence of mystery: sheer collapse, which spells defeat; temporary withdrawal, to elaborate a new explanation which completely dispels the mystery by completely meeting the situation; or finally, after a similar withdrawal, the elaboration of a fantasy which enables one to act with confidence without completely resolving the mystery. The second attitude is that of science and common sense; the third is the religious attitude.

Religion is thus an adventure into that great Beyond of which the lower animals with their fixed instincts know nothing, and of which we with our limited mental equipment can only say that it exists, as a sort of infra-red or ultra-violet region of reality, which we can vaguely discriminate, but not clearly apprehend. Religious genius consists in power to discriminate the presence of this beyond, and to conceive symbolic representations and rituals whereby some incomplete but life-sustaining adjustment to it may be made—a thesis which Dr. Flower supports by a comparison of widely divergent religious types, from George Fox to the Winnebago peyote-eaters! Fundamentally, he feels, religion is a pioneering attitude, a fearless attempt to face life's ever thickening mysteries. It is only second-hand or degenerate religion that is to be described as a "defense reaction against uncertainty" (p. 56) or "escape from reality" (p. 204).[2]

[1] *An Approach to the Psychology of Religion.* By J. Cyril Flower. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. xi+248 pages. $3.50; *The Religious Attitude: A Psychological Study of its Differentiation.* By Angus Stewart Woodburne. New York: Macmillan, 1927. vi+353 pages. $2.50; *New Studies in Mystical Religion* (Ely Lectures, Union Theological Seminary). By Rufus M. Jones. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 205 pages. $1.75.

[2] Flower's position reminds one strongly of Professor Wieman's *Religious Experience and Scientific Method.*

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Dr. Woodburne's analysis is almost identical with Dr. Flower's, but supplements it at certain points. "So long as the environment is able to supply the fundamental needs of the organism and no crises or tensions arise," he says, "we can respond to the environment at the instinctive level. But the presence of a situation that cannot be met satisfactorily by an instinctive response calls for reflection" (p. 173). Out of this situation magic, science, art, morality, and religion all arose, forming at first an "undifferentiated continuum" in which magic was perhaps the most noticeable element. Later all five attitudes became differentiated.

> The religious attitude is differentiated in human experience as the social attitude toward the extra-human environment. Within the sphere of this attitude arises our most transcendent conception of value. At the same time the attitude is one of adventurous faith and participation. . . . . Magic is pre-science rather than pre-religion. The scientific attitude is a mechanical attitude toward the extra-human, whereas the religious is social. . . . . The aesthetic attitude is less concerned than the religious with the reality or unreality of its object. . . . . In religion we socialize with the extra-human, while in morality we socialize with the human element of the environment (pp. 341–43).

"Mysticism . . . . is the soul of religion"—these words of Dr. Woodburne (p. 129) might be taken as the motto of Rufus Jones's new book on mystical religion. It is specifically with mystical religion that he is concerned; but as he proceeds to disentangle mysticism from its unfortunate associations with mental abnormalities, asceticism, occultism, individualism, and other-worldly metaphysics, he in fact presents mysticism as the creative element in all first-hand religion. "Mysticism," he says, "does not mean something 'occult,' or 'esoteric,' or 'gnostic,' or 'pseudo-psychic.' It only means that the soul of man has dealings with realities of a different order from that with which senses deal" (p. 25).

> Our external world, as we now know, is full of realities for which we have no adequate end-organs of perception, ... electrons, microbes, X-rays, radio-vibrations. . . . . We have succeeded in proving the existence of these non-perceptible realities by other methods than unaided senses [p. 94]. The implications which attach to all our stages of knowledge force us to ask whether there is not something in us like the marvelous antennae of insects that can feel out beyond the limiting barriers and discover what the beyond is like. The mystic . . . . feels a contact with what lies out beyond the world of eyes and ears and finger-tips, though it is by means of his entire integrated self, rather than by some mysterious sense or instinct, that he operates [p. 149].

This sounds speculative, and is; but is it more than a legitimate philosophical interpretation of that same psychological theory of the na-

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ture of religion which we have been discussing? If man has, as Dr. Flower contends, the power to "discriminate" elements in his environment to which he is not equipped to respond specifically, may this not mean that he is beginning to evolve new cognitive powers? And may not the mystics, because of that very mental instability which so often leads them into abnormality, be unusually sensitive to those ranges of reality which lie beyond the ken of our present mental equipment?

A naturalistic (i.e., illusionistic) interpretation of these phenomena is of course equally legitimate; and here we run upon a query: Are not all our authors, with their emphasis upon religion's commerce with the beyond, tending to identify religion with supernaturalism, and to rule out of the realm of religion all that is explicable, natural, and human? What would they do with early Buddhism, or Confucianism, or modern Humanistic religion? If I interpret them correctly, they would not deny that known scientific facts, well-attested moral principles, and simple human relationships may and should be woven into the fabric of religion; and they would deprecate any attempt to describe the object of the religious attitude as essentially unknowable or inexplicable;[8] but they would insist that first-hand religion, as found in the prophets and mystics, always involves a daring cosmic curiosity that ventures fearlessly into the unknown in the interest of larger life. Your cautious positivist, dealing only with known facts and socially recognized values, cannot be creatively religious in quite the same sense. The wings of his faith are clipped.

WALTER M. HORTON
OBERLIN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

VITAL THEOLOGY

William Adams Brown, professor of systematic theology in Union Seminary since 1898, occupies by general consent the first place, since the death of William Newton Clark, among American theologians. His *Christian Theology in Outline* (1906) has long been a standard textbook in theological seminaries.

It is significant of the movement of theology in the modern world, as well as of the development of his own mind, to trace the progress of Professor Brown's contributions to theology from his first scholarly and still valuable theological study, *The Essence of Christianity* (1902), to

[8] Cf. Jones, pp. 22, 23, 92 and *passim*.

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the present volume.[1] The progress is steady and notable from the more academic and technical treatment of the subject to one that is increasingly direct, human, and pragmatic.

This book represents vital theology from the pen of a theologian in close touch with modern life and literature. It is not modernism, although it is eminently modern. Nor is it fundamentalism, although it is deeply fundamental.

The tendency and effect of such a work is to restore theology to its true relation to the common life and experience of men. No volume more successful in this respect has appeared. One may instance the translation of the *messiahship* of Christ into terms of his *leadership*, and of his *deity* into terms of *experience*. "To believe in the deity of Christ means to make Jesus normative both for our thought of God and our *experience* of God." If such wise words as the following could be incorporated into the consciousness of the church, what might not be hoped for in a truer understanding of the Gospel and its application? "The real test of our loyalty to Jesus lies, not in the way we conceive the relation between the divine and the human in his person, but in the attitude which we take to that person, however conceived."

Especially admirable and timely is the discussion of church unity, the sacraments, and the Apostles' Creed. Dr. Brown's well-known interest and activity in the direction of a comprehensive and united church finds full and convincing expression in this chapter.

The defects of the volume grow out of its merits. Great themes, like the nature of freedom, the meaning of the doctrine of the Trinity, etc., necessarily receive so meager a treatment as to leave the reader unsatisfied. The list of books for supplementary reading in part supplies this deficiency, but there is not enough recognition of the fact that the problems of theology necessarily pass over into those of philosophy. The book conveys too much of an impression that the great doctrines presented are definitely settled and that further investigation of them is needless. In its commendable desire to simplify Christian doctrine the book fails to commend the open mind and the inquiring spirit. This impression of finality is heightened by such chapter titles as: What to Believe about the World We Live in, about Jesus, God, the Church, the Bible, etc. There is not a particle of dogmatism in Dr. Brown or in his book, but we are told in the Scripture to avoid the very *appearance* of evil.

There are not a few indications that theology is coming back to its

[1] *Beliefs That Matter*. By William Adams Brown. New York: Scribner's, 1928. 333 pages. $2.75.

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own in general interest and fruitfulness, and William Adams Brown in this book again proves himself one of the leaders in this restoration.

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM

SAMPLE SERMONS AND PUBLIC WORSHIP

In the volume *"Till He Come,"* from William Ross,[1] minister of the Fountainhall Road United Free Church, Edinburgh, we have twenty-one communion sermons. The author recognizes that "at Communion Services, the tension upon the preacher is at its greatest," and puts forth this volume in the hope that it may help "in a choice of subjects, in exposition, illustration, and application." Perhaps even more than other sermons, communion addresses suffer from being read apart from the occasion which called them forth. These are sincere, earnest, and fitting.

In the volume, *If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach*, English Series, edited by Sir James Marchant,[2] we have a distinct addition to the fast-growing sermonic literature of the day. It would be presumptious to try to pass judgment on the pulpit work of the twenty English ministers represented in this volume. Most of the preachers are already well known: R. J. Campbell, W. E. Orchard, Maude Royden, Studdert Kennedy, L. P. Jacks, Dean Inge. It is a high order of pulpit work here presented. If one might make a suggestion, without intending it as a criticism, could not the compilers of volumes of sermons render a still greater service by introducing us to men whose work is not already so familiar? This is exactly what is done in *American Lutheran Preaching*, edited by Miles Krumbine.[3] The volume affords a cross-section of the output of the Lutheran pulpit. Twenty-five sermons are included, representing ten states of the Union. Probably it is not an accident that eight of the twenty-five preachers live in Pennsylvania; four of them are professors in Lutheran colleges and theological schools. Lutheran preaching, as the editor says, is "essentially biblical," in which it affords a contrast to American preaching in general. The editor's introduction to the book and to each sermon in it is valuable. The volume affords a means of tracing the influences of a great denomination upon its preachers.

[1] *"Till He Come."* By William Ross. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1928. viii+215 pages. $2.00.

[2] *If I had Only One Sermon to Preach.* Edited by Sir James Marchant. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928. 307 pages. $2.50.

[3] *American Lutheran Preaching.* By Miles H. Krumbine. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928. xvii+301 pages. $2.50.

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It is a different but equally valuable thing which Dr. Halford E. Luccock does in his book, *Preaching Values in New Translations of the New Testament*.[4] The author has taken various passages, now from one, now from another of three modern translations—those of Moffett, Goodspeed, and Weymouth—and has called attention to the homiletical suggestion of the translation. His comments, as he says, are "not sermons. Nor are they intended to serve at all as sermon outlines. They aim simply to afford, if possible, starting-points for thought. They are indications of possible ways in which these fresh, gripping, and vivid renderings of the words of the New Testament into the daily speech of our time may be put to the service of winning an eager hearing for New Testament truth." The book accomplishes its purpose in a wholly delightful manner.

One of the most practical (and therefore, to the average minister, the most valuable) books of the time, on worship, is that of J. Hastie Odgers and Edward G. Schutz, on *The Technique of Public Worship*.[5] "Little or no speculation or theorizing is herein presented, nor yet any thesis to be worked out; we are merely aiming to talk frankly about our church worship, why we have it, what we mean by it, how we do it, and how it may be better done," say the authors. The treatment is divided into two parts: worship in the Sunday service, and worship in the use of ritual, the latter including passages on the communion, and the marriage and burial services. The fact that it is written "by Methodists, with their own church essentially in mind," does not diminish the value of the book for all ministers. It is practical and sincere, growing out of large experience, and answering many specific questions which every minister must often ask.

Different from any of the foregoing is *The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson*, by Bishop Charles Fiske,[6] revealing a parson, in his own words, "not as puzzled or penitent as he describes himself." In these essays, some of them new and some of them republished from various magazines, the author indulges in much plain, though always good-humored, speaking about church affairs in America. He is against "the uplift," against the tendency of the Protestant church to avail itself of legal methods for the promotion of goodness, against "saving souls by church suppers," against the Anti-Saloon League. He believes the church has lost

[4] *Preaching Values in New Translations of the New Testament*. By Halford E. Luccock. New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 312 pages. $2.00.

[5] *The Technique of Public Worship*. By J. Hastie Odgers and Edward G. Schutz. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1928. 300 pages. $2.00.

[6] *The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson*. By Bishop Charles Fiske. New York: Scribner's, 1928. ix+273 pages. $2.00.

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prestige. But in spite of his "criticism of certain unpleasant aspects of Christian enthusiasm" he is much more intent upon his positive "plea for reality in religion and for honest inquiry into the problems, ethical, economic, or political, with which religion may be concerned." A stimulating book, whose extreme readability should not lead anyone to miss its genuine earnestness. Not everyone will agree, but that is the last thing the Bishop wants.

CARL S. PATTON
CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE CLAIMS OF THE CITY

The course of empire no longer moves westward, but cityward, and the movement has found a friend, if not a champion, in the author of this interesting volume.[1] The book is essentially an *apologia pro civitati*. It aims to examine "the consequences of urbanization as viewed primarily, though not exclusively, from the political point of view," and the net conclusion is that the city is superior to the country at almost every point as a habitat for man and his children.

Social philosophers and political thinkers in the past have exhibited an almost unanimous prejudice in favor of agriculture and the agricultural class. The trend toward urbanization has been deplored and attempts to check the movement have been made through education and legislation. But these indictments of urban life and the cityward movement are not valid in the light of the evidence. Civil and religious liberty, personal freedom, democracy, international peace, and even political efficiency have been favorably affected by the growth of city life. The traditional superiority of the country in matters of the health and the nurture of children is vanishing under statistical analysis. Grave problems still confront the city, but it is making far more rapid progress than the country in the solution of its problems. "The anti-urban prejudice of pro-rural partisans blinds their eyes in a vast majority of cases to the serious defects of rural life itself." *Caveat agricola!*

The book is rich in citations from standard works in the fields of history, economics, sociology, and political science. A wide range of periodical literature is referred to and utilized by the author. The text of the book, however, is not burdened with quotations, but is written in a clear, smooth-flowing style calculated to interest and not confuse the reader. Particularistic studies of the city are the order of the day, and we must increasingly rely upon these for sound evaluations of the processes which

[1] *Urbanization*. By John Giffen Thompson. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1927. 683 pages. $6.00.

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form and transform human life in the urban environment. Such a synthetic study as the author undertakes here, however, is not without its value at the present stage of scientific investigation.

R. W. FRANK

PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

NEGRO PROBLEMS IN CITIES[1]

This survey of Negro problems in cities is one of the most significant books on Negro problems since the publication of *The Negro in Chicago* in 1922 by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. It is a survey of four Negro problems—neighborhood relations, housing, schools, and recreation—rather than an intensive study of any one problem. The study covers sixteen cities. The need for the book grows out of the recent migration of Negroes to cities, and especially the large industrial cities of the north. This means that Negroes who have been in rural situations in the South must learn to live in these northern industrial centers. Mr. Woofter and those who participated in this work indicate that the problem is greater than that of space or buildings or playgrounds. Immediately the questions of relations arise. There are processes of social adjustment through which the Negroes must go. There are also certain adjustments necessary on the part of the inhabitants of the cities into which they are going. The problems, therefore, are not alone those of a formal nature, but involve changes in attitudes and ways of living.

The section on neighborhood relations, by Mr. Woofter, deals with the rapid city growth of Negro population, the process of urbanization, racial separation, congestion, and exploitation. His discussion on racial separation is made vivid by a series of maps which show the distribution of Negroes in the sixteen cities studied. He points out also that there is "a sequence of events by which these people became urbanized." The process is described as one of "migration, segregation, concentration, neglect, self-improvement, and amelioration."

There are some interesting comments on the way in which the Negro community expands. He says, "The Advance is somewhat like that of an army. A small outpost is thrown out ahead, and, if the terrain is favorable for occupancy by larger numbers, the mass advances." Friction has resulted in many cases and the agitation takes the forms of "(1)

[1] *Negro Problems in Cities.* A study made under the direction of T. J. Woofter, Jr. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. 284 pages. $2.50.

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passage of segregation laws; (2) deed restrictions; (3) social pressures; (4) violence." The outbreaks do not often recur. After one attack "the city seems to be immune."

The sections on housing by Madge Headley, on schools by W. A. Daniel, and on recreation by Henry J. McGuinn are statements of needs and are written from the viewpoint of administration. The results of the study are often given in tabular form. Mr. Daniel does not treat the more technical problems of Negro education, but the attitudes of both white people and Negroes toward the problems of Negro education, and especially toward the problems of segregation.

SAMUEL C. KINCHELOE

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE TECHNIQUE OF CITY CHURCH SURVEYS

Dr. H. Paul Douglass' latest book[1] is prepared as a practical guide to pastors and church executives who desire to carry on such scientifically organized investigations concerning the church in the urban community as will place in their hands a body of accurate information which may be used in the construction of more adequate programs. A great many city pastors and church executives feel keenly the need for such a body of knowledge. They recognize that they are conducting a large business on a very small capital of accurate information. But they do not know exactly what information to seek, how to gather it, how to tabulate and analyze it when it is gathered, nor how to make use of it when it is in hand.

No city pastor, church executive, or denominational secretary need any longer face this embarrassment. In *How to Study the City Church* Dr. Douglass has done for the city church what Dr. Edmund deS. Brunner did for the town and country church about two years ago in his *Surveying Your Community,* to which the present book is a companion volume. And it is based on wide and successful experience in surveying both the processes actually going on in city churches and the complex and rapidly changing urban environment to which these churches must adapt themselves. Dr. Douglass gives here in detail the methodological procedure followed in the great series of studies of city churches made under his direction by the Institute of Social and Religious Research and published under the titles *The Church in the Changing City, 1,000 City*

[1] *How to Study the City Church.* By H. Paul Douglass. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. 235 pages, 8vo., paper. $2.00.

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Churches, The Springfield Church Survey, and *The St. Louis Church Survey.* It is invaluable to those who desire explicit directions as to how to proceed in making such a survey.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I is intended for the use of city pastors who wish to make semi-intensive surveys of their own churches and communities without professional assistance; or to make more intensive studies of one or more limited aspects of the life and work of their churches; or to investigate carefully the religious antecedents and affiliations of the population of a particular area to discover the responsibility of a given church. All necessary instructions are outlined in detail. Perhaps Dr. Douglass is a bit overoptimistic as to the expertness of the pastor with limited experience in this field, and also as to the length of time in which such surveys can be made by amateurs. At the same time it is certain that the pastor who carefully follows the directions given will find himself in command of a body of factual information of inestimable value in shaping a policy and program for his church.

Part II is intended for church executives who wish to investigate the collective institutional life of a group of churches and the relationship of these churches to the particular neighborhoods or communities to which they belong. Whether the investigation is to be sufficiently limited to permit it to be carried out by the regularly employed staff of a denominational secretary's office, or, instead, is to be on so extensive a scale as to require expert professional direction, a corps of research and survey workers, and large budgets, this book will provide adequate direction for its organization and conduct.

A large number of schedules which have been tested in the work of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, as well as twenty-four charts and thirty-five tables which illustrate the statistical methods recommended, add greatly to the value of the book.

Ministers and executives making use of this book will, no doubt, make many modifications of the procedures suggested. Not everybody will agree with certain of Dr. Douglass' judgments, and differing points of view will lead to other approaches. But this is as the author expects. For the most part, however, the great majority of investigators will do well to follow pretty closely the methods suggested by the author and which have proved so fruitful in the surveys carried out under his direction.

The book will be useful, not only to the city pastors and denominational executives for whom it is primarily intended, but also to seminary instructors and students as a practical manual of survey.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CHARLES T. HOLMAN

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length]

RELIGIONS IN GENERAL

ABBOTT, JUSTIN E. *Bhikshugita.* Poona: Scottish Mission Industries Co., 1928. x+249 pages.

This is the third volume in the series on the poet-saints of Mahārāshtra. The *Bhikshugita* or "mendicant's song" is the twenty-third chapter of the eleventh *skandha* of the Bhagāvata Purāna. The sixty-two verses of the Sanskrit were elaborated into 1,004 verses by Eknath in his Marathi version. The present work translates the text of Eknath. The author provides for comparison Pāngārkar's Marathi text. The glossary is a great help to the general reader.

CLEMEN, CAROLUS (compiler). *Fontes Historiae Religionis Germanicae.* Fasc. III. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928. 112 pages. M. 5.

This valuable series of sources for the history of religions from Greek and Roman writers is already favorably known from two previous parts already completed, one on the religion of Persia and another in five sections on the religion of Egypt. Fasciculus III, which is now available, collects the references to the religion of the Germans as known by authors who wrote in Greek or Latin. It includes authors who belong in the Imperial Age and also writers in Medieval times.

EAKIN, FRANK. *Revaluing Scripture.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 249 pages. $2.25.

Dr. Eakin has now followed up his very useful book on *Getting Acquainted with the New Testament* with a second book dealing with a wider range of religious literatures and their functions in the experience of peoples. Part I, treating of "Bibles in General," combines description and interpretation in a happy way. Part II, entitled "Other Great Bibles Compared with the Jewish-Christian Bible," includes a description of the use made of sacred books among Brahmans, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, Confucians, and Mohammedans. Part III embraces two short chapters on "The Influence of Bibles." The book is throughout scholarly and informing, while quite untechnical and well suited to the needs of the general reader.

PREISENDANZ, KARL (editor). *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri.* Vol. I. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928. xii+200 pages. M. 18.

This is a most commendable enterprise. It is a corpus of Greek magical papyri accompanied by a critical apparatus and a German translation. When completed it will contain seventy-six different examples of magical papyri, with a general introduction and a bibliography. The first volume now issued, embracing 200 pages of text and translation, presents the following seven papyri: Nos. 5025 and 5026 from the National Museum in Berlin, No. 2391 from the Louvre in Paris, the famous Paris magical book from the National Library, Nos. XLVI and XLVII from the British Museum, and the "Papyrus Holmiensis" of three lines noteworthy as offering a magical device for securing revelation from the sun-god. Each selection is prefaced by explanatory remarks descriptive of the document's contents and history, with

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references to the modern literature on the subject. The quality of the work from the point of view both of scholarship and of typography is worthy of highest praise. It is an indispensable tool for every student of Graeco-Roman culture.

ROHRBAUGH, LEWIS GUY. *The Science of Religion.* New York: Henry Holt, 1927. xii+291 pages.

The author does not use the phrase "science of religion" in his title in the technical sense of that term. He makes use of the sciences in order to render reasonable the essential elements of traditional Christian supernaturalism. His topics are God, conversion, prayer, mysticism, and immortality. The gesture is scientific; the point of view is liberal-fundamentalist. Religion is defined as "an active yearning, a striving for better contacts with the power or powers upon which individuals feel themselves dependent." Each chapter provides a bibliography and suggestions for further study.

HEBREW LITERATURE AND RELIGION

ALLGEIER, ARTHUR. *Die Altlateinischen Psalterien.* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1928. xii+190 pages. $3.50.

A history of the research done upon the text of the Old Latin Psalter, together with a collation of the text of the Gallic Psalter with that of four other editions of the Latin Psalter, and a list of the words used in the Old Latin Psalter and the passages in which they occur. An immense amount of painstaking work has been expended upon this study of the text of the Old Latin Psalter, which was prior to the Vulgate and probably the oldest daughter-version of the Septuagint.

CZARNOMSKA, ELIZABETH. *The Authentic Literature of Israel* (freed from the disarrangements, expansions, and comments of early native editors). Edited with introductions. Part II, "From the Exile to the Recovery of Israel's Independence." New York: Macmillan, 1928. xxxii+554 pages. $5.00.

The first volume of this work was published in 1924. It is now complete. It includes a new translation, which is a revision of the Authorized and Revised versions, brief introductions to the various documents, and adds the first book of the Maccabees to the canonical books. The author seeks to present the latest results of literary criticism so that the average man may be able to see them. This means an analysis of the books into their various constituent elements, which are printed each where it belongs chronologically in the history of the literature. Small additions in the way of marginal notes and the like are grouped together in an Appendix. The divine name Yahweh is used whenever it occurs in the Hebrew. No verse numbers are given except at the beginning of each small section. An index of passages is greatly needed in order to enable the reader to find any given passage. The book of Isaiah, for example, is broken up into four main sections to be found in as many different places, besides numerous minor passages which are relegated to the Appendix. The analysis of the sources of the various books will, of course, not please all scholars, each one of whom may have his own analysis, and the average man may be somewhat startled by the piecemeal treatment of some of the books; but every scholar will appreciate the great labor that has gone into the making of the book and the skill with which the labor has been done.

FORREST, W. M. *King or Shepherd? The Song of Solomon.* Boston: Stratford, 1928. ix+54 pages. $1.00.

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LOFTHOUSE, W. F. *Israel after the Exile.* The Clarendon Bible, Vol. IV. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. xvi+262 pages. $1.50.

A new volume of a popular commentary. The content is thoroughly in harmony with modern scholarship and the text is illustrated by several maps and pictures. The period of Hebrew history treated covers the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The series is deserving of a wide sale.

MACPHERSON, KATHARINE L. *In Days of Old. Stories from the Bible.* Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1928. 254 pages. $2.00.

A paraphrastic summary of the story of the Hebrews from the beginning until the death of Moses. The point of view in the presentation of the story is frankly literalistic.

MAYNARD, JOHN A. (editor). *Seven Years of Old Testament Study* (critical bibliography of Old Testament research from 1917 to 1924). The Oriental Research Series. London: Luzac, 1927. 160 pages. 5*s*.

This is a bibliography of Old Testament studies for the years 1918 to 1924 by the co-editor of the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research,* in which journal this bibliographical work first appeared. In all there are references in these pages to about two thousand books and articles appearing during the above period. The volume, though not a complete record of the literature in the field, is extremely valuable as a guide to the principal contributions. The value of the critical comments is to be seriously questioned. In most cases they are, by necessity, so brief as to be useless, and of course they have the inevitable fault of representing only the compiler's judgment. The ideal bibliography should contain a brief summary of the contents of the books or articles listed or at least a statement of the thesis, if any, of the writer. Such a labor is, of course, beyond the scope of the present volume. One would offer the suggestion that a conference of editors of journals dealing with studies in this field might possibly evolve some plan whereby a card-index bibliographical service might be rendered to subscribers at a reasonable cost. Exact bibliographical labor is one sphere in which Old Testament scholars might co-operate in setting up some central agency of such service to the very great benefit of all concerned. The field of education is served in such a way by the *Loyola Educational Digest.*

MOWINCKEL, SIGMUND. *Le Décalogue.* Paris: Felix Alçan, 1927. viii+162 pages. Fr. 15.

A critical examination of the evidence as to the origin and original significance of the Decalogue. The examination proceeds along two lines: first literary criticism and the history of the documents; second, the history of Hebrew religious thought. From both points of view the conclusion is reached that the Decalogue belongs to the last stages of the pre-Exilic period. But at the same time it is granted that the essential thought of the Decalogue in its primitive form was quite in keeping with the Mosaic age.

NEW TESTAMENT

BUNDY, WALTER E. *The Religion of Jesus.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928. xii+361 pages. $3.50.

A book of ample proportions, on a subject which is not only popular but of contemporary importance excites anticipation. In this case, however, anticipation is not realized. Although the author is at home in the German literature of New

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Testament science, he cannot be said to have made its data his own. For him the religion of Jesus is found by accepting what the Synoptic Gospels offer, while the Fourth Gospel is relegated to the background. No other principle of source criticism is apparent; the work of the immediate past, in which new methodology has been developed, has not been noticed. Indeed, the uncritical acceptance of Synoptic tradition is made the basis for an almost purely pietistic harmonization in which the Jesus of the gospels is made normative for today. Perhaps as ready an illustration of this as any is the treatment of Jesus' prayer life. This book, promising so much, is a disappointment.

BURCH, VACHER. *The Structure and Message of St. John's Gospel.* London: Martin Hopkinson & Co., 1928. x+234 pages. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The author shows a good knowledge of first-century literature in its bearing upon early Christianity. He gives a valuable impression of the genetic interrelationship of Jewish and Christian, of Oriental and Hellenistic, lines of thought. He says Streeter's view of the Fourth Gospel "develops a nonchalant naïveté of generalization" (p. 32). Burch goes on to give a wealth of literary parallels.

He adds to the already familiar list of sources of the prologue, including Proverbs 8:28 ff. and Wisdom of Sirach 24:8 ff., another source which he champions with great emphasis, Testimonia Adversus Judaeos (preserved by Cyprian and others).

The principal contribution of the book consists in the adducing of Mandean parallels to the Gospel of John. The Mandean religion, which has in the twentieth century about 2,000 Arabic-speaking adherents, possesses a sacred literature which exalts John the Baptist as its leader and founder. Burch brings out more clearly than any other book in English the importance and influence upon Christianity of the sect of John the Baptist, particularly as reflected in this Mandean literature.

Burch concludes that the date of the Gospel is earlier than the year 70. There was a later editor who made some additions but did not change the text of the original Gospel. The date 70 is based upon the evidence that the Gospel was used by the Mandean *Johannes-Buch* which Burch dates about 70. The Fourth Gospel is pre-Synoptic. The final sentence of the book reads, "And the secret of the spell of its beauty is that it portrays the historic Christ and not another" (p. 229). These conclusions are certainly not in line with the trend of modern scholarship.

D'HUMY, FERNAND E. *According to John—Through the Loud Speaker.* Boston: Stratford Press, 1928. vi+174 pages. $2.50.

This little book has many devotional and homiletical suggestions. It is artistically illustrated. It has considerable interest for readers who are not trained in the historical method. It makes no claim to critical scholarship.

KUHN, CLYDE L. *The Problem of Jesus.* Boston: Stratford, 1928. xi+380 pages. $3.50.

The problem of Jesus, according to this book, is the problem of every life, the relation of the divine and the human. The work, though a product of inadequate scholarship, is, however, fresh with vitality. The style is patently homiletical, but in this case the preaching is vivid enough to give the book interest.

NORDSTEN, REUBEN. *The Son of the Living God.* Boston: Stratford, 1928. xiv+155 pages. $2.00.

An unscholarly, homiletical sketch of the "life" of Jesus, replete with obvious inaccuracies.

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PREUSCHEN, ERWIN. *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments.* Second and Revised edition by Walter Bauer. 10. Lieferung. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928. 1,454 pages. M. 4.50.

With the tenth *Lieferung* Walter Bauer brings to completion his able revision of Erwin Preuschen's well-known lexicon. The *Vorwort* was written by the reviser in December, 1924, and the *Nachwort* in May, 1928. In this surprisingly brief period of time a vast lexicographical undertaking of really prime importance has been brought to publication. Bauer's revision is a great improvement on the original. It takes full account of the latest papyrus materials and also includes references to recent philological discussions in scientific journals. The final *Lieferung* features a special "introduction" in which the reviser sets forth with clarity the need for just such a *Wörterbuch* as this, which includes in its scope early Christian literature generally, and not merely the New Testament alone. Along with the new Liddell and Scott and the *Vocabulary* of Moulton and Milligan, the revised Preuschen is an indispensible instrument for the student of the Greek New Testament.

RIDDLE, DONALD W. *Jesus and the Pharisees: A Study in Christian Tradition.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. ix+193 pages. $2.00.

A critical sifting of early Christian tradition regarding the relations between Jesus and the Pharisees. The attempt is made to show how the evolving experience of the Christian communities in relation to their immediate environments during the Gospel-making period affected the accounts of Jesus' conflict with the Pharisees. From this point of view it is thought possible to recover a more correct perspective and to understand better both Jesus and his opponents.

SCOTT, ROBERT BALGARNIE YOUNG. *The Original Language of the Apocalypse.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1928. 25 pages.

The conclusion arrived at in this careful and scholarly study is that "the mistranslations of the Apocalypse demand, the idioms support, and the general considerations permit the conclusion that in this book we have a Hebrew apocalypse translated into Greek."

WARSCHAUER, J. *Jesus: Seven Questions.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1928. 302 pages. $2.50.

This book, a good one in its day, was first published more than twenty years ago and is now reprinted without change apart from the deletion of the original date (July, 1908) that formerly stood at the end of the Preface. An innocent public might easily be deceived by this trick in reprinting. The book is not new and knows nothing of what has been said and written about Jesus during the last two decades. In fact, its author in the meantime has himself written an entirely new book on Jesus.

WILLIAMS, CHARLES B. *The Evolution of New Testament Christology.* Boston: Gorham Press, 1928. xii+215 pages.

This book is documented to an amazing degree, and thus represents learning of a sort. It can hardly be said to suggest an evolution of teaching about Jesus, since it is difficult to follow what the author contributes as distinct from the numerous statistics which he reports, since the datings and ascriptions of authorship of sources is aberrant, and since there is slight appreciation of the forces of life which were current among the early Christians.

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HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

DE LA GARENNE, G. M. *Le Problème des "Frères du Seigneur."* Paris: Leroux, 1928. 154 pages. Fr. 15.

Many books have been written about Jesus, but the other members of his immediate family have been quite neglected. Hence a book on his brothers ought to attract especial attention. All references to them in the literary tradition are carefully assembled and critically interpreted, but, as might be expected, the resulting fund of information is not great. This book will arrest more attention in consequence of the novel theory which it presents regarding the real parentage of Jesus and his brothers. Joseph, it is thought, had died even before his actual marriage to Mary had taken place. Then, in accordance with Jewish law, his brother Cleopas had married Mary. Thus Cleopas was the father of the whole family, but Jesus, as the oldest son, would be called the son of Joseph. The hypothesis is argued with critical acumen, and even though it may seem unconvincing, merits serious consideration.

FIFE, ROBERT H. *Young Luther.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 232 pages. $2.00.

This book constitutes lectures on Luther's early religious development (until 1518), delivered by R. H. Fife, professor of Germanics in Columbia University, at Upsala University in April, 1927. They most sympathetically describe the intellectual growth of young Luther. The conclusions that are reached on the basis of careful source-studies are in no way new, but the book is to be highly recommended.

FOERSTER, WERNER. *Von Valentin zu Herakleon. Untersuchungen über die Quellen und die Entwicklung der valentinianischen Gnosis.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928. vii+116 pages. M. 6.

Gnosticism is here approached after the manner of De Faye, who believed its possible to understand the movement simply as a Christian phenomenon without any preliminary study of genetic environmental influences. Foerster's monograph assembles, in the first place, the fragments of Heracleon, which are recoverable from Origen, particularly from his commentary on the Gospel of St. John. Then follows an exposition of the Valentinian system according to the representations of Irenaeus and Hippolytus. On comparing the account in Irenaeus (called A) and Hippolytus (B) with the fragments of Heracleon, Foerster concludes that no sharp variation is to be found between A and the Heracleon fragments from Origen. Thus the system of Heracleon is accurately represented in Irenaeus, and from this source our knowledge of the system receives important supplementation, particularly on its practical side. The letter of Ptolemaeus to Flora shows a closely related type of thinking, while the "Excerpts from Theodotus" exhibits some striking deviations from the type, particularly in the direction of interest in sacraments and heathen mythological speculation. The last chapter is a brief statement regarding the extant fragments from Valentinus' own writings and the main outline of development within the system from Valentinus to Heracleon. In substance the conclusion of the study is that originally Valentinian teaching contain more traces of oriental and mythological speculations than in the system as developed by his pupils. The evolution moved in one direction under the influence of Marcus, who had a bent for magical speculations, while the interests of Ptolemaeus and Heracleon moved in a quite different direction. This branch of the Valentinian Gnosis is thought to be accurately represented in its essential features by the fragments of Heracleon preserved by Origen, by the letter of Ptolemaeus, and by the account of Irenaeus, especially *Haer.* I, 1–10.

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FRICK, ROBERT. *Die Geschichte des Reich-Gottes-Gedankens in der alten Kirche bis zu Origenes und Augustin.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928. viii+155 pages. M. 8.50.

This is a minute and accurate examination of the concept "Kingdom of God" as it appears in the literature of Christianity from the beginning down to the time when apocalyptic imagery suffers an eclipse, about the fourth century in the East and the fifth century in the West. It is a very thorough piece of work, perhaps however more significant for its assembling of data than for its contribution toward a new interpretation of the subject. The idea of the Kingdom of God is found to have undergone a gradual evolution away from the imagery of eschatology. With Augustine the change had been completely accomplished by which the Kingdom is capable of establishment upon the earth while the present order of existence continues undisturbed by any catastrophic interference from heaven. Augustine had recognized the gap between the Pauline conception of the church as a communion of saints and the Catholic notion of a hierarchical institution, and he had attempted to mediate between these contradictory notions. Thus he had in reality contributed toward the triumph of the Catholic church.

GEDDES, LEONARD, and THURSTON, HERBERT. *The Catholic Church and Confession.* The Calvert Series, edited by Hilaire Belloc. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 104 pages. $1.00.

A popular apology for confession and penance as practiced in the modern Roman Catholic church, justifying its variations from early church practice and its obligatory character.

KATTENBUSCH, FERDINAND. *Die Doppelschichtigkeit in Luthers Kirchenbegriff.* Gotha: Klotz, 1928. viii+160 pages. M. 5.

This is a most important little book of the senior member of the theological faculty at the University of Halle, rich in numerous suggestions and stimulating thoughts. Kattenbusch wants to clarify the uncertainties in Luther's church concept. One can no longer maintain that Luther distinguished a visible from an invisible church, but one must speak of the visibility or invisibility of the one church, which is the *communio sanctorum*. This "communion of the saints," invisible because perceptible only by faith, is the goal and the pattern of the cult-congregation, which is visible because of its organization around the "word." This organized church stands, measured by the ideal church, the Kingdom, on one level with the two estates or hierarchies of state and family. Kattenbusch is the first to connect Luther's church concept with his doctrine of the hierarchies. The Kingdom of God is realized when family, church, and state, visible institutions, have grown into perfection by the realization of the "communion of the saints," which is always invisibly present in the minds of believing Christians.

LAVAUD, M. BENOIT (translator). *Introduction à la Theologie de Saint Thomas.* Paris: Andre Blot, 1928. viii+475 pages.

French annotated translation of a work useful to the special student, and introduction to Thomas Aquinas by his once famous Dominican commentator, John of St. Thomas. This loyal Thomist was a Portuguese by birth but chiefly resident in Spain; he died in 1644.

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LAVEILLE, MONSIGNOR A. *Cardinal Mercier.* New York: Century, 1928. 251 pages. $2.50.

A vivid, intimate, and admiring biography of one of the most attractive figures in modern Roman Catholic history. It throws light upon the Malines Conversations.

LEE, HUMPHREY. *The Lord's Horseman.* New York: Century, 1928. xi+358 pages. $2.50.

The Lord's Horseman is a book about John Wesley rather than a biography. It contains no new information, but is easy to read and is attractively written. It seems that Mr. Lee has caught the new biographical fever from such writers as Gamaliel Bradford, Rupert Hughes, and Paxton Hibben and has attempted "to do" Wesley about as Hibben does Henry Ward Beecher or Hughes, Washington. For instance, more than a hundred pages is given to John Wesley's love affairs and marriage out of a total of 358 pages. This is about the proportion which Hibben gives to the scandal in the life of Beecher. The Appendix of about ninety pages is given over entirely to this subject. In so brief an account of John Wesley it is certainly poor judgment and perhaps poorer taste to lug in so much of the type of material which smacks of sex appeal.

With the exception of this criticism the book might well serve the "tired layman" and even the hurried minister who is looking for material for a Sunday evening discourse on the founder of Methodism.

LEUBE, HANS. *Kalvinismus und Luthertum.* 1 Band: *Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im protestantischen Deutschland.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1928. x+402 pages. M. 18.

A most scholarly contribution to the literature of church history in the seventeenth century. The book deals with the combat between Calvinism and orthodox Lutheranism in seventeenth century Germany and the various attempts to establish a religious peace. Leube presents his material very completely, effectively supplementing the studies of O. Ritschl. American and English scholars will be interested in the excellent chapter on the continental enterprises of John Durie. We are promised soon the second volume, which will deal with the influence of humanistic ideas on the Calvinistic countries outside of Germany.

MICHEL, LOUIS, and CAVALLERA, FERDINAND (editors). *Lettres Spirituelles du P. Jean-Joseph Surin de la Campagnie de Jésus.* Tome II, 1640–59. Toulouse: Editions de la Revue D'Ascetique, 1928. xv+463 pages.

Contains autobiographical materials and letters of Surin (died 1665). This tortured soul suffered for twenty years under the supposed influence of demons whose possession he had invited in order to expiate the impiety of others. His obsessions and temptations are credulously told. The letters are chiefly addressed to religious women.

SELLERS, R. V. *Eustathius of Antioch and His Place in the Early History of Christian Doctrine.* Cambridge, England: University Press, 1928. American agents, Macmillan. x+124 pages.

This minute examination of the life and thinking of Eustathius gives him a higher place in the respect of orthodoxy than has usually been accorded him. A plea is made for Eustathius on the ground of his opposition to Arius in the Council of Nicea; "in helping to establish and maintain the Nicene definition he was a servant of God in his own generation."

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VALLA, LAURENTIUS. *De Constantini Donatione.* Edited by W. Schwahn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928. xxiv+82 pages. M. 4.20.

Everyone interested in the rise of historical criticism, particularly as applied to documents bearing on the history of Christianity, will welcome this recent addition to the convenient Teubner series of Greek and Roman writings. This fifteenth-century treatise by Laurentius Valla, who for the first time exposed the forged character of the document called the *Constitutum Constantini,* deserves to be better known at first hand. The validity of Valla's contention is, of course, now universally conceded, but the methods of criticism initiated by him may still be studied with profit. This handy edition of the text invites such study.

VOGEL, CLAUDE L. *The Capuchins in French Louisiana, 1722–66.* Franciscan Studies No. 8. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1928. xxvi+201 pages.

A useful addition to this valuable series of "Franciscan Studies," describing the origin and spread of the Capuchin mission in Louisiana, and the prolonged controversy over jurisdiction with the Jesuits who entered the colony a few years later than their rivals. The story is told with apparent frankness and fairness.

JUDAISM

Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams. New York: Press of the Jewish Institute of Religion, 1927. lxvi+458 pages.

Both Jewish and Christian scholars have joined hands in producing this volume of essays in memory of this distinguished rabbinical scholar of Cambridge, England. There are twenty-seven critical essays on a wide variety of themes, prefaced by fifty-six pages of text mainly devoted to an account of the activities of Abrahams and appreciations of his personality and work. In addition to the papers by Jewish scholars from America, England, and Germany, there are essays by F. J. Foakes-Jackson, R. T. Herford, K. Lake, D. G. Lyon, and G. F. Moore.

JUNG, LEO (editor). *The Jewish Library.* First Series. New York: Macmillan, 1928. xii+374 pages. $2.50.

This volume combines twelve pamphlets originally circulated independently but now somewhat revised. The whole is a convenient handbook on the heritage, customs, and aims of the orthodox wing of Judaism—Jewish "fundamentalism" one might call it. The essays were sponsored in the first place by "The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America." Of the twelve contributors, four reside in America, three in England, four in Germany, and one in Switzerland.

KOHLER, KAUFMANN. *Jewish Theology.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. xiii+505 pages. $2.00.

This book has been for years the standard treatise on Jewish theology viewed from the standpoint of Reform Judaism. Its author, the late president of Hebrew Union College, first wrote the volume in German as an "outline" at the request of the "Society for the Promotion of the Science of Judaism" in Berlin, where it was published in 1910. This work was thoroughly revised and brought out in English in 1918. It has been re-issued without any alterations. It would have been a great pity to allow so valuable a book to pass out of circulation.

SILVER, MAXWELL. *Justice and Judaism in the Light of Today.* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1928. 73 pages. $1.50.

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CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND ETHICS

BAILLIE, D. M. *Faith in God and Its Christian Consummation.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1927. ix+314 pages. $3.25.

An elaborate investigation of the nature of faith, critically examining various current theories and coming to the conclusion that faith is essentially a mystical apprehension of the significance of the sense of duty as something which implies the reality of God. This moral faith is met by the revelation of God in Christ, and thus flowers into Christian theistic faith. The book contains the Kerr Lectures for 1926.

BRIGHTMAN, EDGAR SHEFFIELD. *A Philosophy of Ideals.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. vii+245 pages. $2.00.

An exposition and defense of the thesis that ideals are not mere tools created by man for the purpose of organizing a more satisfactory life in relation to nature, regarded as neutral, but are rather constitutive of reality itself. This idealistic philosophy is set forth with ample recognition of differing philosophies and with careful definition of the issues involved. The final chapter on "Contemporary Idealism" furnishes a suggestive survey.

Chronicon Spinozanum. Tomus Quintus. The Hague: Societas Spinozana, 1927. xxviii+189 pages.

The fifth volume of a series published in honor of the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of Spinoza's death. It contains the anniversary discourse given by Ernest Renan on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary, and eleven more recent critical studies of various aspects of Spinoza's philosophy by eminent scholars in eleven different countries.

DE SAUSSURE, JEAN. *Les contradictions de la Pensée religieuse.* Geneva: Georg & Co., 1926. xv+309 pages.

An elaborate study of the psychological quality of religious convictions as contrasted with intellectual conclusions. The author contends that it is the business of dogmatics to set forth religious convictions in all their absoluteness, even if this exposition brings to light certain intellectual contradictions. Apologetics should clearly indicate the difference between the religious beliefs and the conclusions of science, instead of trying to show that religious beliefs are all proved to be in accordance with those of science.

GRAY, JOSEPH M. M. *Concerning the Faith.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 293 pages. $2.00.

Stirring and thoughtful essays, pointing out some of the spiritual deficiencies of our present life and urging a more serious attention to the salvation which we may find in faith in Christ.

GUNKEL, HERMANN, and ZSCHARNACK, LEOPOLD (editors). *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Band II, Bogen 1–5, 6–11, 12–17, 18–23, 24–29, 30–35. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1928. Each *Lieferung*, M. 3.60.

With gratifying regularity the successive instalments of this valuable work appear. The titles of articles have been carefully gone over, so that we have in this new edition of the work the elimination of many that would seldom be needed in a reference book, and the inclusion of much information on modern themes. The his-

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torical articles have been brought down to date. There are fewer references of a title to a subordinate section of some other article (which might or might not do justice to the subject). Among the evidences of alertness to modern conditions are new articles on *Filmkunst und Kirche, Kirchliches Finanzwesen,* and *Fundamentalisten.* The present-day interest in church unity is evidenced by the fact that the one column devoted to *Einigungsbewegungen* in the former edition has now increased to sixteen. Henry Ford ought to feel that he is truly a great character when his biography is included in this scholarly German work.

HARTSTOCK, REINHOLD. *Der Aufbau des Weltbildes nach streng idealistischer Methode.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928. xii+328 pages. M. 15.

A critical study of epistemology, with the endeavor to define precisely the scope of scientific knowledge. The author finds that such knowledge inevitably seeks to be independent of any considerations save those of the verifiable findings of experience. Philosophy gives to scientific theories a background of a unitary world-view. Religion rests exclusively on faith. Belief in God is derived from religious faith; but it may be possible to affirm the identity of God with the ultimate of philosophy. This, however, can never be scientifically proved. It can be established only when the deliverances of faith are trusted.

HODGSON, LEONARD. *And Was Made Man.* New York: Longmans, Green, 1928. xiii+216 pages. $3.50.

Purporting to be an introduction to the study of the gospels, this work actually maintains a doctrinal position as prerequisite to any study of them. It happens that the doctrinal position which it is insisted must be accepted as the starting-point from which such study is to be made is thoroughly conservative and orthodox from the Catholic point of view. This is not the most serious fault with it however. Rather, the basic error is the prejudgment entailed, together with the dogmatic result which is inevitable in any except an inductive study.

HYDE, WILLIAM DEWITT. *The Five Great Philosophies of Life.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. x+291 pages. $2.50.

In 1904 Dr. Hyde published these attractively written sketches of the philosophies of life represented by Epicurus, the Stoics, Plato, Aristotle, and Jesus. The book passed through several editions and was revised in 1911. Since then sixteen successive printings have been called for. The present edition is more attractively bound, and has a few illustrations taken from ancient art, apparently to make it more acceptable as a gift book.

JOSEPH, OSCAR L. *Ringing Realities.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928. 254 pages. $2.00.

Essays, which might well be sermons, indicating the power and the significance of familiar aspects of Christian doctrine and life.

LEETE, FREDERICK D. Christianity in Science. New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 387 pages. $3.00.

Convinced that scientists as a rule are as concerned to promote the good life no less than religious men, the author undertakes to show the truth of his thesis by citations from scientists and by calling attention to the great benefits which science has conferred upon mankind. It is easy to show that these benefits would also be

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approved by Christianity. Hence Christianity in science. This presentation naturally does not deal with the more profound aspects of the relationship between institutional Christianity and science, a relationship which is not so free from friction as the author would have us believe.

REDEKER, MARTIN. *Wilhelm Herrmann im Kampf gegen die positivistische Weltanschauung.* Gotha: Klotz, 1928. viii+78 pages. M. 3.

An appreciative critique of Herrmann's way of rescuing religion from the anthropocentric position into which it had been brought by empiricism. Herrmann valued to the full the rigor of strictly scientific analysis; but he employed this analysis so as to discover in an undoubted historical fact the revelation of a transcendent God. The author defends Herrman against present-day misunderstanding by setting his teaching in the framework of the issues which Herrmann himself faced.

TENNANT, F. R. *Philosophical Theology.* Vol. I. *The Soul and Its Faculties.* Cambridge: University Press, 1928. American agents, Macmillan. xvi+422 pages.

An elaborate epistemological study, designed to lay the foundations for an interpretation of religious experience which shall be tenable when tested by experience and critical analysis. The bulk of the space is devoted to problems of psychology and philosophy as such.

TITIUS, A. (editor). *Deutsche Theologie.* Bericht über den ersten deutschen Theologentag zu Eisenach (Herbst, 1927). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928. vii+230 pages. M. 6.

A remarkably well-edited account of the addresses and discussions at this notable gathering of German theological scholars. All branches of theological learning received attention. The volume furnishes a valuable cross-section of present-day German religious thinking.

WILLIAMS, Charles B. *An Introduction to Christian Ethics.* Kansas City: Western Baptist Publishing Co., 1927. 348 pages.

A discussion of the main problems in modern society, with the purpose of giving sufficient information concerning them to make definite application of the ethical norms of Jesus.

MISSIONS

FRASER, DONALD. *New Africa.* New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1928. xiv+207 pages. $1.00.

This book gives in brief compass a survey of the conditions under which the African lives, his religious beliefs, the irresistible penetration of Europeans with their commerce, political administration, and missionary work, and attempts to describe some of the present-day movements and problems arising out of these contacts. Bibliography appended.

GATES, HERBERT W. *Missionary Education in the Church.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1928. 227 pages. $1.00.

Deals with the aim and purpose of missionary education as an integral part of the general program of religious education. It gives information regarding practical methods and available material for worship, study and service projects, and suggestions for building a graded program for children, young people, and adults.

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GOLLOCK, GEORGINA A. *Sons of Africa.* New York: Friendship Press, 1928. x+241 pages. $1.50.

A collection of brief biographies of outstanding Negro Africans, including kings and chiefs of pre-modern times, characters of the early nineteenth century, and recently living Christian leaders.

MATHEWS, BASIL. *Black Treasure. The Youth of Africa in a Changing World.* New York: Friendship Press, 1928. 114 pages. $0.75.

A collection of ten stories vividly portraying the successful efforts of the youth of Africa to adjust themselves to new and changing conditions.

MATHEWS, BASIL. *Roads to the City of God. A World Outlook from Jerusalem.* New York: Friendship Press, 1928. ix+114 pages. $0.50.

The official interpretation and evaluation of the International Missionary Council held recently at Jerusalem. Should be in the hands of every pastor and religious educator.

PREACHING AND WORSHIP

DAVIS, OZORA S. *The Credentials of the Church.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 115 pages. $1.25.

These are the Earle Lectures delivered at the Pacific School of Religion in September, 1928. An attempt has been made to answer two questions. First, why should one give money and service to the church? And what valid claims has the church to such a devotion as is necessary to provide it leadership? Dr. Davis points out the error of those who are content with critical censure of the church, who altogether ignore its claims, or who are militantly opposed to it. The only fair attitude seems to him to be one of alliance and co-operation in recognition of the various needs of differing individuals and groups. The church is the great agent of highest community service. And as religion is fundamental to the perpetuation of all the higher interests and values of life, the church remains our most essential institution.

DOAN, FRANK CARLETON. *The Eternal Spirit in the Daily Round. Meditations for the Modern Mind.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928. Introduction by Samuel McChord Crothers and Preface by Harold E. B. Speight. 204 pages.

Gathered from the journal of meditations by Dr. Doan, under titles of "The Daily Round," "The Ways of the Eternal," "Tides of the Spirit," "Why Wander so Far and Wide, Oh My Soul," "The Eternal Likeness," etc. Thoroughly helpful to those capable of entering into its spirit.

MACARTNEY, CLARENCE EDWARD. *Of Them He Chose Twelve.* Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 2d ed., 1927. 181 pages. $1.50.

A series of brief, devout meditations upon the twelve apostles; conservative in tone.

MCDOWELL, BISHOP WILLIAM FRASER. *That I May Save Some.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 180 pages. $1.00.

The Earle Lectures of the Pacific School of Religion for 1926. Much wholesome spiritual suggestion for Christian ministers, from a man of wide sympathies and large experience.

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NIEDERMEYER, FREDERICK DAVID. *The Ten Commandments Today.* Boston: Stratford Press, 1928. 209 pages. $1.50.

Ten sermons on the Ten Commandments, with an introductory sermon on "The Present Authority of the Decalogue" and a concluding sermon on "The Beneficent Ministry of the Decalogue."

WOTHERSPOON, H. J. *Religious Values in the Sacraments.* Croall Lectures for 1926–27. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1928. 302 pages. $2.50.

Rather difficult for the non-sacramental mind, but the result of much historical and theological study, and much reflection upon the subject.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

EDWARDS, R. H., ARTMAN, J. M., and FISHER, GALEN M. *Undergraduates: A Study of Morale in Twenty-three American Colleges and Universities.* New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. x+368 pages. $4.00.

A book of this sort serves, doubtless, as a gentle introduction to the intricate subject of student morale. To the uninitiated, the evidence herewith presented will seem somewhat shocking. To those who, like the editors, are intimately acquainted with college conditions, these hastily gathered opinions will seem hardly to scratch the surface of the underlying problems involved. Most of the matter cited is surprisingly trivial and hardly offers a reasonable background for the main portions of the book, chapters v and vii, dealing with moral conditions. Even these discussions yield the most casual view of the real mind of the average student body, and fail to go to the heart of the question in hand. The last two chapters on faculty and administration fail completely to sense the problem—the major problem—which reaches down into the deepest life of the undergraduate body. And, finally, the solutions offered are too timid and superficial to meet any but the most angelic situations. The interview-questionnaire method will never bring to light the inner life and thought of undergraduates.

Undergraduate Instruction in Religious Education in the United States. A Co-operative Survey. Introduction by GEORGE A. COE. Monograph No. 2, April, 1928. Chicago: The Religious Education Association. 94 pages.

A statistical pamphlet based upon questionnaire findings secured under the supervision of Professor George A. Coe. It shows how rapidly and successfully the spirit of religious education is taking hold in the colleges of America. Standards are being raised steadily; new books are furnishing ever better text material; professional teachers are being trained to further work in this important field; and the academic world is slowly awakening to the fact that a new and practical influence has entered the lists to help in the prime work of character-training.

OVERTON, GRACE SLOAN. *Youth in Quest.* New York: Century, 1928. 185 pages. $1.50.

This book is a series of short talks on the problems of youth. It is based on addresses given by the author to high-school, college, and adult groups, and while it is intended primarily for youth, is perhaps more about youth. The style is sketchy and popular, but there is much of discerning truth and some significant illustrations of critical youth situations. Mrs. Overton says that "The problem of youth today is

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essentially the same as the problem of youth of every generation. It involves the process of finding one's self and place in the scheme of things. . . . . Youth is not content simply to conform to life as he finds it. He is interested in making life over, to some extent, in terms of his own ideals." She does not believe that the term "revolt" characterizes youth's position, for "The questions of youth of all ages have clustered around virtually the same areas of experience: first, human nature—the mystery of the physical and its control and self-realization: second, social relationships and social realization; third, the nature of God and spiritual realization." The author makes this trite comment on the help that youth needs: "Youth needs a technique that will turn fine sentiments into fine acts, that will convert theory into practice. . . . . Too often youth, as well as adults, have felt the thrill of giving voice to their ideals on conference floors, have justly and vehemently criticized their elders, and then, returning to their own actual situations, have been guilty of the same discrepancies for which they so bitterly denounced others."

There are a good many problem situations well portrayed, a series of stimulating thought-questions with definite reference to life-situations at the end of the main sections, and sane counsel for youth and the friends of youth. It should provide valuable reference material for discussion-groups of young people.

MISCELLANEOUS

ATKINS, GAIUS GLENN. *Reinspecting Victorian Religion.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 151 pages. $1.75.

BHANDARKAR, D. R., and GAJENDRAGADKAR, A. B. (editors). *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.* Vol. VIII, Part IV, and IX, Part I. Poona City, India: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1926–28.

BLITZ, SAMUEL. *Nationalism: The Cause of Anti-Semitism.* New York: Block Publishing Co., 1928. xiii+157 pages. $2.00.

Anti-Semitism is here interpreted in terms of psychology. The traditional explanations offered to account for hatred of Jews—such as religious animosity, social, economic, or political conditions—are thought to be less important than the state of mind that exalts the ideals of nationalism and therefore antagonizes every smaller group within the larger national unit. As this situation continues the group mind of the minority as well as that of the majority crystallizes and persecution of the smaller unit ensues. "The problem is the elimination of subgroups and of subgroup minds. The idea of a large group composed of small groups is unintelligible to nationals" (p. 148).

BROWN, WILLIAM NORMAN. *The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water.* Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1928. 76 pages. $2.00.

An extensive examination of Indian legends leads the author to conclude that the Gospel stories about walking on the water are ultimately of Indian origin. Especially is this thought to be true of the story of Peter's walking on the water to meet Jesus. In this way a disciple crosses a river to reach Buddha. Possible occasions of contact between India and the West are illustrated in the missionary enterprise of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. and the activity of the monk Zarmanochegas who accompanied the Indian embassy which Augustus received at Samos in 19 B.C.

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BROWNE, LEWIS. *The Graphic Bible. From Genesis to Revelation in Animated Maps and Charts.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 160 pages. $2.50.

This is an attempt to make biblical literature and history attractive to children. The method adopted involves the use of many rather crude and elementary maps in which appear pictures of horses, men, camels, serpents, ships, trees, etc. These will probably appeal only to very young children. On the other hand, the maps are accompanied by a running historical narrative which is probably over the heads of those who would appreciate the type of map employed. The author of this work is already well known through his recently published books, *This Believing World,* and *Stranger Than Fiction.* The quality of the present work is not on a level with its predecessors.

BRUNNER, EDMUND DES. *The Church and the Agricultural Crisis.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1928. 48 pages. $0.35.

CHAPPELL, CLOVIS G. *Christ and the New Woman.* Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1928. 117 pages. $1.25.

This is a delicate, not to say a ticklish, subject, but the author makes bold to inform the "new woman" that she owes every iota of progress that she has made from her former bondage to her present freedom, not to a woman, but to Jesus Christ: "So my last word to you is this: Fling yourself away in Christ."

CRANE, FRANK. *The Ten Commandments Applied to Modern Behavior.* New York: Wise & Co., 1928. 118 pages. $1.00.

An "attempt to show that these Commandments are reasonable and that they are merely the statement of the laws that underlie the fundamental welfare of society."

DRESSER, HORATIO W. *History of Modern Philosophy.* New York: Crowell, 1928. xiv+471 pages. $3.00.

A well-organized summary of the principal philosophers and issues in philosophy from Francis Bacon down to the present.

FORREST, WILLIAM MENTZEL. *Biblical Allusions in Poe.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 208 pages. $2.50.

L'Inde et son Ame. Feuilles de l'Inde No. 1. Boulogne-sur-Seine: Publications Chitra, 1928. 504 pages.

A volume of essays by several different writers on a variety of topics representing the society and culture of modern India. The papers are grouped under sixteen divisions: messages, sciences, art, music, literature, poetry, mystical poets, religion, philosophy, the women of India, studies and biographies, folklore, proverbs, missions and the influence of India, letters, notes.

MEAD, ALCIA AMES. *Law or War.* New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. x+276 pages. $1.75.

OLIVER, JOHN R. *Victim and Victor.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 435 pages. $2.50.

SCOTT, ROBERT. *Scotland through American Eyes.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1928. 208 pages. $1.75.

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In Memoriam

Gerald Birney Smith

MAY 3, 1868—APRIL 3, 1929

PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IN THE DIVINITY SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MANAGING EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY
1909-1920

EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION
1921-1926

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PROTESTANTISM, DEMOCRACY, AND CHURCH UNITY

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THE Christian religion has always reproduced, both in its theology and in its organization, the dominant creative forces of the different periods of history. In Western Europe, the Roman Catholic church reproduced the centralized authority of the Roman Empire and appropriated many of the administrative and judicial elements of the Empire. When by the sixteenth century the rise of nations had become a dominant political influence of European history, the old unity of religious imperialism was threatened. For a time it appeared as if a very considerable number of European states might repudiate their allegiance to the pope and organize their own national churches. This tendency, however, was successful only in those states in which there were no remains of the Roman Empire. Protestantism failed within the area of the old Roman Empire, except in England, where all the vestiges of the Empire had been destroyed. Protestantism thus in its earliest stages was the religious parallel of the modern nation. Just as each nation had its army and its court, so it had its church. The Roman church continued where Roman law, customs, and language were at the basis of civilization.

The rise of democracy, that is to say the triumph of the non-feudal commercial classes, threatened the unity of these national religious establishments. On the Continent the state was able to prevent any great expansion either of democracy

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or of religious independence, but in England the attempt to enforce uniformity failed, though only after there had been a great migration of non-conformists to America. The colonies of the Atlantic seaboard, from Maine to Florida, were largely composed either of representatives of state churches or of persecuted minorities that had fled from the state churches. While practically all the colonies were Calvinist in theology, they differed in history and organization. Religious liberty was not recognized fully within them, but the force of circumstances was to establish it as a piece of practical politics. By the first amendment to the Constitution the federal government was forbidden either to establish a state church or to interfere with the free exercise of religion. Thus the United States began its history with a population divided among a large number of theologically similar religious bodies, each one of which had sprung from its own historical situations. In addition there were bodies like Baptists and Methodists which had no political sources, and an increasing number of Roman Catholics. In fact in the course of time the religious groups in America embraced practically every form of national or independent Christian organization. To a considerable extent this is also true of England, although there the English church still exists as a political entity. On the continent of Europe there is no such variation of religious bodies as in the United States, for the simple reason that the circumstances from which this mingling of the religious bodies and histories in the United States emerged are lacking in the continental countries. In these countries there are, indeed, bodies of Christians not associated with either the Roman Catholic or Lutheran churches, but they are not numerous and do not have the social prestige enjoyed by the older bodies.

This differentiation of the Christian movement in America was due to a variety of causes other than theological, some of which still persist. Often the origins of these varied groupings were political. The various Lutheran synods, for instance,

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possess a polity and theology essentially identical, yet they remain separate because of the ancient political struggles between the nations from which their members came. In the case of the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in the United States, the same is true, for each of these bodies finds itself divided along lines that originally were set by political struggles over slavery. The struggle between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics preserves the enmities born of the fearful years of the seventeenth century, when church affiliation co-operated with national ambitions in all but continuous war. With the exception of the distinction between Catholics and Protestants, the chief elements of differentiation are: first, social and historical origins and traditions; and second, differences in the organization and practices of churches, themselves derived largely from political and social patterns. Strictly speaking, at the present time there are no conscious theological differences in Protestantism sufficiently radical to cause *de novo* the organization or to prevent the union of certain Protestant bodies.

The problems of disunion and union must, therefore, be regarded as springing from something other than exclusively theological differences. They arise from social psychology and institutional history. Their continuance will depend less upon belief and heresies than upon the social significance of divisive histories and policies. That this differentiation of the Christian movement has by no means ceased will be seen by recalling the Christian Science movement. The probability is that so long as religious liberty continues this tendency of democracy to organize new groups will continue, and if the history of the past is any key to the future, religious liberty which came by the way of differentiation would not long survive the end by religious differentiation. Religious organizations are thoroughly human and have never shrunk from appeal to political force to carry out their ideals. I do not mean to raise the question of the legitimacy of these attempts in our own time, but

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to point out that the modern church, no more than the medieval, is free from the temptation to crush variation.

The only sound basis upon which social reorganization can be urged is that of efficiency of function. If the church be regarded as an institution supernaturally founded and integral, the philosophy which will determine its operations will be of one sort; if, on the other hand, a church is an element in social evolution intended to develop the highest personal values of the individual, the philosophy will be very different. An a priori conviction that unity is a good thing in itself will naturally influence many minds, but if by it is meant that there can be only one such unity, any variation from which should be treated as heresy to be crushed, such an assumption is denied by history and is open to other serious objections.

Even if the Christian movement be considered as a whole, it has always even in New Testament times included diverging groups. Nor is it likely that the contrary could be true. Social trends and forces usually have differing social expressions. One has only to contrast the present status of democracy in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, France, and the United States; constitutional monarchy in England, Scandinavian countries, Spain, and Italy; the soviet governments of Russia; and the Chinese revolutionists, to see how various the operations of even the same political interest may be when faced with practical exigencies. The same thing is to be seen in the business world—both the centralizing and the dispersing of manufacturing plants have been successful. At the very time that the tendency to merge financial and other institutions has been proceeding with rapidity, there has been an almost sensational revolt against anything approaching enforced standardization in individual life. We find in our present social order the operation of forces and institutions which vary from downright imperialism to individualism. Only a man who can mobilize a group of a priori criteria would venture to say that there is today any such undifferen-

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tiated progress as characterized Europe during the first thirteen or fourteen centuries of Christian history. Then the creative forces, both theoretically and actually, in politics and in philosophy alike, inevitably sought institutional unity. From that time the tendency has been to seek a multitude of unities, each one expressing some peculiar value.

It is to be expected that this same multiplicity of unities would appear in religion. There is no single dominant in church affairs. Speaking generally, we have at least three unities in process: that toward Catholic unity, which carries forward the imperialistic trend of the Roman period; the denominational, which in a way represents the democratic tendency toward the formation of groups of the same general character and function; and the federative unity of co-operation in tasks which are felt to be common to otherwise independent religious bodies.

I

The attempt at catholic unity may be described as the correlate of imperialism. It is of two general sorts. The one is that of the Roman Catholic church and the eastern Orthodox Catholic churches. In the nature of the case, no one of these can admit the existence of other bodies claiming to be churches. Each has anathematized the other on the ground that it is schismatic or worse. The fundamental ideal of Catholicism is that of a single church. It rests ultimately on the conviction that the church is a supernatural body with supernatural power, that its ministry or priesthood is supernaturally ordained, and, although there is some variation at this point, that it has exclusive administration of the sacraments or means of grace. All of this is obviously the continuation of an imperialistic pattern which, as a mere matter of consistency and self-preservation, cannot recognize as valid any variation from its own positions. Within it there may be superficial variety as in the Roman Catholic church between the regular and the secular clergy, but the church itself is undivided, and with no more

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power to co-operate with independent bodies claiming to be religious than the Roman Empire could co-operate with a rebellious province.

The second effort at Catholic church unity is to be seen among Protestants (although the name is disliked) represented by the Anglican and the Protestant Episcopal churches. The leaders of this effort at unity are High Churchmen who cannot approve any concession to the non-conformist denominations as religious bodies. Of late years, however, less radical Catholics have made certain proposals looking toward a closer relationship with (through partial absorption of) other religious bodies. The most notable of these was the proposal of the English bishops to the effect that a basis of church unity might be found in the acceptance of the Nicene Creed as a sufficient summary of Christianity, the existence of a church, of sacraments, and of a group of ministers with the special duty of administering the sacraments. On the basis of these proposals there has been discussed, both in England and in America, a reordination of ministers of various denominations so that there would be a body of clergy possessed of the same general status. Largely because of the interest and efforts of the representatives of this type of Catholic church unity, a conference of representatives of various Protestant bodies as well as some of the eastern churches was assembled in 1927 in Lausanne for the purpose of a frank discussion of the possibilities of arriving at some doctrinal agreement which would promise church unity. The discussion at this Conference made obvious the fundamental distinctions between those bodies that lay emphasis upon order and those that are essentially democratic in their conception of the ministry. With such differences even a communion service was impossible, and anything like doctrinal uniformity appeared to be equally impracticable. At the same time, the Lausanne Conference recognized that there were ways in which there could be co-operation of action, and

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established a Continuation Committee for the purpose of pointing out how this unity of work in the midst of honest differences of belief might be achieved.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that in any such effort the concept of church unity as such plays no rôle, or is at least only a very distant goal. What has really emerged is something akin to the co-operation which the federated movement has already and effectively undertaken. To no small extent, therefore, the Lausanne Conference arrived at the point for which the Universal Conference on Christian Life and Work held in Stockholm in 1925 had already been held. Time will show how far this duplication of effort for co-operative efficiency is to be more than a super-denominationalism. At present it discloses the impracticability of religious imperialism in a democratic age.

II

The federative movement among churches is the expression of the democratic tendency of large bodies to co-operate in common tasks without merging. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is perhaps the outstanding illustration of this tendency for denominations to carry on common tasks, although somewhat similar bodies exist in Europe. The organization of this Council is the outcome of a series of attempts of Evangelical churches to find some sort of fellowship. Its membership comprises the great majority of the denominations of the United States which are recognized as evangelical. No attempt is made to find a formula of faith, and the Council, which meets every four years, has no authority over the denominations represented within it. Nor is it customary for the denominations to refer to the Federal Council matters of business. The support which comes from denominations is not sufficient for the Council to carry on the work of its various commissions and committees, and recourse is made to individuals and other institutions interested in the sort of

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work which these commissions are carrying on. In theory, however, the Council represents a co-operative Protestantism in the United States.

The commissions of the Council, more or less under the direction of its Administrative Committee, carry on much of its work. But in these commissions the denominations as such have only a nominal representation, in that their members are theoretically appointed from various denominations. In reality the commissions act on their own initiative as independent organizations seeking to enlist the support of and give direction to religious persons. In some fields, as in that of international peace, the activities of these commissions are supplemented by independent non-denominational bodies like the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

It might appear from these facts that, despite its name, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is hardly more than one among many organizations, but such an estimate would not be wholly correct. It would, of course, be impossible to say that the denominations as such can be held responsible for the actions of the Administrative Committee, or of the various commissions, but none the less, the fact is that the Council year by year reports to its various constituent bodies, and in sentiment and fact stands for the co-operation of Protestants in social and moral tasks. Even the Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal communions, which are not strictly members of the Federal Council, have a recognized relationship to it or to one of its commissions. So far as the latter body of Christians is concerned, it could hardly be expected that those who stand for church unity in the catholic sense could consistently commit themselves to the support of a rival movement.

At least one radical difference between the federative movement and that of church unity lies in this very looseness of relationship. In one case, representatives of the denominational bodies through their appointed representatives meet to-

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gether to discuss and plan Christian activities; in the other, individuals join a church, committing themselves to its creed and its discipline. The distinction is that between the Catholic and the Protestant conception of churches As a technique for Christian union each has its advantages and its disadvantages. But the basic question is one of authority. A church sufficiently unified to have the same creed, the same sacraments, the same clerical order would naturally be more susceptible to unified organization and control than is compatible with democracy. With that, federation for social tasks is alone compatible.

There have been not a few proposals to pass beyond this federation to organic union of certain church bodies. A striking illustration of what appears to be a successful movement of this sort is to be seen in the United Church of Canada, where Methodists, Congregationalists, and a majority of Presbyterian churches combined in a new organization in which theological differences of the older sort were waived, and methods of church organization were combined in a single, self-directing and self-controlled church body. But the new body makes no claim to be other than a denomination. Proposals of somewhat similar nature have been made by the Presbyterian General Assembly of the United States, and have been given at least polite attention by various other denominations. Thus far, however, little or no progress has been made in the direction of organic union of any of the large denominations, although Presbyterians and Methodists of the North have committees concerned with the matter.

The missionary bodies of the various denominations are in a position to plan administrative co-operation more effectively than the Federal Council. Their financial power gives them an efficiency which an advisory body like the Federal Council cannot possess. The Foreign Mission Council, the Home Mission Council, composed of the representatives of the administration of the different denominational societies are able to carry on a considerable amount of definite co-operation and to

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plan definite, if rather limited, programs. The policy here is essentially federative, for these mission councils do not possess any authority, and the question of their decisions being put into effect must be answered by the various local and state authorities of the denominations supporting the constituent societies. Yet a very considerable co-operation has already resulted, especially on the mission field (as at the recent International Missionary Conference at Jerusalem), and in new or over-churched areas in America.

Although it seems somewhat more difficult, the application of the federative principle in church work to geographical areas is already beginning. State and city federations of churches have been established, and have a certain degree of efficiency. Their history, however, makes it plain that the denominational structure of Protestantism is not yet fully adjusted to complete co-operation. Loyalty to the denomination is still a distinct factor in religious life, and the adjustment of interests becomes more difficult as it approaches the point of local operation. Denominational leaders, who in the Federal Council are sincerely devoted to the cause of co-operative Protestantism, are apt to find difficulty in persuading state and local officials to take steps which threaten statistical development within the area for which they are responsible. Indeed, the professional denominationalist who is responsible for definite territory is not infrequently the cause of failure to bring about state and local co-operation.

In some states federations of churches are influential, especially in furthering the readjustment of denominations and, notably in the case of Ohio and Massachusetts, in developing a co-operation in rural districts. These federations have no authority, but they are highly important educational and advisory agencies. They are especially significant in so-called comity and in counseling communities which seek to remedy overchurched conditions.

City federations are more numerous than state, but although there are some notable exceptions they have not yet

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been organized very effectively in cities of less than a hundred thousand population. The difficulty is largely financial. Experience shows that a church federation needs the full-time services of some executive officer. The chief work of these city federations is conducted by committees or commissions, and is devoted to matters in which churches of all denominations are interested, such as comity temperance, municipal reform, industry, and inter-racial relations. It is noteworthy that in moments of political crisis the church federation of a city, composed largely of ministers, often becomes the exponent of political morality. Through these federations the churches in a number of cities have gained an increasing influence in the shaping up of political public opinion. Probably the most measurable influence of city federations lies in preserving of denominational comity in the establishment of churches in new territory. To a considerable degree they have been able to prevent ecclesiastical competition among Protestant groups, and have thus helped to make more probable the development of successful local churches. Nor is their influence wholly negative, for, in several cities where the federation is well organized and officered, they have been able to block out plans for a co-operative extension of church organizations into the suburbs and territory surrounding the city.

It should be added further that in smaller cities and towns where the fully organized and officered federation of churches does not exist, there is generally a union ministers' meeting which represents the community interest and is generally a sort of clearing-house for plans in which all the churches are concerned. At the least, these meetings tend to break down denominational antagonisms, and to develop the spirit of co-operation which will find increasing expression in actual federations.

III

These co-operative activities of the denominations as such are independent of unifying tendencies within denominations of similar character. Such a tendency is logical in view of the

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origin of the denominations. For a considerable time the denomination persists by virtue of its own momentum. It acquires property and younger members are introduced into a continuous institutional life which is decreasingly dependent upon the circumstances from which the denomination originally sprang. Not a few of the smaller denominations were the outcome of incidental doctrinal differences the very meaning of which has been forgotten, or which have ceased to have controlling influence in the institutional life. With the disappearance of the geographical, social, and doctrinal instigations to independence, these bodies tend either to disappear or to unite with the larger body from which they originally separated. This process is aided by the fact that the larger denomination itself has in many cases tended toward the position of the separatist group. The doctrinal basis of division has thus all but disappeared, and historical origins either have disappeared or are no longer capable of maintaining enthusiasm for institutional independence. Illustrations of this tendency to merge are the Free Baptists with the Northern Baptists, the Cumberland Presbyterians with the Presbyterians. Other mergers are already under consideration. The persistence of historical divisions among denominations of the same theological characteristics is to be seen in the case of northern and southern Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians.

It should be added, however, that divisions over doctrinal differences have by no means disappeared. Although it has not yet resulted in a definite organization, the Fundamentalist movement is a cross-section of several of the evangelical groups, and is organizing independent activities in the way of education, evangelism, and foreign missions. In a number of cases the churches of this doctrinal persuasion, though still members of a denomination, contribute little or nothing to the denominational operations beyond the amount necessary to maintain denominational status. This hesitation to produce an independent denomination is in itself a testimony to the

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passing of that spirit which a century or more ago was so readily moved to establish new religious organizations of the same general character as existing bodies.

IV

Nowhere is the evidence that Protestant denominations are historically and socially rather than doctrinally grounded more apparent than in small towns in which these various denominations appear. The spread of Protestantism into new territory was largely financed by the respective denominations in the older sections of the country. This period of propaganda and expansion was marked by a zeal for the peculiar tenets of each of the group as well as by a general sense of obligation to spread a religion. This led inevitably to the overchurching of new towns. In some cases towns developed sufficiently to warrant the multiplication of denominations, but in many cases the population was unable to furnish membership sufficient to make all the religious bodies efficient. At the present time, with the exception of certain smaller bodies filled with sectarian enthusiasm, these various local churches continue to hold their property and general religious services, but are vestigial rather than functional. They not only serve to divide the religious forces of a town, but they are economically wasteful. An overchurched community cannot afford to pay for efficient ministers or church activities.

It is natural, therefore, that there should be a tendency toward local adjustment between existing but too numerous church organizations. This movement is of various sorts. In some cases local churches have federated, maintaining their legal existence and frequently alternating their pastors so that each of the federated denominations has its representative. In other cases these local churches actually merge in a new organization and make contributions to the general missionary work of the bodies to which they originally belonged.

Another form is the establishment of the community

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church. This varies in character, in some cases being a denominational church which admits to its membership Christians without any denominational test. Sometimes, and this is particularly true in new communities, a group of persons meet and organize a purely local body without any denominational affiliation or any association with the outer religious world. In some leaders of the community church movement, the attitude is distinctly anti-denominational, but in most cases these community churches have no such propagandist attitude and are intended simply to meet the local social and economic situation of a community. There is no unwillingness to co-operate with denominational organizations like the Federal Council or state and city federations, and in some cases denominational churches, as it were, swarm from a community church.

V

A fair induction from these facts would seem to be that there is beginning not exactly an integration of Protestantism as such, but an integration of Protestant forces at points where some element in history or ecclesiastical polity or doctrinal conviction makes the body actually functional among the other groups of society. That is to say, the Protestant churches are reflecting a tendency in the social processes to counteract the excessive individualism of a pioneering period with organizations which are intended to express the more generic elements of a social operation. Observation would seem further to argue that unity as a philosophy of church organization has itself become a divisive element. That is to say, there will be those churches who seek to carry on the imperialistic conception of a single church as over against others who would hold to free initiative in forming ecclesiastical organizations. Within these latter, we may expect tendencies toward the elimination of religious bodies that no longer serve the purpose which led to their organization. These will either disappear or be merged in some organization of the same generic type. There seem

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thus to be developing at the present time Protestant groups that on the whole represent religious dissimilarities in attitude and organization. Roughly speaking, they may be called nationalist or Lutheran, imperialistic or Episcopal, parliamentary or Presbyterian, democratic or Congregational, and corporate or Methodist. Within each one of these generic types there is variety of organization, particularly in the case of those churches having the congregational polity. In this tendency toward division by structure, there is also a tendency toward more inclusive identity of doctrine. In a comparative statement of what each one of these Protestant groups regards as basic, it would be difficult to find a radical difference. Doctrinal rivalry has all but ceased to furnish social motives except in the case of Episcopalians and Southern Baptists, and even in their case the divisive emphasis is placed on a rite rather than on theology.

Thus one can summarize the present situation of church unity by saying that in Protestantism there is a very marked tendency toward the neglect of the original base of division, to merge into species showing similar ecclesiastical structure, to disregard denominational differences in facing common tasks, and to federate in order that the ecclesiastical organization may become more efficient in meeting the more complicated and more highly organized social life. To expect church unity in the catholic sense of the term is to expect an anachronism; to expect unity of action through the absorption of sectarian bodies into denominations and the federation of denominational units structurally different is justified by the last quarter century of Protestant history. Whether this is a step toward organic union of the major denominations time alone will show. So far as we can now see the way for Christians to get together is to work together.

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THE PLACE OF CHRIST IN MODERN THEOLOGY[1]

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A DISCUSSION of this subject evidently depends both on the intrinsic meanings which we find in Christ and also upon the general nature of our theology. Accordingly, by way of introduction to our thought upon the meaning of Christ, let us take note of certain characteristics which are, or should be, outstanding in theology today.

There are three characteristics which I suspect we all want in any theology which undertakes to be modern and liberal. The first of these is that theology should be concerned for depth and richness in religious experience and for its fruitfulness in all of life. The religious experiences of reverence, of faith, of the mystery of human life, of the wonder of the universe, of kinship with God, of a Divine Spirit indwelling in the lives of men—it is these experiences that theology exists to interpret. Theology has to do with what inspires man, with his sense and taste of the infinite, with his awed response to the starry heavens above and the moral law within. It has to do with man's paradoxical experiences of freedom through dependence, of humility which exalts, of greatness only through service, of the blessedness which springs from hunger and thirst after righteousness. Theology envisages men in their experiences of tragedy, of frustration, of sinfulness, of adventure and suffering for ideals, and seeks to trace the ways in which they may discover, through and beyond these experiences, a higher peace, a more abundant life, and an unfailing courage and love. The first postulate of modern theology

[1] Read during Dedication Week at the Chicago Theological Seminary, June, 1928.

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should be that religious experience, rightly interpreted, results not in disillusionment but in discovery, not in the repression of life but in its fulfilment, not in inertness in the face of the great issues of mankind but in alertness to discern them and in resourcefulness for meeting them victoriously.

The second characteristic which I believe we should and do want in modern liberal theology is that it should recognize the deep rootage of religious experience in history and should interpret religion's present meaning and future development in the light of this fact. Modern life is equally indebted to two great intellectual movements, natural science and history, but the dominant mood of the hour tends to slight history and to place all the laurels on the brow of the natural sciences. But it will go ill with theology and religion if they become controlled by this mood. Religion, for example, lives much by poetry; but great religious poetry does not appear every week, like manna, for us to feed on. It is the poetry which has become sacred literature which must nourish us, and be the soil, perchance, out of which new poetry shall grow. Religion is living in proportion as it engenders the prophetic spirit; but how can the meaning of the prophetic spirit be grasped apart from the great prophets of history? I have heard one of our finest leaders toward a better social order meet the questionings and hesitations of students through a whole afternoon of inquiry by detailing how our present political, civil, and religious liberties were won, and at what cost, in the centuries preceding our own. Nothing else so convinces. All culture is nourished by history. The destruction of the Alexandrian library by the Caliph Omar, which squandered great historic achievements in culture, was the kind of deed which has made for barrenness in Islam. The Dark Ages, so far as they really were dark, were so because of the burial of the treasures of history in the débris left by barbarian invasions. The important revivals of Christianity have always been nourished by a fresh discovery of the essential greatness of its history. Theology exists, in

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part, to put the plow into Christian history and turn up its sub-soil, in order that modern Christianity may have the fertility needed for new harvests. The second postulate of modern theology is that vital religious experience draws from history an indispensable nutriment. The human body depends for its health upon receiving the direct rays of the sun, but it also depends upon taking up into itself the energy from the sun's rays which has been stored up in plant and animal tissues —and, in particular, it seems, upon certain vitamins present in these tissues. It is theology's part to make known to us, if it can, the vitamins of great religious experience.

The third characteristic which we all should want in modern liberal theology is that it should recognize religion's need for a comprehensive philosophy, and be engaged in the interpretation of religious experience, in correlation with the other great fields of experience, with a view to achieving such a philosophy. It is something to deplore that Christian ministers have so often joined "the man of the street" in belittling theology and metaphysics. When they do so they forget that, as one writer has said, "religion without theology is religion without theory, and religion without theory is religion without intellect." The triumph of Christianity over the mystery-religions of the Graeco-Roman world, as Professor George F. Moore has shown,[2] was due not only to its intrinsic superiority as ethical religion but also to the fact that it equipped itself more adequately with a philosophy.

Religion's need for a comprehensive philosophy was never more evident than today, for no such philosophy lies ready to hand, in the field of general philosophic thought, for the religious man to appropriate. Religion today is manifesting diverse and conflicting tendencies partly because it is being played upon by the cross-currents of contemporary philosophic thought, and is not giving sufficient attention to gaining a philosophy, centered in its own immanent principles, by means

[2] *The Birth and Growth of Religion*, p. 178.

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of which it can steer a straight course. Thus there is the humanistic tendency in religion, which exalts man, his control over nature, his education, his social relationships, and is absorbed in the psychological and the social interpretation of religion. This humanistic tendency is affiliated with the pragmatism in contemporary philosophy, and so far as it shares in the swing of pragmatism to naturalism it finds theism to be unfounded and unimportant.

But there is also today an impressive renascence of mysticism in religion, which seeks more inwardness of spiritual life, concentrates upon worship, and is metaphysical and ontological in its interests. Its affiliations in general philosophy are idealistic, as one can see in the writings of Hocking, Rufus Jones, Inge, and von Hügel. And for mysticism God is an objective cosmic reality, whether he be conceived pantheistically, or personally, or as a super-personal Absolute Spirit.

But again there is in religion a revived interest in man's place in the universe, which is not satisfied with a merely humanistic interpretation of the religious life, nor yet with a mysticism which is indifferent to the sciences of physical and human nature. The affiliations of this tendency are with realism in philosophy. It is, to be sure, none other than Professor Dewey who has recently remarked that phenomenalism and positivism have about spent themselves, at least for the present, and that ontology and metaphysics are once more matters of central interest. But for a new cosmology which has positive meaning for religion one must look to Whitehead, Eddington, and Burtt with their critique of physical science, and to the new philosophies of evolution by such men as Lloyd Morgan, J. A. Thomson, Smuts, Noble, and Boodin.

In view of these tendencies, in part divergent and conflicting, in present-day religious life, the need of religion for a comprehensive philosophy is patent. No interpretation which is bound up exclusively with one of these tendencies will meet the needs of our time. We must go forward to a new synthesis

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in our interpretation of religion, in which the personal and social values that humanism has at heart will be exalted, in which the significance of mysticism for life and for philosophy will be recognized, and in which man's cosmic problems shall find some constructive solution.

But a synthesis cannot bind together incompatible and contradictory elements. This is shown by the difficulties into which the efforts at synthesis that term themselves naturalism fall. Naturalism is espoused today by Dewey, Santayana, Sellars, and others; but Santayana has charged Dewey's naturalism with being "half-hearted," because his thought is so incurably ethical.[3] Dewey, on the other hand, has retorted by calling Santayana's naturalism "broken-backed," because for him man's contemplation of essences and ideal values has no bearing on the actual course of events.[4] Such a tilt between the protagonists of naturalism is merely a symptom of the fact that naturalism, because it bases itself in physics and physiology, cannot really interpret man's moral and religious experience. Rather must it be through a spiritualistic philosophy that the new synthesis is effected. In other words, if humanism, mysticism, and our theories of the cosmos are to be composed into a unified world-view, we must give metaphysical meaning to personality, reason, purpose, ideal values, and spiritual community, and find in these realities indispensable clues to the meaning of the whole of reality. The third postulate for modern liberal theology is the metaphysical kinship of the human spirit with ultimate reality. On the basis of this postulate theology may go forward to achieve a comprehensive philosophy, in which physical nature, history, ethics, art, and religion may be brought together into a coherent and fruitful unity.

I have not thought that we could discuss profitably the place of Christ in modern theology, in view of the divergent tendencies in present religious life and thought, without this

[3] *Journal of Philosophy*, XXII, 673 ff. [4] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 57 ff.

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preliminary reflection on what we mean by modern theology. The background of a picture always influences the foreground. As we go on to consider the meaning of Christ, let us do so with the three postulates that I have defined in the background of our thought: first, that religious experience, rightly interpreted, is a source for the discovery of truth, for the fulfilment of life, and for the victorious meeting of the great social and spiritual issues of mankind; second, that vital religion finds an indispensable nutriment in religious history; third, that religion requires a comprehensive philosophy based upon the metaphysical kinship of the human spirit with ultimate reality. Assuming that these postulates are indicative of the point of view and general task of modern theology, let us proceed to our inquiry concerning the place in modern theology which Jesus Christ should be conceived to have.

The subject of our discussion was intentionally made the same as that of the book by Principal Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, Oxford, published in 1893. Of Principal Fairbairn it has been said that he was "by the confession of both Anglicans and Non-conformists the most learned man in his subjects in the Oxford of his time, an historian, touched by the social enthusiasm, but a religious philosopher, *par excellence*."[5] It is, then, worth our while to look at our subject in the perspective of the thirty-five years since his book was written.

Principal Fairbairn's book opens with the following sentence: "The most distinctive and determinative element in modern theology is what we may term a new feeling for Christ." This new feeling for Christ Fairbairn regarded as being mainly due to the growth of the historical spirit. As a result the historical reality of Jesus Christ had broken upon men "with something of the surprise of a discovery." He had become "a new and more actual Being." Now here is undoubtedly the dynamic center of the religious thought and experience of those who taught the men who are teaching theology

[5] E. C. Moore, *Christian Thought Since Kant*, p. 236.

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today. Harnack, Herrmann, Sabatier, Fairbairn, Porter, McGiffert, and many others—inspiring teachers and men of great intellectual grasp and historical learning—had as their own central inspiration this new feeling for Jesus Christ as a historical reality. And what was true of these outstanding theological thinkers was true of their whole generation, so far as it was animated by the liberal spirit. The religious experience centering in the historic Jesus gave this generation its prevailingly christocentric method. It enabled men to meet the problems raised by higher criticism by finding their norm in Jesus. It determined their position with reference to the problems of philosophy, either by making them feel independent of philosophical and theological speculation, as with the Ritschlians, or by causing them to make Christ the test of cosmic evolution, as did Fairbairn. It had much to do with the development of the social gospel. For Rauschenbusch, Peabody, and Taylor, as well as for the Ritschlians, nothing was more potent than the new feeling for Christ.

This theology centering in a new feeling for Christ is one to which the liberal religious thought of today is deeply indebted. It is a theology which has had the glow of vital religious experience at its heart. It has been lit up by a sense of fresh discovery of religious truth, and has been energized by an earnest faith in the constructive meaning of that truth for personal life and for society. The Ritschlians consciously sought and achieved a greater warmth of piety and a larger practical fruitfulness than was present among either the speculative liberals or the orthodox Lutherans. The place of Christ in this theology also supplied to religious experience the essential historical nutriment. For it was to the life and teachings of Jesus, rather than to the Christ of the dogmatic creeds, that the central appeal was made. And, while this theology has been less concerned with the philosophical needs of religion, it has met these needs in characteristic fashion through main-

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taining—by diverse methods, it is true—the primacy of a Christian world-view.

But notwithstanding the vitality of this theology of the end of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth, it has not failed to present us with certain problems, and some of these problems have to do with the place of Christ in our experience and our theology. As to the nature of these problems, and as to the values which should be conserved as we try to meet them, we may get light if we focus our attention for a moment upon Fairbairn.

Fairbairn's comprehensive answer to his own question, "What is the place of Christ in modern theology?" is that Christ is the creative personality from which springs the Christian religion—the religion in which the conceptions of God, of man's relation with God and with his fellowmen, and of the universe are all ethicized through the principle of love. Fairbairn was a leader in the movement which carried theology back of the ecclesiastical creeds to the historical reality of Jesus Christ, and what he saw in Jesus Christ was a supremely creative personality, initiating a new and fully spiritual religion.

Here is an interpretation of Jesus that, in its initial intent, has an importance far beyond the immediate needs of Fairbairn's day. But a generation of New Testament scholarship has intervened since Fairbairn dealt with our theme, with the result that, in his development of his central idea, there is much which is neither valuable nor tenable for us. New Testament scholarship has shown us that Jesus shared in some fashion thoughts of his time, for example, apocalypticism, which we no longer can share. Conversely, it has shown us that Jesus did not teach those views of himself as an object of worship which were so central in the thought of the early Christian community. Further, it has brought out the contrast between the spiritual and social situations with which Jesus had to do and our own, so that we can no longer transfer his teaching

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bodily from his age into ours and thereby automatically solve our problems. And theological thought, on its part, has shown that the humanity of Jesus is made abstract and unreal if one tries to explain it, as Fairbairn does, by the Pauline conception of *kenosis* and by the doctrine—even though it be in a modified form—of the two natures.

Thus our problem today may be expressed as follows: If Jesus is conceived in relation to the spiritual and social situation of his time, and if the influence of the early Christian community upon the gospel record of his life and thought is recognized, does Jesus cease to be such a creative spiritual personality as can have a central place in our spiritual life and our theology?

The first point which is of importance for answering this question is that the historical view of Jesus leads us to seek our explanations of him in terms of the Hebrew prophetic movement rather than in terms of the religious speculations of late Judaism and of the Hellenistic world. Hebrew prophetism forms one of the high tablelands of man's spiritual history. In Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, we see creative religious genius working with elemental power. The type of moral and spiritual life which resulted, neither the Babylonian captivity, nor the Macedonian conquest, nor the imperialism of Rome could destroy or completely submerge. Without this type of moral and religious life Jesus could never have been. But by recovering its essential spirit Jesus carried moral and spiritual creativity to the highest point that the world has known. To find our explanation of Jesus in anything else than in the spiritual creativity of prophetism means to find the supreme significance of Jesus in something else than his own spiritual creativity. But what does our age, or any age, need so much as spiritual creativity such as we see in Jesus and such as he evoked in his followers?

The second point of moment for answering our question is that, if what we want is the prophetic and creative quality

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in our own life, it enhances, rather than diminishes, the significance of Jesus to see him realistically in the situations of his own day. For when we see him thus realistically his spiritual originality is heightened. We then see him dealing with Jewish sacred laws and institutions, with reverence, indeed, but also with sovereign freedom. We see him refusing to put new wine into old wineskins or new cloth upon old garments. We see him putting man above the Sabbath, faith above scrupulousness, and love at the center of the law. It is a reasoning in a circle, which some who deem themselves liberals do not escape, to say that what we need is not patterns, creeds, and codes but an inner spirit, and at the same time to ask how Jesus can have meaning for us when he does not give us precise patterns for dealing with the problems of modern industry and social life. Jesus met the human problems of his day with penetrating insight and powerful originality. If we ask of him ready-made solutions of the new problems of our day, we have failed to learn the supreme thing that he might teach us.

But there is a third point which has much to do with the answer which we give to our question. This point concerns the place of the creative in our underlying philosophy. As we said at the outset, our theology depends for its vitality upon the essential harmony between our views of religious experience, of history, and of the ultimate problems of philosophy. If according to our underlying philosophy anything truly creative must be regarded as a sheer miracle, then, either we shall hold that the miracle does not happen and regard the creativity of Jesus as only specious—as the mechanistic and naturalistic way of thinking tends to do—or we shall find ourselves resisting historical interpretations of Jesus with a metaphysics of his person which menaces his humanity—as the dualistic supernaturalist does. But if the conception of creativity enters into our understanding of life and of history, if it guides our educational and social thinking, and if it forms an essential

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part of our highest ideals, then we shall see that Jesus does not cease to be a creative spiritual personality for us simply because we are gaining a fuller understanding of him in relation to his own age.

We therefore may point out as one of the chief results of the historical and theological interpretation of Jesus during the past generation that it has thrown into relief his meaning for us as a supremely creative spiritual personality. As Johannes Weiss wrote: "From the drama of his life we are unable to compile a system of morals, but we may see how a great personality creates a moral standard by what he does and what he suffers, and how he elucidates it in his words."[6] Our first answer, then, to the question, What is the place of Jesus Christ in modern theology? is that he is central for our thought of God and of man, for our ideals and for our way of life, because in him moral and spiritual creativity are so supremely embodied.

II

We took as our point of departure Fairbairn's discussion of our subject of thirty-five years ago, and in our characterization of this period we have mentioned also the Ritschlians. The connection between Fairbairn's thought and that of the Ritschlians, such as it is, is not direct. In both we have noted the new feeling for Christ, the new warmth of piety, and the new valuation of Christ as a historical reality. But singularly enough, although Ritschl died five years before Fairbairn wrote upon our theme, he is mentioned by the latter only in a very incidental footnote. And in many respects Fairbairn and the Ritschlians diverge as to their types of thought. Fairbairn values the conception of divine immanence and the Ritschlians did not. Fairbairn's philosophical affiliations are with the neo-Hegelian idealism of Oxford, and the Ritschlians took as their watchword in philosophy "back to Kant." If we are

[6] Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, art. "Ethics."

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right in holding that a fruitful theology must combine vital present experience, historical rootage, and comprehensive philosophical interpretation, then Fairbairn deserves a place alongside the Ritschlians because he did not turn his back, as did the Ritschlians, upon speculative problems. A Ritschlian *Weltanschauung* could not permanently displace speculative thought.

But beyond question the Ritschlian movement was dominant in modern liberal thought at the beginning of the present century, and hence we inevitably look to it for insight into our problem.

I select a single but basic point in the Ritschlian interpretation of Jesus, which is developed most fully by Ritschl himself. Ritschl insisted upon deriving the significance of Jesus from his ethical vocation and from his religious consciousness, and he found these two aspects of his life to be intimately bound up together. His starting-point was what he called Jesus' own "self-end." In other words, Jesus had his own life to live, with God and with men, and it is the content of that life which gives him his meaning for the world. Ritschl asserted: "Jesus has the same right as every other man to demand that he be understood in the light of his own individuality."[7] He vigorously resisted the predisposition to regard Jesus in a way which is "in contradiction with the universal rules for estimating other personalities."

This principle that Jesus had his own life to live Ritschl applied no less thoroughly to Jesus' relation to God than to his relations with his fellow-men. The older theology completely failed, he declared, "in the interpretation of everything which presents Christ as himself the subject of religion."[8] Ritschl, on the other hand, makes Jesus' own religious consciousness to be the center and source of his meaning for mankind. He held that consciousness to be in principle something which other men may share. "The disciples of Jesus," he said, "take

[7] *Justification and Reconciliation*, III, 413. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

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the rank of sons of God and are received into the same relation to God in which Christ stands to his Father."[9]

Here is a point of basic importance for theology today. We may sympathize with protests against toning down Jesus to the level of mediocrity, or against making him "a modern liberal citizen." We may rightly emphasize the difficulty of comprehending a supreme religious genius such as Jesus was. But if Jesus' way of life among men has unique value for us, and if he truly lived a religious life of his own, then the gaining of some real comprehension of that religious life is of vital importance for great living on our own part.

But if the importance of seeking to share the religious consciousness of Jesus is to have its full meaning for us, we must preserve Ritschl's teaching that in Jesus the religious consciousness and the sense of ethical vocation are intimately bound up together and interpenetrate each other. In Ritschl's thought Jesus' consciousness of sonship to God and his dedication to the creation of a community of love among men are inseparable from each other. And so in truth they are. To cite Johannes Weiss again: While the two-fold law of love may not originate with Jesus alone, "The great thing is that . . . . he furnished in his own life such an embodiment of the law as carries conviction to all. In his personification of the ideal he welded the love of God and the love of man in an indissoluble union, in which they might foster and strengthen each other. He expressed the ideal in a perfect form, and stamped it upon the soul of the race."[10]

Modern theology needs this principle of the interpenetration of the moral and the religious consciousness which is embodied in Jesus. To keep these two sides of experience in fruitful union is clearly a supreme spiritual achievement, for they are always tending to drift apart. Once more in our day we find spokesmen of humanism who are indifferent to faith

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 387, footnote.

[10] *Op. cit.*

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and worship, and advocates of mysticism who are critical of the social gospel. If such a drifting apart of the ethical interest and the religious interest becomes extensive, the result will be an increasing sterility in our spiritual life. We need continually to learn religion from Jesus, for in him the religion which is ethically creative has received classic expression. Our second answer, therefore, to the main question before us is that the place of Jesus Christ in modern theology should be central because from him we learn a religion by which moral and spiritual creativeness may be steadily sustained and nourished.

III

The limitations of the Ritschlian theology have been pointed out often in recent years. One of those most frequently noted is the Ritschlian depreciation of mysticism—a limitation which impaired somewhat the full outworking of the teaching with which we have just credited Ritschl. It is better to recognize with Professor Case, who has done so much to show that the figure of the Hebrew prophet furnishes the best clue for the interpreting of Jesus, that mysticism is an essential element in prophetism. "The prophet," Case says, "lived in a relation to God that was essentially a mystical experience. But it was not the type of mysticism that evaporated in an orgy of spiritual emotions. There was a wealth of feeling in the prophetic experience, but it was of that sort that gave to life a mighty ethical and spiritual drive."[11] But Ritschl's prepossessions prevented him from appreciating this prophetic type of mysticism in Jesus.

The most serious limitation of the Ritschlian theology, however—more serious than the disposition already noted, to turn aside from speculative thought—has been the Ritschlian tendency to isolate Christianity from other religions. It was this limitation that occasioned the rise of the history-of-reli-

[11] S. J. Case, *Jesus: A New Biography*, p. 386.

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gions school in Germany of which Troeltsch was the theological leader. The importance of Troeltsch's theology is such that we need to consider its bearing on our theme and the extent to which it contributes to the answering of our question.

Troeltsch's theology in general embodies to a noteworthy degree those characteristics which, at the outset of our discussion, we considered to be essential in modern liberal theology. No one has done more than Troeltsch to make plain the importance of historical rootage for religious life and thought. He was indeed in the front rank as a historian of religious thought and as a philosopher of history. He was genuinely concerned, also, that theology should serve vital piety, and to an unusual degree he personally undertook political and social responsibilities. In philosophy his closest affiliations were with Dilthey of Berlin, and the objective of his thought was a new synthesis in which influences from Kant, Schleiermacher, and Hegel, as well as from Ritschlianism, should bear their part. Ultimately he conceived that philosophy should be concerned with a synthesis of human cultures, for which, however, our time is not ready, and in which oriental cultures should bear their part with European-American culture.

The place of Jesus according to Troeltsch's thought is that Jesus is the indispensable, permanent symbol for the truths and values upon which the Christian religion depends for its integrity, vitality, and growth. So long as the Christian experience of God and the creation of a Christian community are our supreme concern, the historical person of Jesus will be the vital center of our religious life. And the God of Christian experience is for Troeltsch the God of a personalistic theism, for which human personality and a community of love are intrinsic and abiding values.

But Troeltsch always maintained that Christianity should be approached from the standpoint of religion as such, and he treated religion as being relative to the different systems of human culture in which it appears historically. Of Christian-

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ity he said: "It has entirely lost its oriental character and has become hellenized and westernized." Hence he declared that "it stands or falls with European civilization."[12] And concerning the chief religions of the world he said: "So far as human eye can penetrate into the future, it would seem probable that the great revelations to the various civilizations will remain distinct, in spite of a little shifting of their several territories at their fringes, and that the question of their several relative values will never be capable of objective demonstration."[13] Troeltsch, however, as a matter of religious faith held that all religions "are tending in the same direction," and that they have "a common goal in the Unknown, the Future, perchance in the Beyond," as well as "a common ground in the Divine Spirit," which is ever seeking union with the finite spirit. And he concluded his reflections upon this problem with the guiding principle of love—love for mankind as a whole and love as responsiveness to the Infinite Spirit.

The result of Troeltsch's thought for our main question is that Jesus is the indispensable symbol of truth and value for Christianity as the religion of the Occident, but that his meaning has become so far bound up with our de-orientalized Christianity that it cannot be disengaged and be shown to be universal.

In this interpretation of Jesus I find both constructive contributions and serious limitations. Let me first point out the limitations. One of them consists in the ambiguity of the term "symbol." If we use it to mean that Jesus adequately embodied truth and a way of life which we and all men need, and which is the basis for a further discovery of truth and a growing life, then the term may serve our thought; for the personal embodiment of spiritual truth stimulates and kindles as abstract teaching never can do. But if we so use the term "symbol" of Jesus that he becomes simply the repository for the

[12] E. Troeltsch, *Christian Thought*, p. 7.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

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varying ideals of the succeeding centuries, it introduces confusion into our thought. Jesus cannot be to us at one and the same time a supremely creative personality and the composite result of the thought of later generations of Christians. And we already have found that it is the historic Jesus in his spiritual creativeness that has the most meaning for us today.

Another limitation of Troeltsch's interpretation of Jesus consists in its relativism. Troeltsch's whole conception of religion makes it relative to the different cultural systems of the world. He is never able to find any clear truth for religion which transcends the plurality of the world's cultures. In fact all truth, in whatever field, he considers to be relative to some age and clime. He found that "even the validity of science and logic seemed to exhibit, under different skies and upon different soil, strong individual differences present even in their deepest and innermost rudiments."[14] Inevitably, then, Jesus and the theistic conception of God, with which the religious meaning of Jesus is bound up, partake of this relativism. Practically, indeed, Jesus and theism have supreme significance for us, because they belong at the spiritual focus of our culture; but we must always introduce the qualification "for us of the west."

The abstract and theoretical character of this relativism of Troeltsch appears in the circumstance that, whereas he identifies Christianity completely with European civilization, historical scholarship is proceeding to rediscover the Palestinian Jesus. We cannot classify Jesus himself on the basis of the contrast between oriental and western culture. Moreover, we find in Jesus that moral and spiritual quality which enables us to bring our European-American civilization to the judgment-seat and discover in it limitations that are radical, perhaps even fatal.

Troeltsch's relativism, furthermore, breaks down from the standpoint of religion in its highest function. Troeltsch makes

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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religion too exclusively a creature of history, whereas religion in its highest—its prophetic—rôle is a creator of history. What the religion of Jesus summons us to today is to be makers of a new history. We have, indeed, no higher conception of human aspiration and endeavor than that of making a more Christian world. We do not, of course, derive all the principles for making a Christian world directly and solely from Jesus.[15] We draw such principles also from science, art, and political and social thinking since Jesus' time, and we expect growth and discovery in all these fields, and in the field of religion as well. The spirit that was in Jesus was a creative spirit, and it summons all who learn from him to a creative enterprise. But the most central principles for this creative enterprise have already received embodiment in Jesus. It is vain to talk about creative living apart from the discovery of objective truth. In the field of physical nature scientific discovery and practical invention belong together, and a like relation holds true in the moral and spiritual field. And it is also vain to think of discovering much objectively valid truth, unless we already possess objectively valid truth on which to build. What progress, for example, could be made in the discovery of the causes and cures of contagious and infectious diseases without the germ theory of disease? And what educated person supposes that the germ theory of these diseases is not objectively valid truth? The science of medicine inevitably builds upon Pasteur, and its progress is conditioned upon so doing.

But if Troeltsch's thought is limited in its value for us by the ambiguity of the term "symbol," which he chose to express the meaning of Jesus, and by its general relativism, it nevertheless has made important constructive contributions to the answering of our main question. For, in the first place, he established the right approach to the question when he insisted that Christianity be not isolated from other religions

[15] Cf. G. B. Smith, art., "The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History," *American Journal of Theology*, XVIII (1914), 539–44.

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but interpreted in relation to them and to man's basic religious needs; in the second place, he made clear that the vitality of Christianity depends upon the recognition that Jesus is the highest revelation of God we know, and upon making the figure of Jesus the organizing center for whatever other manifestations of God we receive;[16] and in the third place, he maintained that the ultimate synthesis of religion, beyond the horizon of our present thought, can be advanced by us only by the fullest loyalty to the central truths and values of the Christian faith.[17]

To those of us who feel that creative religion should be leading us consciously and purposefully forward toward world-unity Troeltsch's disposition to treat all religion, including Christianity, in subordination to the existing plurality of cultures among men will seem a failure to "see truth steadily and see it whole." A better conception would be that each great religion contains some elements of truth that transcend the racial culture by which it has been chiefly conditioned and that have validity for all mankind. At all events, when we turn to the creative source of Christianity, the historic Jesus, we see in him the personal embodiment of truths which will be permanently central in the spiritual life of mankind—if mankind ever attains to spiritual unity—and which give us a rational and living faith that such a unity will indeed be attained. Jesus' conception of man's sonship to God, of the supremacy of love, of the power of faith, of the human soul as having intrinsic worth, of the conquest of evil by self-giving, suffering love, of the coming of a Kingdom of God on earth, and of a God of whose nature these principles and ideals are the expression and with whom we and all things stand in living relation—these conceptions of Jesus, by which he himself lived, are insights upon which the spiritual destiny of mankind depends. They need translation by each age into the terms most direct-

[16] E. Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung der Geschichtlichkeit Jesu für den Glauben*, p. 48.
[17] E. Troeltsch, *Christian Thought*, pp. 95–99.

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ly applicable to the needs of that age. They need to gather around themselves other insights from historic faiths of independent origin and from later ages. But they are truths which are permanently central for the spiritual life of mankind, because without them human unity and human progress lose their meaning.

Our third answer, then, to the question to which this discussion has been devoted is that Jesus Christ has a central place for theological thought because he was the personal embodiment of truths which are permanently central for the spiritual life of mankind.

At the outset of this discussion it was suggested that modern liberal theology will fulfil its mission to the degree that it is concerned for depth, richness, and practical fruitfulness in religious experience, helps religion to preserve a deep historical rootage, and develops a comprehensive philosophy. The outcome of our discussion, in my judgment, is that the more truly and realistically we know the historical personality of Jesus the more the love of him constrains us; and that the better we know him historically the more we gain truth and inspiration for creative living in our day, and the more will faith that creative love is at the heart of the universe prove to be our wisest philosophy.

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PETER'S TRIUMPH AT ANTIOCH

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FOR Europeans at least no development in the history of religion has been more momentous than that which constituted a large factor in the Hellenization of the Near East. The first mighty impulse was given to this syncretism by the conquests of Alexander and the policy consistently followed by his successors, both Ptolemaic and Seleucid, of giving a Greek dress to oriental institutions. The surviving literary monument of this process in the Hellenization of Jewish religion under the Ptolemies is the Septuagint version. Under Roman sovereignty it is the Greek New Testament.

The violence of Antiochus IV, surnamed Epiphanes ("God Manifest") in token of his megalomaniac application of the imperialistic Seleucid theory of religion, nicknamed Epimanes ("Madman") for his disastrous attempt to hustle the East in the Hellenization of its religion, set back the cause he wished to promote in Judea by more than a hundred years. The Maccabean Wars, at first waged for religious liberty, later for religious conquest and revenge, were only the outward manifestation of a deep reaction whose inner life appeared in the growth of synagogue religion under leadership of scribes and Pharisees. This reaction was coextensive with Judaism though centered at Jerusalem, its favorable aspect being the intensive cultivation of the ancient faith in opposition to Greek syncretizing rationalism. Its unfavorable aspect is made sufficiently clear by the movement of John the Baptist, reverting to the ethical universalism of the great prophets, and the battle of the greatest of John's disciples against the book-religion of scribes and Pharisees.

In the development of Christianity, at first only a new

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form of Judaism but soon to transfer its center of gravity from Jerusalem to Rome, from the Aramaic-speaking to the Greek-speaking world, we have the completion of the long-delayed process of Hellenization. Without the blending of the best in Semitic religious thought with the best in Greek philosophy and religion, no such world-religion as Christianity could have arisen. Without Judaism's baptism of fire in Maccabean times, followed by its intense inner development, the blending might have been premature, resulting only in such rationalistic theosophy as Samaritan Gnosticism exhibits in the first and second century. Such blending in right proportion of Jewish and Greek elements as would fit the new religion not merely to make conquest of the Graeco-Roman world but to become the mold for European culture and civilization was reserved for one whose birth from purely Jewish stock was in a seat of Greek culture and religion; one whose ancestral tradition and personal inclination made him "a Pharisee of Pharisees," yet whose training as a scribe in Jerusalem was under the great liberal of the times, Gamaliel; one who at first persecuted this Way (of justification) unto the death, but through inward religious experience came to realize that from his mother's womb, unconsciously to himself, God had been preparing him to be an apostle of the faith of Jesus "unto the Gentiles." What all the power of the Seleucid empire could not accomplish by the violence of the madman Antiochus, God accomplished in an unforeseen and better way through Saul of Tarsus, "mad" in the judgment of Agrippa II, but "of sober mind," notwithstanding a blazing religious enthusiasm and activity such as can scarcely be paralleled in history, whether in his own judgment or that of the greatest thinkers of the Christian church.

It is on one of the great crises in the story of Paul's missionary career that we ask the reader to reflect, viewing it not merely as Paul viewed it, who considered the issue one on which to stake the success or failure of his whole career, but viewing it in that larger aspect permitted to those who look

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back over two thousand years of the history of our religion. We have in mind the crisis in Antioch, of which Paul himself informs his converts in Galatia for the purpose of stiffening their wavering confidence in his own apostolic authority and the gospel of "freedom" he had preached. In our view Antioch was the chief battle-ground on which was fought out the question whether the Hellenization of Jewish religion should follow the compromise proposed by "those of Cephas" or the broader principles deemed vital by Paul. And in its immediate results the collision was for Paul a defeat, an apparently disastrous defeat. Not one of those on whom he had a right to count among the church leaders stood by him. Barnabas, head of the church at Antioch, the man who had brought Paul there, and who with him had won the Galatians themselves to the faith, went over to Peter's side, and with him naturally went "all of the Jews." Mark, companion of the two missionaries throughout the earlier part of their great tour of evangelization, the tour through Cyprus, and whom we now find back in Antioch, having apparently come with Peter from Jerusalem, followed Barnabas, not Paul, in the next wave of missionary effort. This began with a return of the two cousins to Cyprus, which Paul does not revisit. Peter, if we may trust our earliest uncanonical records, remained in control in Antioch, the great mother-church of gentile Christianity from which Paul now retires to seek a new base for his missionary activities in the Greek churches of Asia Minor. Leaving Cyprus to Barnabas and Mark, Paul takes the other half of their joint missionary conquests. He comes with Silas, a new-found ally from Jerusalem (a provenance we should scarcely expect) to the churches of Galatia. But even the warnings against Judaizing interlopers which the Apostle in Gal. 1:9 reminds inquirers he had given them on this second visit had not been enough to prevent serious defection when the Judaizers appeared among them. For the "thunderbolt" epistle barely prevented the retreat from Antioch from being turned into a rout at Paul's

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second line of defense. Uncontrolled emissaries of the Judaizing party which assumed to speak for James and Peter now made their way to Galatia and ultimately to Corinth. Only the great letters to "the churches of Galatia," to Corinth, and (by way of forestalling further conflict) to Rome, saved the day. The adherents of Peter at Antioch not only held the original battle-ground but appeared in Corinth as those "of Cephas," where extreme reactionaries, who claimed to follow the example "of Christ,"[1] on the matters in dispute, sought the complete extrusion of Paul.

Most significantly of all, it was those "of Peter" who dictated the story of the conflict; for the version of it which appears in Acts is notoriously difficult to reconcile with Paul's. Luke permits only James of Jerusalem and Peter to have a voice in the settlement of the issue of "pollutions of idols," he omits entirely Paul's rebuke of Peter's vacillation at Antioch and represents the whole church, Jewish and gentile, including Barnabas and even Paul himself, as acquiescing joyfully in the compromise "decrees" laid down by "the Apostles and Elders" in Jerusalem. If Luke was a "companion of Paul," as second-century tradition avers, he must be counted an even worse deserter to the side of Peter than Barnabas or Mark.

The simple testimony of the map should be enough to justify the title "the triumph of *Peter* at Antioch," however paradoxical it may appear to those who have been accustomed to read the story in the light of Paul's Epistles alone. But our object goes beyond the mere awakening of reflection by paradox. It is important to ask the questions—What was the issue involved in the struggle? Why was Paul ready to stake everything upon it? What effect had the primary repulse on the development of the church in Paul's day?—and last, but by no means least: What effect had it on the ulterior development of Christianity down to our own time? For though we

[1] See my article, "The 'Christ' Party in Corinth" in the *Expositor*, VIII (November, 1914), 47.

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are attempting to deal with a purely historical question by strictly historical methods our interest is much more than academic. We are the more concerned to employ no arguments not approved by the strictest canons of scientific research because the issue seems to us a vital one for the Christianity of today and tomorrow.

The defeat of Paul at Antioch was retrieved in three ways. It was followed by (1) ten years of amazing energy in the founding of the Greek churches, the establishing of a new center for their development at Ephesus, and the securing of at least an equal influence at Rome; (2) by a new conference at Jerusalem with "James and the Elders" attended by Paul in company with representatives of all his Greek churches at the risk of liberty and life, both being ultimately sacrificed by the Apostle in the interest of reconciliation; (3) by a definition of "the gospel of God" as understood by Paul in logical and literary form, so that from his day to our own Christian theology has built upon his Epistles (especially Romans) as its lasting foundation. Paul's consecrated energy of missionary devotion, Paul's spirit of martyrdom for the avoidance of schism, and Paul's superb contribution to the formation of a New Testament canon—it is to these that we are chiefly indebted for the bridging of the chasm between East and West, the Hellenization of Jewish religion in a form conserving the noblest elements of Hebrew and Greek religious thought.

We are not unmindful of the transcendent service of Paul's nameless successor at Ephesus, christened by the later tradition under the name of John, whose aim is to redefine the true "gospel of God" over against that Syrian Gnosticism which Harnack has fitly characterized as the "acute Hellenization" of Semitic religion. But it must also be remembered that this unknown Ephesian leader neither is, nor seeks to appear, anything more than a witness to the Hellenistic type of gospel tradition, a continuator of the work of Paul's later years. For after having won the fight against intolerance and schism in

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Jerusalem Paul turned, a prisoner in Rome, to the defense of his gospel against the new peril in the opposite quarter, the demoralizing tendencies of incipient Gnosticism. "John" also is indeed a true Hellenizer of the gospel, and has abundant tradition to fall back upon which is Syrian and Hellenistic rather than Pauline; but he is also a true Paulinist in that he refuses Hellenization at the expense of the moral values of monotheistic Judaism.

Neither Paul nor John prevailed easily. During the first half of the second century the epigram scarcely overstates the fact that "nobody understood Paul except Marcion, and he misunderstood him." And the Johannine writings, except for the Apocalypse (which is not Johannine in the sense we have come to associate with the rest of the "Phrygian" canon) came into general use only with extreme slowness and against pronounced opposition. Eusebius calls Irenaeus worthy of his name of "Peacemaker" because of his intervention on two occasions to prevent Western intolerance from doing injustice to the Eastern churches Irenaeus had known in his youth. He deserves it still more by his systematic blending of Pauline with Petrine tradition and his vigorous resistance to the exclusion from the canon of any of the Johannine writings. From Irenaeus onward Christianity is Petro-Pauline, the blend of Hebraism and Hellenism in the church catholic is thenceforward complete.

What, then, was the part of Antioch in this development? What effect had the triumph of Peter in the process? To answer these questions we must do something more than bring into better historical relation the widely disparate data furnished respectively by Paul and Luke. We must take into account also the results of recent research into the history of Synoptic tradition. For Synoptic tradition represents in its main outline, by agreement of modern criticism with ancient tradition, little else save the preaching of Peter. True, in the earliest form known to us this report of the sayings and doings

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of Jesus is a Greek gospel put forth at Rome after the death of Peter and Paul. Antiquity credibly declares it to be "according to the teaching of (κατά) Mark." But modern scholarship is practically unanimous in recognizing beneath the Greek dress not merely oral utterances in Aramaic, such as the ancient report alleged, but actual documents in that language. Syria, perhaps Antioch itself, where Petrine authority was supreme, is certainly the source of much of this Roman gospel.

Again, modern criticism tends strongly to regard the same, or some closely adjacent region as birthplace of the Gospel of Matthew. Streeter, in his recent volume, *The Four Gospels*, argues persuasively for Antioch itself as the place of composition. To this there are serious objections, more especially the very ancient tradition declaring Luke to have been a "Syrian," in particular an "Antiochian" by race. The item is contributed no doubt not from mere antiquarian interest, but to account for the fact that the Lukan writings exhibit to so striking a degree a peculiarly Antiochian standpoint and interest. But if Matthew was "the" Gospel of Antioch, Luke, which stands in such unreconciled opposition to it on many points, can hardly represent the accepted tradition of the same locality. Streeter would meet the difficulty by disregarding the ancient tradition as to Luke and making Greece or Rome the birthplace of the Lukan writings. The present writer, on the contrary, would accept the primitive tradition as to the provenance of Luke, whether as regards the evangelist's own origin or that of his embodied tradition; but in place of the certainly erroneous tradition regarding Matthew, which gives it a Palestinian origin, he would fall back on the judicious verdict of McNeile (*Commentary*, p. xxviii) that our first evangelist

> lived at some place in Syria where the Christians were not in close touch with Jerusalem, and where the traditions which reached him were of very varying value, ranging from those which bear the unmistakable stamp of genuineness to stories of a purely legendary character, which

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must have grown up outside the range of the control which apostles or other eye-witnesses could have exercised.

In any event we cannot but assign a very large part in the formation of Synoptic tradition, whether in the Roman-Petrine form of Mark or the didactic form to which some would attach the name of Matthew, to the bilingual region of northern Syria, more especially of Antioch. It is here that we must place that Second Source common to Matthew and Luke on which both mainly rely to supplement the deficiencies of Mark as respects teaching material, a document certainly non-apostolic, but already translated from Aramaic into Greek when used by them.

Again, whatever the provenance of that Greek document of Acts, chapters 15–28, and its basic diary of Paul's *compagnon de voyage* which Luke uses to complete his history after the all-important Apostolic Council, most of his Gospel, apart from its Markan and Second Source material, is translated from Aramaic or Hebrew, and this is far more certainly and completely the case with "First Acts" (Acts, chapters 1–15). This surely was not written for readers in Greece or Rome. Finally it is at Rhossus, only thirty miles north of Antioch, that we find still in use at the end of the second century that early Greek synopticon, forerunner of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which circulated under the title *Gospel according to Peter*.

It is in Syria, not Rome, that we must place that profoundest sentiment of veneration for the name and authority of Peter, as well as the most living and abundant record of his teaching. For (Grill to the contrary notwithstanding) the "Petrine supplements of Matthew"[2] have absolutely nothing to do with Rome, nor does Rome appear in any way above Matthew's horizon. Apart from the dubious suggestion of "Babylon" in I Pet. 5:13 the first century has not a trace of

[2] See my article under this title in the *Expositor* (January, 1917), Eighth Series, No. 73, pp. 1–23.

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any Roman connection for Peter. The tradition which conveys him to Rome is of second-century origin, and even so at first only to martyrdom after the manner of Ignatius (John 21:18 f.). Antioch and the bilingual region of its neighborhood eastward to Aleppo—this is the region to which all recent research directs us as the home of Synoptic tradition in its pre-canonical form.

What, then, of this development of Synoptic tradition in Northern Syria under the name and authority of Peter after the death of Paul? What has this to do with the triumph of Peter at Antioch? Had the temporary defeat of those "of Paul" any part to play in that larger development in the history of religion which gave us a Christianity combining in itself in sanest proportion the best elements of Semitic and Greek religion? Was Antioch the final meeting point of East and West in matters religious, as it had for centuries aspired to be in matters social and political? To give adequate answer to these questions, we must go back to the early history of Jewish and Hellenistic Christianity, comparing the story of Luke with the scant references of Paul, in order thus to better appreciate the importance, as well as the true issue of the apostolic conflict.

At first glance we might gain the false idea that Luke has nothing to tell about the crisis. Of course it is true—and very natural—that he seeks to draw a veil over the unedifying spectacle of his great "vessel of the Spirit" Paul, rebuking the chief apostle, Peter, "to his face" and publicly for "hypocrisy," (that is, conduct inconsistent with his acknowledged principles) born of "fear" in the presence of certain delegates "from James." We scarcely expect the great first-century apologist for the church to tell all he knew about this scandal. His extreme reverence for the apostolic body at Jerusalem should lead us to expect his transfer of the whole momentous issue for decision to "the apostles and elders in Jerusalem." On the other hand it is quite too much to expect Paul, in a let-

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ter written to re-establish his own apostolic authority among wavering converts, to tell more than he does of the victorious tide of opposition from the whole mass of Jewish believers in Syria evoked by his own defiance of the Jerusalem delegates, the leading Apostle, and the head of the Antioch church on whose invitation he had joined forces with them.

Luke's method of dealing with the scandal resembles Tertullian's handling of Paul's inconvenient assertion in Gal. 2:5 that he refused to yield "even for an hour" to the "pillars," James and Cephas and John, on the previous occasion when in company with Barnabas he had gone up to Jerusalem to forestall the opposition of the "false brethren" at Antioch, "privily brought in to spy out the liberty which we have in Christ Jesus." The outcome of the interview (a "private" agreement as Paul expressly states) had been a pledge of mutual non-interference. Gentile territory was to be the field of Antioch's missionary enterprise, the Pillars would limit themselves to "the circumcision." As respects the message to be preached none of the Mosaic restrictions was to be imposed on Gentile converts. It was taken for granted (doubtless to some extent because of Paul's habitual practice of behaving "as if under the Law" when among Christians of Jewish birth) that "the Jews which are among the Gentiles" would not be encouraged to disregard their immemorial standards of ritual purity. Tertullian, eager to refute the ultra-Paulinist Marcion, would have us believe that Paul repented of his hasty opposition to Peter and afterward changed his conduct to conform to the practice of the Pillars (*Adv. Marc.* I, 20). On the contrary Augustine is unquestionably correct in his statement concerning the agreement, at least so far as the Pillars' understanding of it is concerned. They inevitably would, and unquestionably did, understand it to mean that "Gentiles who should have come to believe in Christ should be free from the burden of the (ceremonial) Law, but that those who had be-

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lieved from among the Jews should be subject to the Law."[3] Such is the plain statement of Luke (Acts 21:20–26) in making Paul declare by a public act that there was "no truth" in the accusation that he applied the exemption to Jewish as well as gentile converts in his mission field. To our amazement Harnack himself is willing to carry his defense of Luke to the point of declaring that Paul actually did deny this exemption both to himself and Peter, conforming his own conduct both among Jewish and gentile believers to the Mosaic standard. But it is absolutely certain from Galatians alone that Paul consented to no such limitation of his "freedom in Christ Jesus." He may have left the Pillars under the mistaken impression that he clung invariably to his Mosaic "purity," but at Antioch he left no doubt whatever of the obligation both he and Peter were under to prove their exclusive dependence for justification on the grace of the Lord Jesus, in common with "sinners of the Gentiles," by abandoning their caste restrictions. Tertullian's interpretation of Galatians is only an extreme form of that Lukan apologetic to which harmonists have been driven in both ancient and modern times. At Jerusalem, at Antioch, and always, Paul insisted that the atoning death of Jesus had abolished the legal dispensation for Jew and Gentile alike, and that to timorously cling to it was "hypocrisy" on the part of those who professed to have put all their trust in Christ.

To understand the issue drawn at Antioch we must appreciate this difference between the Petrine gospel of compromise, the gospel which Luke insists was accepted by the whole apostolic circle including Barnabas and Paul himself at the Jerusalem Council, and the Pauline gospel of unrestricted faith in Christ, a principle to be tempered in application only by the duty of consideration for the "weak" brother.

It was perhaps inevitable that Paul should leave the con-

[3] Jerome, *Ep. ad. Aug.* 112.5: "Gentiles qui in Christo credidissent legis onere liberos, eos autem qui ex Judaeis crederant legi esse subjectos."

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ference with the Pillars in the joyful conviction that everything needful for the proclamation of his gospel of free grace among the Gentiles had been conceded. It was natural that he and Barnabas should address themselves to the contemplated Greek mission in the expectation that their gentile converts would be received at Antioch in the same fraternal spirit which had characterized its communal repasts before the coming of the spying "false brethren." For a time his hope was realized. Peter, coming to Antioch in the spirit of the Jerusalem "right hand of fellowship," followed the example of Paul and the rest of the Antioch Christians in "eating with the Gentiles." But this was too much for the "Pharisees who had believed." Such disregard of Mosaism on the part of the very first of the apostles could not be hid. News of the disastrous defection was carried at once, we may be sure, to Jerusalem and occasioned the immediate summoning of the whole body of "apostles and elders." Probably the result of their deliberations was not communicated to Antioch until after the departure of Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, else Paul's expostulation would not have been delayed until the public occasion described in Gal. 2:14.

But on their return from Galatia Paul and Barnabas found the church divided. Those of Jewish birth, including Peter, had withdrawn from table fellowship with the Gentiles, following the counsel of certain delegates "from James," whose interpretation of the compact was such as we have described. But these well-intentioned men cannot have come to Antioch with the deliberate purpose of disrupting the church. To prevail upon Peter to reverse his practice they must have come provided with some *modus vivendi* by which it could be hoped that unity would be maintained. It is this *modus vivendi* which Luke extols as the unanimous solution of the entire question, the four (or three?[4]) "decrees" of Acts 15:23–29 promulgated by "the apostles and elders" at Jerusalem for the

[4] See Ropes, in Foakes-Jackson, *Beginnings of Christianity*, III, Part I, 265–68.

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benefit of "the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia" (it is noticeable that Cyprus and Galatia are not included). The "decrees" of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem were expected to bring satisfaction on both sides, as Luke actually insists that they did in Galatia (Acts 16:4 f.).

In point of fact the decrees surely were accepted by Mark, Barnabas, and Peter, indeed by "all the Jews" at Antioch. They were not unreasonable from the Jewish point of view. They not only were not inconsistent with the Jerusalem compact, they certainly interpreted it correctly from the point of view of all participants except Paul. They did not call for repeal of the exemption then granted to the Gentiles, but only asked as "necessary" (that is, if Jewish Christians were to retain their highly valued Mosaic purity) that their brethren of the Gentiles should "fence the tables" from those "pollutions of idols" which would contaminate "those that eat and associate with"[5] such as practice them.

It required a very keen appreciation of Paul's doctrine of faith as *exclusive* dependence on the Son of God who "loved me and gave himself for me" to see anything fatally objectionable in adoption of the "decrees" as rules of the church to guard it from "the pollutions of idols." Their general adoption in Syria should not surprise us so much as their rapid decay until in *Didache* they have dwindled to the form "as concerning food bear what thou art able; however as regards meats offered to idols abstain, for it is the food of dead gods," and in Revelation to the two prohibitions of "fornication and meats offered to idols." The very fact that the Alexandrian text of Acts has retained the original form, which the β text transforms into a moral exhortation, is proof of the early origin of the book. Disappearance of the original distinction between Jewish and gentile converts was not long delayed and

[5] "Fornication" is included under this head in *Clem. Hom.* III, lxviii. Cf. I Cor. 5:11.

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in the nature of the case was bound to work in favor of gentile freedom. All things considered, therefore, we cannot greatly blame men without experience of Paul's inward struggle against Pharisaic legalism for yielding to the delegates "from James."

To Paul the issue was vital. It involved not alone the freedom of gentile believers to determine their own standards of faith and practice, but "the truth of the gospel." It was the "truth of the gospel" which Peter and the Jews were jeopardizing by their devious "walk" at Antioch, the same "truth of the gospel" for which Paul had stood out at Jerusalem with Barnabas. If a man could be justified in any degree by "works of law," then Christ died in vain. For "the truth of the gospel" of "justification by faith apart from works of law" Paul preferred to surrender all that had been gained by his alliance with Barnabas and association with the Antioch church, all the fruits of the Jerusalem compact, and start out anew with Silas toward the unknown West and the waiting fields of Macedonia.

There followed ten years of unparalleled effort to build up a new Greek mission field in the basin of the Aegean with Ephesus as headquarters, ten years of struggle against undermining "false brethren." Then Paul went up again to hold a new interview with "James and the elders." To Luke, of course, the visit has no bearing on the question of Jew versus Gentile, save to confirm the inspired "decrees" of the great Apostolic Council in Jerusalem and to acquit Paul of the baseless charge that he "taught the Jews which are among the Gentiles not to circumcise their children nor to obey the customs." To the writer of Rom. 15:25–33 it means far more. To Paul the journey meant obedience unto death for the love of Christ. It meant bonds and imprisonment, with a martyr's fate on the horizon. It meant the supreme test of the love that beareth all things, hopeth all things, believeth all things, in the effort to heal a fatal disruption already far advanced in

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the church. The former visit to the Pillars had borne its first fruits auspiciously only to see them wither and fall to the ground. The present bore the immediate fruit of prison and death; but the unity of the church was sealed in the blood of the martyr. Paul, the great champion of liberty, was the first great apostle of love and peace. His blessing return upon his own head, may "the God of peace" be with him!

The arrest of Paul in the temple in the midst of his peace negotiations breaks off our view. But his later letters show by their tone of thankful relief, and perhaps even more by the turning of his weapons of argument against an enemy in the opposite quarter, that Paul's olive-branch had borne fruit. Romans had been read, we may be sure, in Caesarea and Antioch, yes, probably even in Jerusalem, as well as at Rome, before Paul's voyage to martyrdom began. Those "of Peter" may not have been fully convinced by Paul's logic. They probably clung to their rule-of-thumb method regarding the "pollutions of idols" in preference to Paul's abstract principle of "justification by faith apart from works" without better understanding of Pauline theology than the generation which followed. But they could not misunderstand Paul's insistent commandment and practice of love and consideration for the scrupulous "weak" conscience. The logic might fail, but not the all-bearing, all-hopeful, all-believing love. Faith, hope, and love, persistent unto death, won the day.

From our broader horizon of almost nineteen centuries after, our deeper appreciation of Pauline theological principles, we look back to that first great defeat, the triumph of Peter (we might almost call it rather the triumph of Jerusalem) at Antioch. The well-meaning delegates "from James" had their way. Paul's mission work had almost to begin over again from the borders of his home province of Cilicia, whence Barnabas had brought him to Antioch. Philip "the evangelist," successor of the martyred Stephen, an early friend of Paul, if we may accept the hints of Acts connecting him with

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Caesarea as well as the sure testimony of the Travel Document (Acts 21:8–14), and after the martyrdom a continuator of Paul's work among "the churches of Asia"—Philip of Caesarea, first great evangelist of the dispersion due to "the persecution which arose about Stephen" certainly remained Paul's friend, leader of a church revisited even during the period of alienation (Acts 18:22 f.). Antioch also was not altogether unfriendly. But Syria as a whole took its tone from Jerusalem. The Clementine romance (*ca.* 200–210) contains an element of truth in its representation of the triumphant march of Peter, under direction of James at Jerusalem, expelling the false doctrine of Samaritan Gnosticism, a march which extends from Jerusalem through Caesarea and along the Phoenician coast to Antioch. The covert inclusion of a caricature of Paul under the guise of Simon Magus by some particularly hostile Syrian hand has also its significance. Much more significant is the submerging in Luke's record under the later wave of Petrine evangelism of the earlier mission wave of the Hellenistic dispersion, a parallel to his contradiction in Acts, chapter 9, of the explicit statements of Galatians that all Paul's earlier missionary activity had been entirely apart from the Galilean apostolate in Jerusalem.

From Gal. 1:17 it appears that the exemption of the Galilean branch of the church during the "persecution which arose about Stephen," an exemption merely stated without comment in Acts 8:1, was deliberate. The leader in this Pharisean onslaught knew, even on his persecuting mission to Damascus, that "the apostles" were in Jerusalem. And why indeed should this group be molested in a persecution directed against detractors of the "holy place and the Law" (Acts 6:11–14)? Whatever the element of truth or falsehood in the charges against Stephen and the Hellenists, against the Galilean body, either then or later (Acts 2:46; 5:12; 21:20 ff.), such a charge would have been absurd. We cannot dissociate this fact either from Paul's exemption of "the apostles" from persecu-

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tion before his conversion or from his extraordinary avoidance of more than the minimum of contact with them after it (Gal. 1:11–23). Paul's early missionary activity was indeed, as Acts 9:29 informs us, to "the Greek-speaking Jews," but certainly *not* to those of Jerusalem, as Luke maintains; neither was it confined in the period before his association with Barnabas at Antioch to the circumcision, as Luke implies in 11:19 ff.; 13:1 ff. Nothing can be more positive than Paul's indignant repudiation of the Lukan representation in Gal. 1:11–23. Paul was emphatically an apostle of the first or Hellenistic dispersion, a friend of Philip the evangelist "who was one of the seven." He was the very leader and chief worker for that Hellenistic group whom as a Pharisee he had esteemed peculiarly obnoxious. He purposely chose his mission field among those of Greek speech in the region of Damascus, "Syria and Cilicia." He did not "go up to Jerusalem to them that were apostles before him" after his conversion, nor place himself under their tutelage to work in Jerusalem among the "Greek-speaking Jews," nor have to be driven thence either by a conspiracy against his life (Acts 9:29 f.) or (contradictorily) by a heavenly command conveyed to him in the temple (Acts 21:17–21). He was not first brought by Barnabas "to the apostles" in Jerusalem, nor afterward despatched by them to Caesarea and thence to Tarsus to wait until called for by Barnabas when needed at Antioch. He was always and from the start "an apostle to the Gentiles."

Similarly it was *not* Peter who founded the great gentile church in Caesarea, but Philip (Acts 8:40; cf. Acts 9:32—11:18). Peter (if we are correct in holding that the original location of Acts 9:32—11:18 was *after* 12:24) did not go to Caesarea until the second dispersion, that which was occasioned by the persecution that arose about James and the Galileans in 42 A.D. Peter was not, as Luke maintains (Acts 15:7–9) either the founder of gentile missions, chosen of God to be their apostle and defender of their freedom from the

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Law, nor did he later even claim a part in this service to the uncircumcision when the issue was clearly defined (Gal. 2:7–9). Peter's part (under guidance from James and with the aid of "interpreters") was to follow up missions in Greek-speaking lands begun by evangelists better adapted thereto than himself with his simple witness of "the sayings and doings of the Lord." Service even of this type outside Jerusalem can hardly have begun for Peter before his narrow escape in the spring of 42 A.D. from the martyr fate which had shortly before befallen his fellow-apostle James at the hands of Herod Agrippa I. The threat compelled him then to seek refuge in "another place" (Acts 12:17). Four years later found him as disinclined to work among "the uncircumcision" as James or John, the surviving son of Zebedee (Gal. 2:7–9). Acts 8:14–25 records indeed an attempt on the part of "Peter and John" to cope with the "acute Hellenization" of Simon Magus at Samaria, where Philip the evangelist had preceded. But their effort seems to have made little improvement on Philip's. Indeed to judge by conditions as reported a century later by Justin Martyr, himself a native of Neapolis-Nablous, Simonian Gnosticism in the end completely carried the day. How far beyond Antioch the journeys of Peter alluded to in I Cor. 9:5 extended, we can only guess. His journey in bonds to a martyr fate alluded to in John 21:18 ff. was probably to Rome, but without the privileges granted to the "free-born" Paul.

But it would be no small mistake and injustice to belittle the work of this "red" witness to the sayings and doings of the Lord, above all his witness to the resurrection, a witness which we may reasonably regard as foremost among the interests which brought Paul to Jerusalem for a two-weeks' visit to Peter and James (cf. Gal. 1:18 f. with I Cor. 15:5, 7) three years after his conversion. Such belittling would only reverse the equally misleading exaggerations of Luke's Petrine source. Not all the Hellenistic "evangelists" who spread the gospel

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from Egypt to the borders of Cyprus and Cilicia after the "persecution that arose about Stephen" (Acts 8:1, 4 ff., 26–40; 11:19 f.) were of the type of Philip and Paul. Early tradition even accuses one of the Seven, "Nicholas, a proselyte of Antioch," of Gnostic heresy. Both in Samaria and at Antioch, if not at Caesarea also, as the *Clementina* report, there was sore need of this Galilean "witness." Peter has no need of the false reputation as a philosophic controversialist, overwhelming in debate the fallacies of Simonian Gnosticism, which the author of the *Clementina* seeks to build up for him. He has no need even of the exaggerations of Luke, whereby the greater achievements of Hellenistic missions before Peter's flight from Jerusalem are belittled and his own exalted. Because we read the story of the great crisis at Antioch only in Paul's version of the encounter, oblivious of the fact that this is patently an *ex parte* statement intended to correct the one-sided view the Galatians were likely to get from the Judaizers, we think of the encounter only as a humiliating experience for Peter, a defeat at the hands of the able logician by which Peter stood convicted of cowardice and disloyalty to principle. It is quite certain that at least the majority of the church at Antioch looked at it in a very different light. In all probability Peter was not much better able to follow the searching logic of Paul than a Tertullian or Jerome. We must think of Peter as deeply wounded in feeling after Paul's onslaught, but probably not much altered in conviction. The church in Antioch certainly became thereafter the stronghold of the party of compromise, the "weak" of conscience, for whose protection against inconsiderate assertions of "liberty" on the part of those who claimed to be "of Paul" the great reconciler is never tired of pleading. What James, the Lord's brother, had been for Jerusalem, Peter became for Antioch. And the contribution of Antioch to the faith was—Synoptic tradition, the record of the "sayings and doings of the Lord."

One may regret that the deeper penetration of Paul into

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the true implications of Jesus' life and teaching had not been carried home at Antioch by his irresistible logic against the vast inertia of Jewish tradition. One may wish that the great representative of Hellenistic missions had not been forced to begin again his foundation of churches in "the freedom wherewith Christ hath made us free" in those ten years of redoubled toil and suffering that followed; but not at the cost of the contribution of Antioch, the simple witness of Peter. One can imagine a gospel based on the Pauline theology alone. There have been times when the church seemed on the point of substituting such a gospel for the simple record of the "sayings and doings of the Lord," or at least of reading that record only through Pauline spectacles. One can imagine a New Testament with no more of the actual story of the historic Jesus than would filter distantly through the preaching of Paul. If we are ever tempted to regret that temporary defeat at Antioch of true logic and right theology which I have ventured to designate "the triumph of Peter," let us ask whether Paul's ultimate victory was not after all the better for the delay. Christianity effected at last a union if not a complete blending of East and West by the final visit to Jerusalem. A Hellenistic and Pauline doctrine of incarnation met halfway a Jewish and Petrine doctrine of Lordship in heaven for a "glorified" Son of Man. Whether even now the true proportion has been attained who shall say? But this at least is sure. Both Peter and Paul wrought nobly to a common end. In life they served with equal loyalty the Master whose will they could not but differently interpret, and in their death they were not divided. Our Greek New Testament remains a witness to the bridging of the chasm between Semitic and Western religion, a joint monument to the devotion of Peter and Paul.

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CONCERNING THE JEWISH DISPERSION

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DISPERSION (Greek Διασπορά) is the technical designation for all Jews not resident in Palestine. It is certain that more than a century before the Christian era there were Jewish settlers in every quarter of the civilized world. But with regard to the extent of the Dispersion in the pre-Maccabaean period there is more uncertainty. And the most keenly debated point is just the degree to which it was affected by the Greek conquests in Asia. Until recently the influence thus exercised has never been questioned; indeed it has always been considered the main and indisputable factor in the case. In 1895, however, H. Willrich published his *Juden und Griechen,* in which he boldly contests the accuracy of the hitherto accepted Jewish tradition concerning the Hellenistic period, and asserts that that tradition is not borne out by the evidence obtainable from the Greek sources. According to this scholar, there was no Jewish dispersion in Egypt on any large scale until the time of Ptolemy VI, Philometor (B.C. 180–146). The Dispersion was really brought about by the Maccabaean revolt. Anything relating to it which purports to belong to an earlier period is fabulous, and simply an invention on the part of Josephus. A supplementary volume in support of his general position, although containing modifications upon some points of detail, appeared in 1900 under the title *Judaica.* Willrich maintains that Schürer's treatment of the period from Alexander the Great to Antiochus Epiphanes is the vulnerable point in his great work upon the history of the Jewish people, but in his latest edition Schürer characterizes the views of his critic as capable of being made good only through a series of violent critical operations, and as incon-

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sistent with recently discovered records.[1] Nor is Schürer alone in thinking that Willrich's methods are not such as to inspire confidence in his conclusions. Bertholet, for example, contends that as the result of his work quite as difficult riddles remain as those previously existing. In particular Willrich gives no explanation of a Hellenistic drift *(Strömung)* among the Jews. Although he describes as "most interesting" the remark of Hecataeus of Abdera that through contact with Persians and Macedonians the Jews were in many respects led away from their usages, he simply cancels the narratives that throw some light upon the subject, without putting anything positive in their place.

The contention that there was virtually no Jewish dispersion prior to the Maccabaean age rests, then, upon no substantial evidence. It is based upon mere general considerations. Its supporters allege that what information we possess regarding such a dispersion is the product of a period in which forged documents and highly colored romances were made to do duty for history, and that with the express object of leading the heathen to believe that in previous times great kings had shown special favor to the Jews. The question turns mainly upon the credibility of Josephus as a historian. Although this does not stand high, it seems rather drastic to refuse all credence to his meager treatment of this period, and to set it down as nothing but fiction. Yet this is necessarily the position taken up by those who deny the existence of an early Diaspora. They regard the statements of Josephus as false, and the documents by which he seeks to substantiate them as forgeries. It must be conceded that the letter of Aristeas concerning the origin of the Septuagint is spurious. But whether or not Willrich and his disciples are also right in denying a historical kernel to the story of the Tobiad Joseph, and in viewing as mythical the personalities of Eupolemus (I Macc.

[1] *Geschichte des Jüd. Volkes*[3], III, 19 n., 28.

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8:17) and Aristobulus (II Macc. 1:10), their attitude is purely negative, and no positive evidence can be produced in support of their contention. Everyone, however, will agree with Willrich that this period is "perhaps the most interesting but also the most difficult chapter in the whole post-exilic history of the Jews"; and it may also be frankly admitted that previous to the age of the Maccabees the dispersion was on a meager scale compared with that which it then attained.

The evidence for an early dispersion, although slight, is real and convincing so far as it goes. It may be shortly summarized as follows: (1) At the time of the Restoration many Jews remained in Babylonia, and their descendants lived on as settlers there. Alike in numbers and in wealth, they far exceeded the Jewish population of Palestine. (2) In the Greek and Roman periods communities of *other* Orientals existed in the commercial centers of the Mediterranean seaboard. In particular large numbers of Phoenicians and Egyptians migrated thither. They spoke their own language and maintained their own religious observances. These corporations had obtained a footing in Athens even before the time of Alexander. There is documentary evidence that the Sidonians formed an organized community and had their own temple in the Piraeus. Bilingual inscriptions on Sidonian tombs dating from the fourth to the third century B.C. are still extant. Of equal antiquity is an inscription (in Greek and Phoenician) recording the presentation of a votive offering to Apollo in Delos by the "sacred sailors of Tyre." A community of Tyrian merchants and sailors is also found existing in Delos at the beginning of the second century B.C.[2] In these parts, therefore, there were presumably Jewish settlers also. (3) It is significant that a "Jew from Coele-Syria, Hellenic not in speech only, but in soul," should have been introduced by Clearchus of Soli as a character in one of his dialogues and represented as conversing with Aristotle during his sojourn in Asia Minor (B.C. 348–

[2] See further, Schürer, *op. cit.*, III, 56 ff.

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345).[3] The natural inference from this is that at the time when Clearchus wrote the Hellenized Jew was no uncommon figure in Asia. (4) The Egyptian papyri prove that under the earlier Ptolemies both Jews and Samaritans had spread themselves over the land and formed in many of the towns and villages no inconsiderable part of the population.[4] (5) In I Maccabees, chapter 5, it is recorded that in response to an appeal from the Jews who suffered oppression at the hands of the heathen in the Syrian districts of Galilee and Gilead, Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers, Jonathan and Simon went to their relief and transported them in a body to Judaea.

Assuming, then, that even before the Maccabaean revolt a considerable dispersion of Jews had taken place, we can distinguish the main groups or divisions of non-Palestinian Jews as found existing in the first century B.C. (1) Jews beyond the Euphrates. Ever since the deportations to Assyria and Babylonia there had been Jewish residents in the trans-Euphratic regions. There was no return of the Ten Tribes, and only a very partial return of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The examples of Nehemiah and Esther show that some of the exiles rose to honor at the Persian court; and the fact that so few availed themselves of the permission of Cyrus to return to Palestine indicates that their condition was not one of severe oppression. About B.C. 340, however, numerous Jewish captives were deported by Artaxerxes Ochus to the shores of the Caspian Sea. From their geographical position on the eastern frontier of the Roman empire the Babylonian and Mesopotamian Jews were frequently a source of concern to the imperial legates. According to Josephus they were chiefly massed in the cities of Nehardea and Nisibis. By their Palestinian brethren they were held in high esteem. (2) Jews in Syria and Asia Minor. In founding Antioch Seleucus conferred on the Jews, if not altogether equal rights with the Greek citizens,

[3] Josephus, *c. Apion*, I, 22.

[4] For details, see Schürer, *op. cit.*, III, 22 ff.

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at all events substantial concessions in respect of their religion. This made the Syrian capital a favorite resort of Jewish settlers, who were also numerous in Damascus and other cities of Syria. Throughout Asia Minor, too, they were found in great numbers. While, according to Philo, "every city" had its Jewish inhabitants, these were particularly prominent in the commercial seaports of the Aegean from Ephesus to Troas. An important item in the dispersion in "Asia" was the transference by Antiochus the Great of two thousand Jewish families from the eastern provinces to the disaffected districts of Lydia and Phrygia.[5] (3) Jews of Egypt and Cyrenaica. Of special importance historically was the Jewish dispersion in Egypt. This had already begun in the time of Jeremiah,[6] but did not assume large proportions until the foundation of Alexandria, where from the first many Jews and Samaritans enjoyed the rights of citizenship. Under the Ptolemies their numbers were swelled by new accessions until they formed a considerable element in the population. The Egyptian Jews bore a leading part in the struggle between Judaism and paganism down to the days of the Roman emperor Trajan (A.D. 98–117). There was also a considerable Jewish settlement in "the parts of Libya about Cyrene," on the northern coast of Africa. The Second Book of Maccabees is an epitome of a work by Jason of Cyrene, a Hellenistic Jew. (4) Jews in Greece and Italy. The Fourth Gospel expressly mentions "the dispersion among the Greeks."[7] In the Acts reference is made to the Jewish synagogues at Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth. Many Jews had also migrated to Cyprus, Crete, and other islands of the Mediterranean.[8] Commercial traveling like that of Lydia, and of Aquila and Priscilla,[9] must have been in vogue at a considerably earlier date, and the islands of the Archipelago no

[5] Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 3, 4.
[6] Jeremiah, Chaps. 42–44.
[7] John 7:35: τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
[8] I Macc. 15:23.
[9] Acts 16:14; 18:18.

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doubt served as stepping-stones for the advance of Judaism. From the age of the Maccabees Jews began to appear in Italy,[10] and after the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in B.C. 63 they formed a large independent community in Rome. They took up their quarters beyond the Tiber, and proved an important factor in the civil and military life of the empire.

The political and municipal standing of the Jews of the Dispersion varied with the different state regulations to which they were subject. In Greece and in Rome they were legally recognized as voluntary religious associations, and lived under conditions not unfavorable to their material prosperity. Throughout the Roman empire not only was toleration extended to them, but they were also exempted from military service, and were allowed a free hand in the management of their own funds and full jurisdiction over the members of their own community. Augustus decreed that no Jew should be obliged to attend a court of law on the Sabbath. The first sharp collision between the imperial authorities and the Jews took place in the days of Caligula, when they were ordered to join in the worship of that emperor. Under the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae they were almost uniformly treated with toleration. In Ephesus and Cyrene, in the metropolitan cities of Antioch and Alexandria, and in practically all the towns built in the Hellenistic period they enjoyed, if not the full, at least valuable rights of citizenship. This was a position to which all Jews aspired, though it frequently led to their being disliked by their fellow-townsmen, who resented their refusal to worship the local gods. In this way the social standing of the Jews was usually inferior to that of their gentile neighbors; yet sometimes they took a leading part in public life, and held responsible office. Under the Ptolemies, for instance, Jews were commanders-in-chief of the Egyptian army; and under the Roman dominion Alexander, the brother of Philo, was ap-

[10] I Macc. 8:17 ff.; 11:1 ff.; 14:24.

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pointed alabarch.[11] Not a few Jews of the Diaspora possessed also the rights of Roman citizenship.[12]

The foreign Jews cherished a passionate love for their native land. All alike possessed the patriotic ardor expressed in the vow, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." They kept themselves in touch with the mother-country by the regular payment of the half-shekel[13] annually due as Temple tribute from every male Israelite over twenty years of age. After being paid into local offices, the money was conveyed to Jerusalem by men of recognized integrity. The main tie that bound the foreign Jews to Palestine, however, was the custom of making pilgrimages to the holy city at the time of the feasts. According to Philo, "Many thousands of people from many thousands of towns made pilgrimages to the Temple at every festival, some by land, some by sea, and coming from the east and the west, from the north and the south."[14] If we reckon the normal population of the city at 90,000, the (doubtless exaggerated) figures given by Josephus would indicate that at such seasons it reached thirty times that number.[15] To the post-exilic Jew, Jerusalem thus became what Mecca is to the Mohammedan of today. Many pious ones must have been unable to make even one pilgrimage to the sacred city. But all such could enjoy the happy consciousness that they were nevertheless Jahweh's guests. By means of the synagogue there had been created a more spiritual conception of worship than that represented by the symbolic ritual of the temple. Without the intervention of priest or Levite, without animal sacrifices, they had direct fellowship with God through prayer and study of the Scriptures. Even if there were any special blessing attached to the sacrificial services in Jerusalem, it was not confined to those who

[11] I.e., "chief collector of customs on the Arabian side of the Nile" (Schürer).

[12] Acts 16:37 ff.

[13] τὸ δίδραχμον = about 1*s.* 4*d.* sterling.

[14] *De Monarchia*, II, 1. Cf. Acts 2:9–11.

[15] *B. J.*, VI, 9, 3.

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took part in them. Wherever Jahweh's people were, they believed that by praying three times a day with their faces toward Jerusalem[16] they would share in the benefits bestowed on those who could offer their prayers in Mount Zion. In short, they had formed the idea of a spiritual temple, a house of Jahweh, in which they could dwell forever[17] and in which the sacrifices were praise and prayer. Only those, however, who were prepared to conform to a high moral standard could be guests in his tent.[18] This enlarged idea of guestship in relation to Jahweh was not the least of the religious results of the Dispersion. Finally, the ties that bound the foreign Jews to the mother-country were cemented by the due observance of the different festivals, so far as that was possible at a distance from the Temple. Although the Alexandrian Jews kept some special festivals of their own—they thus commemorated, for example, the translation of the Scriptures into Greek—they carefully respected the statutory ordinances of Palestinian Judaism; and although a Jewish temple was set up at Leontopolis[19] during the Maccabaean struggle, Egyptian Jews still kept up their connection with Jerusalem.

An important aspect of the Judaism of the Diaspora is that connected with the name "proselytes." In earlier times the term "stranger" (גֵּר) was used to denote a person of another nationality dwelling within the Jewish community,[20] but already by the time of the Chronicler it seems to have been used technically in a wider sense.[21] Latterly, at any rate, it came to include all of foreign extraction who had embraced the Jewish religion, no matter where they lived. The stranger became the "righteous stranger" (גֵּר צֶדֶק), or the "proselyte" (προσήλυτος) of the talmudic literature. Though all alike converts from heathenism, proselytes appear to have differed in the degree of their attachment to Judaism. Through cir-

[16] Dan. 6:10. [17] Ps. 23. [18] Ps. 15.
[19] Claimed to have been discovered by Flinders Petrie in 1905.
[20] Exod. 20:10. [21] Chron. 30:25.

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cumcision some had qualified themselves for admission to the entire privileges and fellowship of the Jewish ritual and worship; others were content with showing their esteem for the Mosaic religion by attending the synagogue and by observing the Sabbath and the prescriptions of the ceremonial law with reference to meats. In the New Testament the latter are termed the "God-fearing" (*φοβούμενοι* or *σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν*).[22]

Not only in Palestine, but wherever there was a Jewish community, proselytes existed in considerable numbers.[23] This may appear surprising in view of the many gratuitous slanders in circulation against the Jews, in view of the ridicule poured upon them by pagan writers on account of their abstinence from swine's flesh, their Sabbath observance, and their imageless worship, and in view also of their despised social position. On the other hand it must be remembered that men were losing faith in the old religions of Greece and Rome and were inclined to look favorably on Oriental cults in general. In these circumstances Judaism owed much to the tact of its advocates in keeping its attractive side to the front. As a religion, too, it appealed to the deepest yearnings of the human spirit, in so far as it alone among the faiths of the ancient world could suggest a way of deliverance from sin and sorrow. These things account for the power which Judaism had to attract foreigners. Along with representatives of the humbler classes, the ranks of the proselytes included a certain proportion of aristocratic, and even of royal, personages.[24] There is reason to suppose that, especially under the Ptolemies and after the military successes of the Maccabees,[25] a number of foreigners at-

[22] Bertholet rejects the distinction, holding that there was only one category of proselytes, and that all the uncircumcized were accounted heathen. In Acts 13:43 *σεβόμενοι* are certainly conjoined with *προσήλυτοι*.

[23] "There is not a single town among the Greeks or barbarians, or anywhere else, not a single nation to which the observance of the Sabbath as it exists among ourselves has not penetrated; while fasting and the burning of lights and many of our laws with regard to meats are also observed" (Josephus, *c. Apion*, II, 39).

[24] Cf. Acts 8:27; Josephus *Ant.* xx 2–4, 7–1, 3; *B. J.*, II, 19, 2.

[25] I Macc. 5:14–54.

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tached themselves to the Jewish community in Palestine. In Psalms 115, 118, 135, there seems to be a clear allusion to the presence of proselytes in the post-exilic congregation. Three different classes of persons are exhorted to trust God and acknowledge his mercy, viz., (1) Israel, i.e., the laity in general; (2) the house of Aaron, i.e., the priests; (3) those that fear Jahweh, i.e., in all probability the proselytes; seeing they are singled out as a distinct class, who else can they be? No doubt the expression is frequently used in the Psalter as a general designation for the faithful, but latterly it was a recognized technical term for the proselytes, and unless we are very sure that these psalms were written before the Greek period, we cannot hesitate as to the identification. The anticipation of the accession to the Jewish church of nations as well as individuals contained in Isa. 19:18 ff. and in Ps. 87 shows that there were foreigners already within her pale when these pieces were penned. Through the development of the process of conversion already inaugurated, the happy time seemed coming on apace when Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and every other country under heaven would share with Israel the privilege of being Jahweh's inheritance. In the psalm Zion is proleptically celebrated as the center of a universal church.

The proper attitude toward foreigners was a burning question for post-exilic Judaism. It is clear that the position of orthodox legalists, as championed by Ezra and Nehemiah, was hotly contested, and that after the death of these influential leaders the party favorable to a less rigorous policy must have regained strength. By the time of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, many Jews were eager for Hellenization. Protests against the admission of foreign elements no doubt continued to be made, but there was also a directly opposing tendency. The religious experience of the age, if sometimes exhibiting a particularistic vein,[26] frequently assumes a wider outlook,[27] stress being laid,

[26] Pss. 33:12; 79:6; cf. Jer. 10:25.

[27] Pss. 67, 82:8, 86:9, 87:4, 102:15; Zech. 2:11, 8:13, 22 f.

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not upon the contrast between Jew and non-Jew, but upon the contrast between God and man. A distinctly missionary impulse underlies many of the psalms,[28] and the conversion of the heathen is a leading note of the Messianic aspirations which they breathe.[29] While containing expressions of bitterness toward those outside the pale of Judaism, the Psalter makes it equally clear that the Jewish mind had formed the conception of a Kingdom of God such as we look for in vain in any other pre-Christian community. There is in fact a strong tendency toward universalism, on more practical lines than those adumbrated in the prophetic books. In the imagination of the prophets those of the heathen who had "separated themselves from the people of the lands" and embraced with more or less fulness the Mosaic law[30] were portrayed as coming up in great concourse to Zion, the center of revelation, to share in the blessings of Jacob's house.[31]

If these hopes were ever to be realized, however, it was essential that something should be done to propagate Jewish principles. The ideal demand of prophetic universalism must find its fitting response in actual missionary enterprise. And to this work the community evidently felt itself called.[32] Active efforts in this direction accordingly began to be made soon after the founding of the Samaritan community. In the Greek and Roman periods the Alexandrian Jews and the Palestinian vied with one another in the aggressive zeal with which they brought the claims of Judaism before the heathen world. The Hasmonaean rulers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus did not hesitate to force circumcision upon the people of Idumaea and Ituraea. Down to the time of our Lord an active propaganda was car-

[28] E.g., Pss. 9:20, 119:46, 150:6.
[29] Ps. 96:3, 10, etc.
[30] Neh. 10:28 f.
[31] Mic. 4:1–2; Isa. 2:2 f.; Ezek. 47:22.
[32] Pss. 57:9, 96, 105:1, 108:3.

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ried on. Even the Pharisees with all their exclusiveness were ready to "compass sea and land to make one proselyte."

That considerable success attended the effort to popularize the Jewish faith among foreigners in quest of a religion may be inferred from the fact that the zealous Jew became the butt of Roman satirists,[33] and possibly also from the incident recorded of the Greeks in the Fourth Gospel.[34] The most brilliant achievement of Jewish proselytism was the conversion of Izates, king of Adiabene, with his entire household. In Apostolic times there appears to have been no slackening of these strenuous endeavors to gather in the heathen, and the resultant "proselytes" formed no unimportant link between Jewish and gentile Christians. The combination of Jews and "God-fearing" proselytes in the synagogues of the Dispersion furnished the apostle Paul and his companions with a unique opportunity of disseminating the Gospel. According to Josephus, "a vast multitude of Greeks" became proselytes in Antioch, while in Damascus most of the women were attracted to Judaism.

Eager as they were to secure proselytes, the sons of Abraham were not prepared to recognize these as their equals. Theoretically, foreign converts were on a level with actual Jews both as regards duties and rights; nevertheless in point of fact they were treated as their inferiors. Whatever his antecedents, the proselyte, as one comparatively unversed in the Holy Scriptures, had to adopt the humble attitude expressed in Psalm 131: "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty: neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me. . . . . My soul is even as a weaned child." That some powerful voices were raised in favor of liberal treatment of devout foreigners is clear from the prophecy

[33] Horace, *Sat.*, I, 4, 142 f.; 9, 68–72; Persius, *Sat.*, V, 179–84; Juvenal, *Sat.*, VI, 160; XIV, 96–106.

[34] John 12 :20 ff. These, however, were probably proselytes.

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of Isa. 56:1–8. If the Book of Ruth is post-exilic, we may also interpret that exquisite idyllic story as a plea for the admission of foreign wives who adopted the faith of their Jewish husbands. But the stern attitude of Ezra upon this point was still maintained by the orthodox, and in general the position of a proselyte was analogous to that of a converted Jew among Christians in modern times.

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CALVIN AND BUTZER

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CALVIN belonged to the second generation of Protestant reformers. It does not necessarily follow from this fact that he was an epigone; that he was not, is proved by the existence of the type of Protestantism which is generally called Calvinism. But it cannot be doubted that he owed decisive stimuli to anti-Catholic predecessors and that, in the development of his theological and ecclesiastical system, he was not entirely original. It is the general opinion of historians that Calvin depended—at least in the first years of his career as an evangelical theologian—largely upon Luther; particularly the latter's idea of justification is, it is claimed, better understood by no one than by Calvin. Neither will one go very far astray, if one assumes that Melanchthon and especially Zwingli exerted some influence upon the reformer of Geneva. During the last decades, one has begun to pay attention also to another man with whom Calvin is known to have entertained a cordial and close friendship: Martin Butzer of Strassburg. With this relationship we intend to deal in this article.

It is the merit of Seeberg and of Lang to have first related Butzer to Calvin. They were preceded by Usteri,[1] who dealt with the ideas and customs of baptism, common to Strassburg and Geneva; by Erichson,[2] who proved that the Genevan order of worship which, later on, became of world-wide importance by the expansion of the calvinistic sects, is of Strassburgian origin; and by Scheibe,[3] who called attention to the

[1] *Studien und Kritiken* (1884), p. 417.

[2] *Die calvinische und die altstrassburgische Gottesdienstordnung* (Strassburg, 1894).

[3] *Calvins Prädestinationslehre* (1897), pp. 17 ff.; 69 ff.

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identity of Butzer's and Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Seeberg[4] claims that "Butzerianism was the preparatory stage for Calvinism," and Lang declares that without Butzer the roots of Calvin's religious system cannot be clearly understood.[5] He also stresses the fact that the most significant ideas in Calvin's theology, namely those on predestination and on church organization, show a direct influence of Butzer.[6] That the latter has nearly been entirely forgotten as an original thinker in comparison to Calvin is explained by the statement that Calvin deepened the thoughts of the Strassburg reformer not only by including them in a clear and consistent theological system, but also by making them effective in a successful practical application. The findings of Lang were emphasized by Anrich, who wrote the first, short biography of Butzer. He asserts boldly that "the triumphant course of Calvinism throughout the world signifies to a continuous influence of the ideas of Butzer," who must be called "the father of Calvinism before Calvin."[7] All these suggestions were finally found fruitful by O. Ritschl in his discussion of Butzer and Calvin in the *History of Protestant Dogma*. He not only gives a full representation of Butzer's theology, but in his chapters on Calvin he refers also very frequently to the influence from Strassburg to Geneva, and to the identity of Calvin's and Butzer's thoughts.[8] He even goes so far as to declare that the latter was superior to the former in "theological originality."[9]

[4] *Dogmengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1898), II, 254; now IV, 2, 556.

[5] *Der Evangelienkommentar Martin Butzers* (1901), p. 373.

[6] A. Lang, *Calvin* (Tübingen, 1909); *Reformation und Gegenwart* (Gütersloh, 1918), p. 176; cf. E. Doumergue, *Calvin*, IV, 401 f., V, 23 f.

[7] G. Anrich, *M. Bucer* (1914), p. 144.

[8] *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus* (Göttingen, 1926), III, 122 ff. In respect to the theological relationship between Butzer and Calvin cf. also Joh. Adam, *Evangelische Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg* (1922), pp. 217 ff., and the remarks of H. Strohl in his interesting study on "Martin Butzer, précurseur du Christianisme social en Alsace du XVI[e] siècle" in *Le Christianisme social* (1922), pp. 993–1011.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

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The proof of such assumptions, however, is somewhat difficult. It must be achieved by a more or less indirect conclusion; to a large extent one must be satisfied with the demonstration of similarities. This becomes most evident in connection with the doctrine of predestination, which stands in the foreground of the interest. The community of thought seems to exist since Calvin's first Protestant publication, the *Institutes* of 1536. Mr. Van den Bosch,[10] who made a careful investigation of Butzer's concepts of predestination before the appearance of Calvin, before the Protestant public, reaches the conclusion that "in the first edition of the *Institutes* Calvin attributes to the doctrine of predestination the same religious significance as Butzer." It is interesting to note that he feels unable to claim a direct dependence of Calvin upon Butzer.[11]

In order to avoid the difficulties involved, it has been attempted to eliminate Butzer entirely. Scheibe,[12] and especially Holl,[13] have pointed out that in order to understand Calvin, it would suffice to refer to Augustine and Luther, from whom also Butzer received the first stimulus to pay attention to God's "Alleinwirksamkeit." But in contrast to such an opinion, which, at the first glance, seems to be quite conclusive, one must seriously consider the interpretation of Lang, who calls attention to an original trait in Butzer's and Calvin's idea of predestination. The idea of election is to them of the same value as the idea of conversion to the Pietists and the Methodists.[14] It explains to them why a great number of men accept the Gospel and why others do not.

The practical sociological observation of the religious status of a human group, of the fact that there seem to be non-religious individuals, led Butzer to develop his doctrine of predestination. Only later he was compelled to accept its full

[10] *De ontwikkeling van Bucers praedestinatie-gedachten* (Amsterdam, 1922).

[11] Scheibe takes a similarly careful attitude; p. 73.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

[13] *Calvin* (Tübingen, 1909), p. 47, n. 15. Cf. E. Doumergue, *Calvin*, IV, 424.

[14] A. Lang, *Calvin*, pp. 78 ff.

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theological consequences. It is noteworthy, however, that he never admitted that the predestination idea excluded the possibility of belief in free will.[15] Although a considerable change took place in his theological development, he never surrendered those features of his theory of predestination which he exhibited in his earliest writings. His predestination dogma was based on his idea of the spirit, an idea which gives to all his thoughts a characteristic, regulative note and which distinguished him particularly from Luther, while it related him closely to Zwingli. It is not at all impossible that Butzer is here indebted to the reformer of Zurich. The elect are those who have the spirit, and those who have the spirit are enabled to believe in the word and to express it by good works in a virtuous life according to the Scripture. The foundation of the church is not the word, but the spirit, which renders the word effective.[16] Both supplement each other since both emanate according to the order and the will of God from Christ, to whom he has given all power. The Kingdom of Christ is his rulership over those whom he has elected, i.e., those to whom he has given the spirit so that they can gather around the word, preach, and do it. In this respect the Kingdom of God is identical with the church. The same interest prevails in Calvin's thought; not only his doctrine of predestination, but also that of the word and the spirit are first to be found in Butzer.

But in spite of this community of thought in connection with these leading phases of their theology, a dependence of Calvin upon Butzer could hardly be maintained, if there were not indications of an actual relationship between them. A literary influence of Butzer on Calvin cannot be doubted. The latter expresses his gratitude to the Strassburger in most complimentary words in the Prefaces to his commentaries on the

[15] Cf. his discussion in *Metaphras. et Enarrat. in Epistolam ad Romanos* (Strassburg, 1536), pp. 358 ff.

[16] Cf. Richard H. Grützmacher, *Wort und Geist* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 116–122; O. Ritschl, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 ff.; W. Pauck, *Das Reich Gottes auf Erden* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 5 ff.; 13 ff.

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Epistle to the Romans,[17] on the Psalms,[18] and on the gospels.[19] Lang supposes also that Calvin used Butzer's works already in preparation for the first edition of the *Institutes*.

To what degree Calvin can have received a knowledge of the Strassburg reformer during his years of study in France, cannot be made out with certainty. The traditional opinion refers frequently to the famous discourse of Nicolaus Cop (All Saints Day 1533, Paris), which Calvin wrote for his friend, the rector-to-be. Lang[20] has shown that the author used a sermon from Luther's church postil in Butzer's latin translation. But, of course, that does not prove anything about the kind or even the possibility of Calvin's acquaintance with Butzer's books. Pannier[21] thinks that young Calvin heard his cousin Olivétan, who seems to have studied in Strassburg, speak of Butzer (in 1528)[22] and that, at Bourges, his professor Volmar fully introduced him to the work of the latter. The first certain indication of Calvin's knowledge of Butzer, which is in our reach, is given in a letter of Calvin to Butzer, which Herminjard[23] dates on September 4, 1534, and which is written from Noyon to the "Bishop of Strassburg," imploring him for help in favor of a poor minister. In conclusion, Calvin writes: "Hoc pro tempore. Vale erudissime vir"[24] as if he had

[17] *Calv. opp.*, 10, p. 404. Published in Strassburg, 1539. Cf. Scheibe, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff.

[18] *Calv. opp.*, 31 (1557), p. 13.

[19] *Ibid.*, 45 (1555), p. 4. *Bucerum praesertim sanctae memoriae virum et eximium ecclesiae doctorem sum imitatus.* Cf. Paul Wernle, *Calvin* (Tübingen, 1919), pp. 34, 81. Lang mentions an influence of Butzer's book: *De vera cura animarum.* Cf. *Ref. und Gegenwart*, p. 183. Opposing view: Doumergue, *Calvin*, IV, 39.

[20] *Calvin*, p. 21.

[21] Paul Pannier, *Calvin à Strassbourg* (Paris, 1925), pp. 11, 13.

[22] This assumption is based on a letter of Butzer to Farel, dated May (most probably 1528), which Kampschulte used for his theory that Calvin was a student of Butzer. Herminjard refuted this theory, suggesting that Butzer speaks of Olivétan. Cf. H. Eells, "Martin Butzer and the conversion of John Calvin," *Princeton Theol. Rev.* (1924), p. 402.

[23] Herminjard, III, 201 ff.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 204. Cf. the discussion by Eells, *op. cit.*, pp. 407 ff.

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had previous connections with Butzer. It is much more probable that he was on friendly terms with Butzer's fellow-pastor Capito, as the first letter from Butzer to Calvin (Strassburg, November 1, 1536)[25] seems to suggest it. It is written in a tone of respect which very significantly contrasts itself with the familiar language of Capito.[26] Its purpose is to arrange for a meeting with Calvin.(now at Geneva) at a place of his convenience where all mutual and common problems shall be discussed until an agreement of opinion is established. The last sentences read as follows:

> Farewell, most learned and holy man, and do not despise my request, giving me thereby new cause of sorrow. For it cannot be said how much I regretted that I was not privileged to make your acquaintance and to speak to you when you were here. At other times, Capito shared everything with me. I do not know which dark spirit made him so forgetful that he did not think of introducing you to me. Now he himself is very sorry about it.

These words refer to Calvin's visit in Strassburg at the end of 1534,[27] or, what is more probable to that of October, 1536.[28]

It is most probable that the two reformers did not become personally acquainted with each other until the synod of Bern, which took place in 1537. Calvin refers to this meeting in his letter to Butzer of January 12, 1538,[29] written under the impression of the dismissal of Megander from the church of Bern, while the lutheranizing pastors Peter Kuntz and Sebastian Meyer, whom Calvin despised, were retained. He felt that Butzer's efforts toward a union between the Swiss and the Wittenbergers on the basis of the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 were responsible for this upheaval at Bern. He addresses Butzer in a way that continued to be characteristic of his attitude toward the busy and famous man from Strassburg even after their relationship had developed into a cordial friendship. He

[25] Herminjard, IV, pp. 117 ff.; cf. the correction of the date (not *Dec.* 1) by Eells, pp. 412 ff.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 119, n. 7, 9, 10.

[28] Cf. Eells, pp. 415 ff.

[29] *Calv. opp.*, 10, pp. 137 ff.

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reviews the opinions of Luther and of the Swiss from an impartial point of view, asserting that he is vitally interested in a church union. However, he still favors the Swiss in contrast to the Lutherans. He appeals to Butzer that he attempt to bring the obstinate, narrowminded Wittenbergers to their senses. He himself takes—with some superiority—the position of an impartial although interested observer. As such, he, a man of twenty-nine years, has the courage to extend a severe admonition to the renowned theologian and church-man, seventeen years his senior. Butzer is criticized for his diplomatic carefulness in theological discussion, which originated out of a desire to provoke no one. Calvin writes to him:

> If you want a Christ, who is acceptable to all, you must not fabricate a new gospel for that purpose. . . . . After you have said that the veneration of Saints is produced in human superstition rather than founded in God's word, you add at once, that one must, nevertheless, consider the writings of the church-fathers, and that a veneration, recommended by them, ought not to be entirely condemned. Thus you re-introduce constantly that authority by which every error can be represented as truth. But does it mean to keep God truly holy, if one grants so much to man, that His truth does no longer rule over us?[30]

The letter shows the royal freedom and superiority of Calvin. He was willing to co-operate wherever, without danger of sacrificing fundamental views, he could see a promise of success. This emphasis upon clarity in theological purpose and this impartiality are characteristic of him in his relationship to Butzer to the end.

Butzer does not seem to have been offended by the severity of the criticism—he was accustomed to such a treatment! For when Calvin was forced to leave his position at Geneva during the year 1538, he and Capito stretched every nerve to persuade Calvin to come to Strassburg. Butzer's forceful appeal was finally successful.[31]

While in Strassburg, Calvin was exposed to the full influ-

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 142 f.

[31] See Calvin's own account in *Opp.*, 31, pp. 25 ff. Cf. Doumergue, II, 225 ff

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ence of Butzer. In his letters to his friends,[32] one discovers an attitude much friendlier than before toward the man who bore not only the burden of the ecclesiastical reform of Strassburg and of Hesse, but also that of the upbuilding of a Protestant consciousness throughout the European world. Although he still emphasizes differences of opinion between them and his unwillingness to follow Butzer in every respect, he defends him with a cordiality and with the forcefulness that indicates clearly that their acquaintance has become close and intimate. This was the more important as Calvin spent a highly formative period of his life in this attachment to Butzer. It is, therefore, quite right that Pannier, in his admirable study on Calvin in Strassburg, stresses the possibility that Calvin became, during the years from 1538 to 1541, in many regards butzerian.[33] He had many precious experiences; he deepened his theological views; and he made valuable observations of practical church-organization. His views on predestination and on the Lord's Supper became more precise. In regard to these doctrines, he was, when he left Strassburg, a pupil or follower of Butzer. Furthermore, there can hardly be a doubt that, in Strassburg, Calvin was introduced to the idea of a universal Protestantism, for the cause of which he worked so enthusiastically and ceaselessly during the last years of his life. It was Butzer who called him to Frankfurt and asked to be accompanied by him to the memorable religious peace-conferences, synods, and disputations of Hagenau and Regensburg in 1541. Through the mediatorship of Butzer, Calvin came into contact with German Protestantism and especially with Melanchthon. From that time on, he was almost another Butzer in his interests for a union of the Protestant churches.[34] In

[32] *Calv. opp.*, 10, pp. 341; 344 ff.; 348.

[33] Pannier, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 54 f. Cf. also the fascinating accounts of Doumergue in *Calvin* (1902), II, 293 ff.

[34] Cf. Bohatec in *Calvin-Studien* (Tübingen, 1909), p. 440; Lang, *Calvin*, pp. 78, 192. Compare also the articles of Prof. McNeill on "Calvin's Efforts toward the Consolidation of Protestantism," *Journal of Religion* (1928), pp. 411, and on "Catholic Protestantism," *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* (1928), pp. 449 ff.

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many respects, he brought to Butzer's plans at least a partial realization. However, he never became butzerian in the sense of losing himself entirely to his cause. He always refused to attempt a church union at any price. He became rather more himself. Pannier has well said:[35] "Calvin was, when he left Strassburg, more himself; he was more calvinistic—and that due to the nearness of Butzer." Whatever he took away with him, he had made fully his own. Indeed, one cannot say that he transplanted thoughts or institutions into his world without correcting or improving them. Whether it is baptism, the Lord's supper, predestination and the whole type of theology for which it stands; whether it is the idea that the school is most significant for an effective church-discipline, and the picture of the Strassburg Academy; whether it is the order of worship or church-organization itself, and the idea of a united, world-wide Protestant church—he made them all calvinistic when he accepted them for himself and took them to Geneva. But nevertheless in all this lives Butzer. What he thought out and planned and recommended and inspired in all these respects becomes real through the understanding mind and the efficient hands of Calvin.

The type of church which we call, in our day, calvinistic or reformed, is really a gift of Martin Butzer to the world, through the work of his strong and brilliant executive Calvin. The very peculiar relationship between the two men becomes quite clear in connection with this institution of ecclesiastical organization. Gustav Anrich has just published a study[36] on this very subject and shown very convincingly indeed how strangely the two worked hand in hand. Being of a fundamentally equal religious disposition—both of them were under the influence of Humanism—thinking and acting, therefore, more or less in the same direction, tied to such cities as Strassburg and Geneva, so similar in character and need, they finally

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

[36] *Strassburg und die calvinische Kirchenverfassung* (Tübingen, 1928).

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found themselves. What the elder wanted to see fulfilled in plans that had busied his life, the younger eagerly made his own, erecting a building which he could rightly call his own property, but which never could have been thus built without the enhancing, stimulative, productive thought of the other.

As we describe the building and its growth we represent the arguments of Professor Anrich: When Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541, he proposed at once to the city-magistrate a new church organization, and within a few weeks, he had won his case in the "Ordonnances ecclésiastiques." Their most characteristic feature is the instalment of the four offices of pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The pastors are combined in the Congrégation, later on called the Vénérable Compagnie. The soul of the whole organization is not this pastoral group, but the Consistoire, consisting of the ministers and the elders. Its task is the execution of church discipline, which it may independently put into practice even unto excommunication. Only for these two outstanding offices the method of appointment and election is clearly stated: A pastor is selected by the Vénérable Compagnie, presented to the magistrate, and, if accepted, elected by the congregation, this election being ratified by the magistrate. The twelve presbyters are appointed upon the proposition of the pastors; all are members of the city-council. If one asks for the origin of this order, one is inclined to follow Calvin, who points to the New Testament. In the 1543 edition of the *Institutes* he has given the scriptural proof by using the enumerations of the offices and gifts of the spirit in I Cor. 12 and Eph. 4. But after a careful study and examination of these references, it becomes evident that not the early Christian situation has been applied to the conditions of Geneva, but rather that the needs of the Genevan situation have been projected into the New Testament. Since a scriptural origin of the church order seems not possible, it might be found, one thinks, in Calvin's own proposal for church discipline of 1537. But therein one does not encounter

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the term "elder," nor the doctrine of the four offices as jus divinum, nor collegial ecclesiastical magistrates. Neither do the *Institutes* of 1536 or 1539 present the case differently, nor is the hint at other cities where church discipline had been introduced before, e.g. Basel, of value, since the characteristics of the Genevan order are lacking. One has to turn to Strassburg.

Begun in 1531 under the leadership of Jacob Sturm as the representative of the magistrate, church discipline had been fully constituted in the church order of 1534, with the collaboration especially of Butzer. Three Kirchenpfleger or elders assist the pastor of each parish in his work of discipline. All pastors and three of the helpers, who take turns in attending the meetings, form the church assembly, convening twice a month. Pastors are called in the following way: After having passed an examination, the candidate preaches before the congregation, and the elders of the parish with twelve members of the congregation undertake the election, which has to be ratified by the magistrate.[37]

This order was developed in protection of the church against the anabaptist sects. It resulted from a practical necessity. It is most interesting to note that Butzer devised the theological theory for these institutions. In the Strassburg Catechisms of 1534, 1537, and 1543, in his book "De vera cura animarum" of 1538 and especially in his church-order for Hesse (accepted at Ziegenhain in 1538, published in 1539), he deduces from I Cor. 12 and Eph. 4 the theory of the divinely ordered offices of pastors, presbyters, deacons and also that of the teachers, although they became never so prominent as in Geneva. That these Strassburg offices were not installed upon the authority of the Bible, but that this biblical author-

[37] The old Butzer seemingly wanted to exclude the congregation in this respect. According to *De regno Christi*, the ministers elect the elders, in contrast to the order of Strassburg, where he had the presbyters elected by the congregation, which led to the formation of conventicles. (Cf. W. Sohm, *Die Schule Joh. Sturms und die Kirche Strassburgs* [München, 1912], p. 163.)

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ity was applied to a more or less accomplished organization is seen in the fact that deacons as city-officials had been at work since the twenties, when the city had undertaken the restoration of reorganized poor relief. Ecclesiastical poor relief was really never established in Strassburg, in spite of Butzer's theory.

These orders, it is true, were not fully realized. Butzer could never attain to the full co-operation of the magistrate—only in Hesse, he was quite successful. But there can be no doubt that Calvin was introduced by him to the Strassburg system of discipline. From Butzer he learned the theory of the jus divinum of ecclesiastical offices, especially that of the presbyters. So far Anrich.

It is, then, quite evident that the so-called calvinistic type of church organization originated very largely in Strassburg and in Butzer, whose ideas Calvin could put into practice. The growth of this organization illustrates better than anything else the fact that Calvin was butzerian in order to be himself. Professor Von Schubert has rightly said:[38] "What the contact with the spirit of Rome was to the founder of the order of the Jesuits, the contact with the spirit of Strassburg and of Butzer was to Calvin." If one adds to the community of all those theological and ecclesiastical attitudes which we have mentioned also their identical estimation of social ethics, which Klingenburg has fully investigated,[39] the affinity of the two reformers appears as truly astonishing. But whether that minimizes the originality of Calvin or of Butzer, is a question that cannot be answered. One will have to be satisfied with the fact that there existed in them a very close relationship of viewpoint. "Bucer et Calvin," says Pannier,[40] "étaient bien faits pour se comprendre."

[38] *Calvin* (Tübingen, 1909), pp. 13 f.

[39] Georg Klingenburg, *Das Verhältnis Calvins zu Butzer auf Grund der wirtschaftsethischen Bedeutung beider Reformatoren* (Bonn, 1906). Cf. Doumergue, *Calvin*, V, 688 f.; compare also R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926), pp. 105 ff.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

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We know that since their Strassburg days, this friendship was cordial. But its expression in correspondence is largely unknown to us, because only a few of their letters are preserved. It is characteristic of both of them that, when Calvin was about to return to Geneva, Butzer wrote to Bern that Calvin was needed in Strassburg for the French congregation and the Academy as well as for the great tasks of Protestantism,[41] and that Calvin wanted Butzer to accompany him to his city.[42] A few examples of the intimacy that marked their relationship are still existing. On October 15, 1541, Calvin wrote to Butzer in a letter of thanks for his reception in Strassburg:[43] "If I should not live up to your expectations, you know well that I am in your power. Admonish, chastize, do all that a father is permitted to do to his son." And Butzer, who held Calvin's brilliance equalled only by that of Melanchthon,[44] and who longed for Calvin just as much as for Capito, who had been taken by the plague of 1541,[45] was no less intimate in his letters to Calvin. Thus he ends a hearty letter of consolation and encouragement:[46] "*Sed tu meum cor, meus animus* (thou, my heart, my soul), *semper tuo, imo Christi bono, omnium omnia mala vinces, quo ad licuerit . . . Tuus totus* (thine wholly) *Bucerus.*"

The few letters of Butzer, written during the following years, which are still in existence give chiefly information about political and ecclesiastical affairs.[47] Only with the year 1547, the letters become more frequent and also more imme-

[41] Herminjard, VI, 242 f. [42] Doumergue, II, 701.

[43] *Calv. opp.*, 11, p. 299: *Et si qua in re spei vestrae non respondeam, scis me sub tua protestate esse. Admoneas, castiges, omnia facias quae patri licent in filium.*

[44] Herminjard, VI, 235 (letter to O. Myconius of Basel [Sept., 1541]: *Datis ergo operam ut juvete virum certe eximium, et cujus perfecto parem, excepto Philippo, nullum habemus, ardore, eloquentia et judicio).*

[45] To A. Blaurer; T. Schiess, *Briefwechsel der Gebrüder Blaurer* (Freiburg, 1910), II, 133.

[46] Herminjard, VIII, 150 f.

[47] E.g., *Calv. opp.*, 10, pp. 414 ff. (July 7, 1542); pp. 456. (Oct. 28, 1542); pp. 634 f. (Oct. 28, 1543); *ibid.*, 12, pp. 152 ff. (Aug. 29, 1545); pp. 162 f. (Sept. 8, 1545).

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diate and open in tone and emotion. The dark days of the Emperor's warfare against the Protestants and of the Interim were approaching. Butzer saw his life-work endangered: God's avenging hand was stretched out over his unfaithful people.[48] God himself was demanding the supreme sacrifice for the sake of faith. Butzer was willing to give it.[49] In these years, he proved that he was a man of firm, courageous decision. But his heart was trembling, and in his sad letters he deplores the situation of the German church, beseeching his friends for their prayers, so that the vain, faint hope for a victory of the Gospel might perhaps be fulfilled.[50] He prepared himself for the exile. He feared that he would have to leave the city which he loved with all his heart, in order to dwell in a foreign land. But in the fall of 1548, he expressed the hope that in such a case the Lord might give him an opportunity to see the churches of Geneva.[51] When his fate became more certain and when he had probably already decided to go to England, he had still the wish to bid farewell to the friend personally.[52] Evidently Calvin was again close to his heart, for he signs his letters again: Tuus totus Bucerus.[53] His hope was not to be fulfilled; he fled to England, never to return, on April 6, 1549.

None of Calvin's letters of this period are preserved. But we can still read a few which he wrote to England. They are examples of his fine, noble sensitiveness and tact, for it cannot have been easy to deal with Butzer, who was broken in health and in spirit and who saw his course ended. But Calvin's affection was still strong and fresh.

Butzer was homesick in London and in Cambridge. He

[48] Cf. *Calv. opp.*, 12, pp. 507; 520 f., 555 f.

[49] *Ibid.*, 13, p. 5.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 147 ff.; 181 f.; 197 ff.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 56: *Tum forsan dabit, ut quod expetii toties, videam vestras ecclesias.*

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 350, 358, 574.

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longed for his family and for his friends, and he suffered because they did not write to him. He suspected that they had left him, turning to the Zurichers under the leadership of Bullinger, who saw in him a menace to the cause of the Gospel, blaming him for having obscured the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Swiss animosity against Butzer had turned into hatred. Already in 1546, referring to the death of Luther (February 19, 1546), Bullinger had written to A. Blarer,[54] who was not only his but also Butzer's friend:

> But I would begin to hope for the better, if Butzer also would be called by the Lord; for there lives no other man in our days, who gives more hopes to the Papists and who disputes about the Lord's supper in an obscurer way than this Butzer. . . . . So much is certain: Now that Luther is dead, Butzer will dive deeper into his union efforts, because until now he was miserably afraid of Luther, in his cause.

About Butzer in England he wrote:

> Butzer is in England and remains fully himself. What Germany had accepted from him, England will also accept. May the Lord protect her from evil and may He give him a better mind or a better end *(meliorem mentem vel meliorem metam)*. In such an ungrateful and bad time, however, there must be instruments of anger and corruption. The Lord Jesus may have mercy with his people![55]

Calvin knew all about this. He not only consoled Butzer, but he defended him also. He requested Bullinger,[56] informing him of Butzer's complaints, that he should tell Hooper, who was taking Bullinger's side, to treat Butzer as he, one of the foremost servants of Christ, deserved. He assured Bullinger constantly of his friendship with Butzer: "I should do wrong to the church of God, if I should hate or despise him, not to say

[54] Schiess, II, 442 f.

[55] August 11, 1549 to A. Blarer; Schiess, III, 56. Note the following verses of a satirical poem on Butzer (communicated by A. Erichson in his little book *Martin Butzer, der elsässische Reformator* [Strassburg, 1891], p. 33): *Butzer der butzt auch am Rhein, Nimmt zuletzt ganz England ein.*

[56] *Calv. opp.* 13, p. 489. To Farel he wrote (August 18, 1550, *ibid.*, pp. 624 f.) that he would not mention the Zurichers again in his letters to Butzer, in order not to hurt his feelings.

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anything about his merit for me personally."[57] Or: "Of course, I am sometimes of another opinion than you, but my heart is not at all estranged from you; just as I keep friendship with Butzer, although, in all freedom, I think sometimes otherwise than he."[58] To Butzer himself he wrote cordial letters, not quite as intimate as one might expect. He wrote to Edward VI and to the Lord of Somerset,[59] assisting Butzer in his efforts for a reformation in England. He expressed his regret that he could not have asked Butzer's advice in connection with a letter to Melanchthon.[60] He advised him—the best council to a homesick man—to write books in order to make his wonderful gifts useful to the church.[61] And what was probably of more value to Butzer than anything else: He succeeded in having the Consensus Tigurinus accepted. Not without having asked for Butzer's opinion and not without praising his assent,[62] he pursued a work that was dearest to Butzer's heart. When he announced the friend's death (February 28, 1551) to Bullinger he said that he felt lonesome like an orphan.[63] No doubt he loved him much. If we remember that Butzer had been one of his chief teachers, we know why.

[57] *Ibid.*, 12, p. 729: *Sed obsecro te, mi Bullingere, quo iure nos a Bucero alienaremus quum huic nostrae confessioni quam posui subscribat? Ego virtutes et raras et permultas, quibus vir ille excellit, in praesentia non praedicabo. Tantum dicam me ecclesiae Dei gravem iniuriam facturum, si hunc vel oderim vel contemnam. Taceo ut de me privatim sit meritus.*

[58] *Ibid.*, 13, p. 165.

[59] To Seymour: *ibid.*, 13, pp. 16 f., 18 f., 64 ff., 528 ff. To Edward VI: *ibid.*, 13, pp. 669 ff.; 14, pp. 30 ff., 38 ff., 341 ff.

[60] *Calv. opp.*, 20, pp. 401 f. This letter was written a few days before Butzer's death. Butzer never read it.

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 393 f.

[62] *Ibid.*, 13, pp. 424, 457, 534 f.

[63] *Ibid.*, 14, p. 106: *Nuncius de Anglia nondum rediit. Sed interea de Buceri morte certior factus magnum accepi dolorem. Quod nollem, brevi sentiemus quantam ecclesia Dei iacturam fecerit. Satis dum vivebat reputabam quam praeclaris dotibus excellerit: quam utilis adhuc nobis foret, melius nunc demum ex orbitate ipsa agnosco.* To Viret he writes a few weeks later (*ibid.*, pp. 121 f.): *Moeror quem ex Buceri morte concepi sollicitudinem ac metum auget. . . . . Quam multiplicem in Bucero iacturam fecerit, quoties in mentem venit, cor meum prope larcerari sentio.* And still a few weeks later to Farel (*ibid.*, p. 133): *De Buceri obitu nihil attigeram, ne vulnus meum scinderem.*

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After having observed this friendship and the indebtedness of Calvin to Butzer, one wonders why the latter never received the proper credit for his contributions and how it could happen that Calvin so entirely overshadowed him. An answer to this question can be found by a comparison of the goal that the two men had set to themselves and to their work.

During the controversy of 1544 between the Lutherans and the Swiss, Bullinger once used the expression *bucerisare*[64] (*verbutzern* or *butzern*), having in mind Butzer's method of reconciling the divergent views on the Lord's Supper. By coining that word, he testified to the fact that Butzer represented an original type of Protestant theologian. It was because of this very fact that the Strassburger had so many enemies and that even his friends disagreed with him. He himself was well aware of the animosity his activity and viewpoint caused, but although he grew sometimes weary, he never ceased to pursue his ends. He was driven on by a decision which he had clearly defined to himself and which was the heart of all his work. Its note is prominent in all his writings, in commentaries, pamphlets, and letters. For our purpose it may suffice to concentrate our attention on the correspondence with the Blarers, of whom at least Ambrosius (of Konstanz) always understandingly tried to take his side.

Butzer was blamed for conceding too much to the Lutherans or to the Catholics. But he declared:[65] "I condemn the Erasmian caution and the Saxon ambition; I seek the simplicity of Christ." What he meant by this he explained at another occasion:

> My aim is, although I pursue it not always with the necessary warmth and broadmindedness, that the Christians recognize and embrace each other in love; for all defects in customs and judgment result from the fact that because of weak concord the spirit of Christ misses its effect. . . . . How well do I understand now, since my attitude toward Luther, Philipp (Melanchthon) and others is purer, their pious writings at which I had before so much to criticize.[66]

[64] Schiess, II, 308. [65] *Ibid.*, I, 721. [66] *Ibid.*, I, 742.

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He intentionally wanted to overcome the differences in theology, because a theological faith as such did not seem to comprehend all the essence of Christianity. "In true theology," he wrote,[67] "everyone knows so much rightly as he expresses in life." The same principle is described in the gospel Commentary in these beautiful words:[68] "True theology is not theoretical or speculative. Its aim is rather action, i.e. a godlike life." Through a faith that was effectively expressing itself in love, he wished to see the realization of the *communio sanctorum*.[69] "Communion"—that was his great ideal. Everything had to serve to this end.

> For nobody truly knows Christ who does not feel the necessity of a communion, of mutual care and discipline among his members. . . . . Christ suffered and taught for no other purpose but that we should be one and embrace each other with the same love with which he embraced us, and that we should seek our mutual salvation with the same eagerness with which he sought ours.[70]

Hence his emphasis upon church discipline. No communion of love could exist, he thought, without discipline.

Such an ideal was new and original in the compass of Protestant theology. It is interesting to note that Butzer attributed the ideal of communion now to the local congregation and then to the church at large. In this latter respect, he was still under the powerful impression of medieval ecclesiasticism and universalism. Christ, the head of the one church, the corpus Christi—to this medieval church concept he gave a Protestant flavor. He pointed out:

> Christ, the head, is working in one body which is connected with him and consists of well connected and cooperating members. O pernicious blindness, that even the best Evangelicals do not recognize what it means

[67] *Ibid.*, I, 648: *In vera theologia tantum quisque rite novit quantum vita exprimit.*

[68] *Enarr. in quat. Ev.* (Basel, 1536): *Vera theologia non theoretica et speculativa, sed activa et practica est. Finis siquidem ejus agere est, hoc est vitam vivere deiformem.*

[69] Schiess, I, 774: *Religio nititur fide efficiente communionem sanctorum.*

[70] *Ibid.*, II, 131 f.

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to believe in a catholic church and in a communion of saints, and to be members of Christ.[71]

These are terms and words in which the medieval Catholics used to define their universalism.[72] When Butzer spoke or wrote them, he filled them with a new passion, described by "faith and love,"[73] which he had learned from Luther and Zwingli. For him, this passion culminated in the doctrine of predestination and thereby he broke medievalism. But one senses still the atmosphere of the Dominican order, in which Butzer received his education, and one hears, if ever so softly, the great Thomas, when one reads:[74] "The Kingdom of God is the church of Christ"; but the Protestant explains: "It lies in nothing that is external *per se*, but in faith and justice, and in such a use of external things as faith dictates." Butzer was a Catholic with a Protestant heart.

As such he desired to be a Paul to his contemporaries; and he also had the wide-open heart of the great apostle.

If we cannot agree *(congredi)*, we are neither against nor of Christ. He promised that he would be in the midst of those who gather together in his name; if we cannot come together in his name, we cannot pray to him either.[75] All who read Paul, must know how Paul and all true Christians promoted the protection and the development of the communion of saints and their agreement *(consensus)* in all things. By the ministry of the word faith is born and nourished; that is why the apostle traversed land and sea and sent out his (pupils) with such eagerness; now another spirit is at the helm, which flees all union *(congressum)*.[76]

The same passion that sent Paul restlessly around the world was driving him on to make Christ the ruler "to whom the

[71] Schiess, II, 119.

[72] It is most interesting to observe how often the judgments of Gierke, Maitland, Figgis apply also to Butzer. Cf. O. Gierke, *Genossenschaftsrecht*, III (Berlin, 1887). English translation by F. W. Maitland, *Political theories of the M.A.* (Cambridge, 1900); F. N. Figgis, "Respublica Christiana," in *Transactions of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3d series (London, 1911), V, 63 ff.

[73] "Fides et caritas" is another slogan in Butzer's theology. Note how F. W. L. Baum (*Capito and Butzer* [Elberfeld, 1860]) emphasizes it in his representation of B.

[74] Herminjard, VI, 20. This is the theme of his last work, *De regno Christi*.

[75] Schiess, I, 773. [76] *Ibid.*, I, 772 f.

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Father has given not only some regions of Germany but the whole globe."[77] One is almost tempted to say, that like the apostle, he desired to be a Jew to the Jews and a Greek to the Greeks, in order that Christ might become true king of all his believers.

But another Paul was claimed by Luther and by Calvin, a Paul that knew no compromise. If Butzer stressed the words "love" and "communion" most of all, Calvin emphasized, one may say, "faith" and "faithful." The famous saying of Hundeshagen: *"Die Dogmatik ist bei den Reformierten nur ein locus in der Kirche, bei den Lutheranern umgekehrt die Kirche nur ein locus in der Dogmatik,"*[78] is more appropriate in regard to Butzer than to Calvin.

Butzer—if it is permitted to speak in very general terms—thought of religion first of all as ministering to man's salvation, while Calvin related it primarily to the eternal God. Butzer was a humanistic, social biblicist, Calvin a theocentric biblicist. Calvin could always hold fast to one steady firm pole, which he called *majestas Dei,* but Butzer was shifting and changing for the sake of the *communio sanctorum.* That is why the doctrine of predestination finds a clear logical place in Calvin's theological system, while Butzer started out to use it as a means to analyze and to command a practical, sociological situation, later on compelling himself to think it out to its full theological consequences. That is why Calvin could afford either to differ from others in his opinions and yet keep friendship or to differ and break radically, while Butzer could neither stop to seek in friendship also some agreement of opinion nor radically break with anyone. Calvin could be cruel; Butzer could not and he was no less energetic than Calvin!—for the *cura animarum* came first.

All this leads us to understand why Butzer was barely remembered by the side of Calvin. And yet—he was the father of Calvinism.

[77] *Ibid.*, I, 641.

[78] G. O. Ritschl, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 26.

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REVOLT OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT AGAINST ECCLESIASTICAL EXACTIONS IN ENGLAND, 1529–36

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I. THE FORMS OF ECCLESIASTICAL TAXATION AND FINANCIAL ABUSES

FINANCIAL abuses of the Roman ecclesiastical system on the eve of the English Reformation fall into four typical groups centering around (1) vacancies, (2) administering the sacraments, (3) the church courts, and (4) papal taxation. Vacancies involved papal provisions, the payment of annates, installations, the spolia, pluralities, absenteeism, bestowal of the pallium, and the collection of innumerable petty fees.[1] Administering the sacramental offices multiplied absolutions, indulgences, masses, dispensations and imposed fees for the seven sacraments.[2] The dispensing of justice was made oppressive by excessive fees and fines of the church courts, probating wills, and expensive appeals to Rome.[3] The regular taxation included tithes, Peter's pence, mortuaries, visitation fees, and various customary dues.[4] Other economic abuses were manifest but not so outspoken, such as the tacit obligation to pay the delinquent tribute money promised by King John. There was an alleged maladministration of ecclesiastical wealth, and complaints as to loss of time and money in observing needless holy days.[5]

[1] Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1914), pp. 149, 179, 201 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 146–48, 187 ff.

[4] Lagarde, *The Latin Church in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1915), pp. 304–44; Ranke, *History of the Popes* (London, 1891), I, 305–18, 350–58; Capes, *English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1900), pp. 262 ff.

[5] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

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Most of these financial irregularities were longstanding ones, and some of them had been the cause of acute crises, even calling forth threats of schism from the papacy, in the course of the three centuries preceding the Reformation.[6] The medieval church had developed intricate financial machinery by means of which it collected large sums derived from fees, lands, fines, and regular taxation.[7] Its economic interests covered all Western Europe, and the papal exchequer was organized accordingly. The church had long enriched its coffers by impoverishing the peoples, and its methods had been long resented. "I have frequently entered the office of my lord, the pope," wrote the Spanish confessor of John XXII, "where I have seen bankers, ecclesiastics occupied with counting piles of crowns, tables loaded with money. May Christ who was poor cast out now and forever this business from the church."[8] "Money does everything at the Roman court. If you do not know this turn to its customs and ways. It loves causes, suits, and quarrels because they cannot be carried on without money. High persons receive dispensations so long as they give sufficient money. This marvelous vanity and cupidity of the Roman court has aroused scandal against it throughout the whole world. . . . . *Lord Jesus, either take away the pope from our midst, or lessen the power he assumes among the people.*"[9] Clement V was said to have amassed a fortune of about fourteen million dollars.[10] On his deathbed Innocent IV exclaimed to relatives that stood near: "Why do you weep, wretched beings; have I not left you all rich?"[11] Thus it was that papal

[6] See two articles by the writer in the *Princeton Theological Review,* October, 1927, and in the *Anglican Theological Review,* April, 1928.

[7] Herrick, *A History of Industry and Commerce,* p. 97; Arrowsmith, *Prelude to the Reformation,* London, 1923, chap. v.

[8] Lagarde, *op. cit.,* p. 343.

[9] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and II* (Stubbs ed., London, 1882), Roll Series, II, 199.

[10] Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (London, 1896), Bk. xii, p. 51; Lagarde, *op. cit.,* p. 343.

[11] Matthew of Paris, *Chronicles of England* (Bohn ed., London, 1850), III, 101.

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exactions fattened the coffers of Rome by draining wealth from all Europe and affecting all classes. According to Lagarde, nothing did so much as the pontifical financial system to detach the nations from the Apostolic See.[12]

England had been long a principal source of papal exploitation. A pope of the twelfth century alluded to that land as his inexhaustible fountain of riches.[13] A writer of the late thirteenth century said: "Among all other provinces of the world, England feels most the oppressions of the lord, the pope."[14] England abounded in wealth and the English clergy were richly endowed in lands and revenues. Not only had it been a fertile field for papal exactions in the past, but it remained such until the ecclesiastical revolt of the sixteenth century. A description of the nature, origin, and popular reaction toward certain outstanding forms of ecclesiastical taxation and financial abuses is quite necessary in determining the part they played in consummating the breach with the Roman See. A number of these abuses will be described at this juncture as the basis of discontent for which the Reformation Parliament saw fit to voice its protests and promulgate its legislation against the financial methods of the church. A description of a few of the abuses will be reserved for the place where the acts passed by the Reformation Parliament abolishing them are discussed.

In regard to that group of abuses centering around vacancies, the matter of papal provisions was still a cause of grave misgivings in England on the eve of the Reformation. The practice meant the filling of ecclesiastical livings with incumbents of foreign birth and interests, and it had been the occasion of several grave crises in the past. The idea had its origin in the claim that feudal privileges were extended to church benefices when England became a papal fief in 1215.[15] As

[12] Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 342. [13] Herrick, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[14] Chronicles, Edward I and II, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[15] Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (Cambridge, 1910), I, 272.

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early as 1231 popular demonstrations were organized against the papal incumbents, and in 1307 the barons complained to Edward I that the best livings belonged to absentee foreigners.[16] The wave of patriotism incident to the Hundred Years' War served to check the practice, so that by 1351 the Statute of Provisors of Benefices was enacted. The measure came at a time when the pope, Clement VI, is said to have had 100,000 such appointees in Europe.[17] The statute tended to check the practice to a degree, but the evil persisted in the early sixteenth century. Papal patronage of this sort was looked upon as a national menace in two ways: it jeopardized the defense of the realm by filling England with foreigners, and it impoverished the kingdom by the export of vast wealth to Rome.[18]

Closely allied to the practice of papal provisions was the combined evil of pluralities and non-residence. This twin menace also rooted far into the past and had proved a cause of discontent.[19] A synod of 1268 passed a canon against the practice, but it failed to check the system. John Mansel, court chaplain of Henry III, controlled immense wealth, much of which came from his seven hundred plural livings.[20] In 1283 Archbishop Peckham again made a strenuous but abortive effort to remedy the abuse.[21] In 1362 the Bishop of Ely discovered that certain clerks of his diocese held as high as twenty livings each, and at the time of the Reformation single

[16] Adams and Stevens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History* (New York, 1921), p. 117; Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History* (London, 1849), II, 151, 154; Matthew of Paris, *op. cit.*, I, 119 f., 121, 126.

[17] Capes, *op. cit.*, p. 86. For the year 1342 alone I count ninety petitions for such appointments. Twelve of them are in behalf of relatives of the pope. See *Papal Registers*, Vol. I, including years 1342–1419.

[18] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (London, 1863), Roll Series, II, 28; Wyclif, Latin Works, *De Simonia*, Wyclif Society Publications, p. 54 f.; Adams and Stevens *op. cit.*, p. 119; Traill, *Social England* (London, 1902), III, 147, 159.

[19] Matthew of Paris, *op. cit.*, II, 44, 60, 406.

[20] *Ibid.*, III, 7.

[21] Capes, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain* (London, 1852), II, 560.

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priests held as many as twelve benefices.[22] Pluralities tended to a monopoly of clerical livings and to a concentration of wealth into the hands of a few. Absenteeism drained the local parishes of money essential to their upkeep and caused whole communities to be neglected in spiritual matters. "As for spiritual men," wrote Strype, "they affected mightily courtly living, taking of pleasure, and had little residence upon their benefices. . . . . They for the most part followed divers trades and occupations secular; some were surveyors of land, some receivers, some stewards, some clerks of the kitchen, many gardeners and orchardmakers."[23] Foreign pluralists drew much money from the kingdom and thus stirred up discontent and suspicion. In 1534, when the bishops of Sarum and Worcester were deprived because they were foreigners dwelling at Rome, the instrument of deprivation asserted: "By reason of the present foreign incumbents dwelling abroad, all the spiritual offices of the diocese are decayed, and great quantities of gold, silver, and treasure to the yearly sum of 3,000 pounds at least have been conveyed and taken out of the realm . . . . and daily is like to be conveyed, to the great impoverishing of the realm."[24] In another document of this same time it was asserted that pluralists "not only collect and convoy such money, but by semblance of visitation do undermine to know the secrets of the king and of the realm; which disclosed often times doth great hurt as well to the merchants of this realm as otherwise."[25]

The spolia was a papal claim on the personal property of a bishop in case of his demise. It originated in the popular local custom of an earlier day by which the episcopal residence was violently sacked when made vacant by death. The kings put

[22] Collier, *op. cit.*, III, 128; Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (London, 1713), II, 921.

[23] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials relating chiefly to Religion under Henry VIII* (Oxford, 1822), I, 606.

[24] Burnet, *History of the Reformation in England* (Clarendon Press, 1865), IV, 192.

[25] Strype, *op. cit.*, I, 206.

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a stop to mob assault of this sort, but appropriated the property themselves. When church councils objected to this kind of secularization of ecclesiastical wealth, Innocent IV finally had such intestate property revert to the Apostolic See. The claim had never been relinquished.

The servitia were fees paid by bishops and abbots for nomination, consecration, and confirmation to office. The tax did not appear until the thirteenth century, but it continued up to the Reformation.[26] The monks of St. Edmundsbury were forced to pay to the papacy 800 marks for the confirmation of their abbot in 1248. An appeal to Rome over his confirmation cost the prior of Ely 15,000 pounds sterling. In 1218 the Bishop of Lincoln paid 1,000 marks to be installed by the pope, and he paid an additional 100 marks to the papal legate. "Clement V lived cherlie by the monie which he got from bishops coming to him for confirmation."[27] A regular tariff was ultimately fixed for various promotions, but the fee usually amounted to a third of one year's revenues of the office.[28]

The pallium entailed the payment of a large sum of money by an archbishop when the insignia of his office was conferred by the pope. King Canute complained that vast sums were extracted from his archbishops by this means.[29] The practice had begun, in fact, with Pope Gregory the Great, and continued still to be a papal demand in the early sixteenth century.

The second type of financial abuses, namely, the exaction of fees for administering the usual offices of the church, was also much in evidence in the early sixteenth century, and it contributed to the break with the papacy in 1533. In 1529 the Commons petitioned the king that the sacraments and sacramentals be freely rendered.[30] The seven sacraments, indul-

[26] Migne, *Latin Patrologia*, LXXVII, 1337.

[27] Matthew of Paris, *op. cit.*, II, 282; Capes, *op. cit.*, p. 223; Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1807), II, 348.

[28] Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 326. [29] *Ibid.*, p. 328; Migne, *op. cit.*, CLI, 1182.

[30] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

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gences, dispensations, chanting of mass, prayers, and kindred spiritual services were made a means of procuring money much resented by the people. It had long been so, for Piers the Plowman in the "field full of folk" portrayed the greed of priest and prelate in the fourteenth century. Those priests were confessors for the salary involved, pardoners ran about with papal bulls as wares, and parsons were seen to "sing for simony." Wyclif complained that ordination, penance, marriage, baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, and burial all entailed petty fees.[31] Payment for chanting masses became a matter of royal bounty and subsidy by Henry VII and Catherine of Aragon.[32]

Absolutions, dispensations, and indulgences were also serious grievances. In the reign of Henry III, absolutions bred a discontent that verged on schism, and they were sold at a fixed price until their abolition at the Council of Trent.[33] A dispensation to marry within the fourth degree cost eight florins; the usual marriage fee was from six to twelve pence; marriage on prohibited days was allowed for an additional fee.[34] Indulgences were never the crying abuse in England that they proved to be on the Continent, yet they were much in evidence.

The third type of ecclesiastical abuses, that is, the ones connected with the church courts, will be taken up with the action of the Reformation Parliament concerning them. In regard to the fourth type, papal taxation, tithes and mortuaries were by far the most grievous and burdensome. Tithes seem to have been collected by the clergy from very early times, but a special system of tithing by the papacy emerged in financing the Crusades. The Saladin tithe was imposed by

[31] Matthew, *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted* (London, 1880), pp. 164, 167, 184; Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wycliffe* (London, 1869), III, 279–81, 393; Skeats, *Vision of Piers the Plowman,* Passus I, p. 6 f., 55–65.

[32] *Calander of Letters and Papers, Henry VIII,* Part II, I, 1; X, 15.

[33] Matthew of Paris, *op. cit.,* II, 259, 261; Migne, *op. cit.,* CCXV, 46.

[34] Lagarde, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

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the King of France as early as 1146, and it was introduced into England by Richard I. In the course of time the papacy applied it universally, and by 1300 the tithing power was wholly in the hands of the popes, who maintained it until the time of the Protestant revolt. In 1291 the taxation lists of Nicholas IV were compiled as a basis for reckoning the tithe in Britain.

Theoretically tithes were of two kinds: one collected on incomes, and the other on the products of the land. A 10 per cent income tax would today be thought unbearable by the small taxpayer, yet that was what the church imposed on the laity. Not only farmers and cottagers were bound to deliver a strict tithe of all produce, but merchants, shop men, and poor artisans were expected to give two shillings out of each pound they earned. The tithe on wages and profits was never successfully collected, but it was demanded and efforts to collect it were unceasing. At times its payment was made a matter of appeal to the conscience by assuming the tithe to be an oblation.[35] Tithes on the products of the land were definitely fixed and strictly exacted. Schemes were devised to reduce the imposition of the tenth to a nicety.[36] Between church and people, tithes, offerings, and oblations were the source of constant friction continuing to the Reformation.

Closely akin to tithes and oblations was the mortuary, which was regarded as a surety against delinquent payment of such taxes neglected during the life of the deceased. In the fourteenth century the second best animal was officially marked as the corpse present of the clergy. The lord of the manor came to claim the heriot, and the priest, the mortuary. In many cases the animal was redeemed by the estate for money, but this did not mitigate the burden.[37] In case there was no live stock, personal property could be taken.[38] Later a

[35] Borough Customs, *Selden Society Publications*, II, 207.
[36] Coulton, *Social Life in England* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 215.
[37] Oliver, *Monasticon Dioecesis Oxoniensis* (London, 1846), p. 282.
[38] Borough Customs, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

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personal property mortuary was commonly imposed on the middle classes of the towns. Not long before the Reformation, Richard Hunne, a rich merchant of London, was sued in a church court, imprisoned, and secretly murdered in prison because he refused to pay a mortuary of this sort. The case stirred London to the depths.[39] In spite of a number of attempts to mitigate the evils of the practice, mortuaries proved a menace to peace between church and people until their abolition under Henry VIII.

Begging friars, visitation fees and fines, and various petty customary dues were other methods by which the clergy filched money from the people. The latter especially were not only petty but annoying. There was the baptismal penny, mass penny, cirage, orbits, plough money, and various personal dues. "When a couple is married, the husband ought to put the ring and silver on the book at the church door, and all shall be given to the wife except four pence, which is for the clerk. And the husband at mass ought to offer one pence and the wife one pence at most. . . . . When anyone dies, someone ought to offer one pence which is called the mass penny. . . . . Every house should give cirage three times a year. . . . . At her purification a woman ought to offer two and a half pence."[40]

It was financial abuses such as the ones mentioned that led the Reformation Parliament to voice a protest and to enact a number of measures either to mitigate the evils or to do away with them altogether. The principal work of this parliament was a series of legislative acts relating to finances that consummated a breach with the papacy, but for over a quarter of a century such a step had been in preparation because of the bitter agitation against ecclesiastical financial irregularities.

[39] Burnet, *op. cit.*, I, 41; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (London, 1846), IV, 183 f.

[40] Borough Customs, *op. cit.*, II, 208 f.; Capes, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Floyer, *Studies in the History of English Church Endowments* (London, 1917), pp. 103 f.

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II. REVIVAL OF DISCONTENT AND AGITATION OVER ECCLESIASTICAL FINANCIAL ABUSES

The discontent over papal financial abuses manifest immediately before the reformation in England was a renewal of popular opposition after nearly a century of comparative lull. John Wyclif had sorely denounced the financial irregularities of the clergy, and his followers went to the extreme of attempting to put into practice his theory for the disendowment of the clergy. From the defeat of Sir John Oldcastle, the last great organizer of the Lollard movement, in 1415, over a century elapsed before the next acute crisis in 1533, but in the meantime anti-ecclesiastical agitation had again set in soon after the accession of Henry VII in 1485. The era of quiet may be attributed to foreign distraction due to a renewal of the Hundred Years War, and to domestic preoccupations incidental to the Wars of the Roses. The Lancastrian loyalty to the church in suppressing heresy also had much to do with the situation. When peace was again finally assured after the battle of Bosworth, and when the constructive foreign and domestic policies of Henry VII brought on a new prosperity, the discontent over ecclesiastical abuses was suddenly revived.

In the meantime two situations had developed that tended further to intensify the opposition toward the clergy. In spite of the secularization of the alien priories consummated by Henry V, the wealth of the church had actually increased in the fifteenth century by the endowment of the chantries. Again, the moral decline of the clergy went on apace, or, to say the least, saw no improvement. What Wyclif, Hus, and the Conciliar movement had aimed to accomplish by active, organized, well-directed, and conscious efforts was by no means realized when things were allowed to drift. The church, instead of taking warning by these movements and instead of seeking to adjust itself to the rising spirit of nationality and individualism, continued to satisfy its avarice by antiquated financial demands. By the first quarter of the sixteenth cen-

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tury such demands had overreached the bounds of endurance both in England and on the Continent.

On the Continent the answer was the Protestant Revolt led by Luther and Zwingli and centering about the abuse of indulgences and other financial irregularities. At the council of Nuremberg, in 1520, the princes drew up a list of a hundred causes for complaint, many of which concerned financial grievances. The Germans protested that forbidden meats, marriage in Lent, remission of sins were allowed for money; excommunication was imposed for pecuniary advantage; holy days were an economic loss; useless ceremonies were performed for gain; and spiritual courts out of avarice trumped up charges against the innocent. The following proverbs were rife: "When bulls come from Rome bind well your purses"; "Rome regardeth not the sheep without the wool."[41] In England, where popular protest had twice in the past reached a critical stage, a renewal of the struggle was inevitable. A crisis would be the more imminent in so far as the papal prestige had declined, the moral status of the clergy had deteriorated, and the spirit of nationality and individualism had advanced. Forebodings of a rupture between clergy and people came early in the Tudor period and increased as time went on.

There was first of all a revival of Lollardry soon after the accession of Henry VII, which continued with increasing vigor until absorbed by Lutheranism in the early twenties of the sixteenth century.[42] Forty persons of the Lollard heresy suffered death between 1509 and 1527. Thomas Man, a Wycliffite, traveled throughout the south of England preaching to large numbers of followers. At his trial, Man boasted of having turned seven hundred people to Lollardry.[43] The sect grew so rapidly that the Bishop of Lincoln, despairing in making

[41] Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, 258, 307.

[42] Strype, *op. cit.*, II, 182; I, 247; Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, 209–15; Summers, *Lollards of Chiltern Hills*, pp. 74–159; Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wyclif*, pp. 347 f.; Vaughn, *Life and Opinions of Wyclife*, II, 347 f.

[43] Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, 214.

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headway against the heresy by the ordinary machinery of the church, called to his aid the secular arm. The King responded by calling on the mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all good subjects to help extirpate the heresy.[44] London itself was honeycombed with Lollards, but the extent of the danger can be determined by a commission of Henry VIII issued in 1512 to certain bishops who were to make inquiry regarding insurrections, rebellions, and Lollards in the counties of Salop [*sic*], Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, and Flint.[45] The Lollards were particularly bitter in their denunciation of the abuses of the wealth of the clergy.

When Hugh Latimer preached at Bristol to ever increasing crowds against pilgrimages as time wasting and economically non-productive labor, a poetically inclined priest played on his name thus:

> L for Lollard standes in thys place.
> A for error of grete iniquities.
> T for traytor to God, lackyng grace.
> I for ignourance of the true Trinitie.
> M for maynteyner of those that are nought.
> E for eretick, as lerned men seyth.
> R for rebeller agaynst Chrysts feyth.[46]

Extreme discontent over the financial abuses of the English clergy, and criticism of their worldly living, was expressed by John Colet. In a sermon delivered at St. Paul's in 1512 Colet strongly denounced the nepotism, simony, absenteeism, pluralities, secularity, and avarice of priests and prelates.[47] He pointed out that the vast wealth of the church permitted the clergy to live in lazy ease, lust, and gluttony. He deplored the fact that clerks were merchants and usurers, that monks cringed to secular lords for worldly preferments, and that the

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[45] Strype, *op. cit.*, I, 113–33; II, 50–65; *Calander of Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, No. 3289, I, 373.

[46] Strype, *op. cit.*, II, 182.

[47] Blunt, *Reformation of the Church of England* (London, 1874), pp. 10 f.

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higher clergy used the wealth of the church to enrich their kinfolk.

The besetting sin of the clergy, according to Colet, was their "extreme coveteousness, the root of all ecclesiastical corruption":

> This abominable pestilence hath so entered the mind of all prelates and hath so blinded the eyes of the mind, that we are blind to all things but only those which seem to bring us gain. For what other thing seek we now-a-days in the church than fat benefices and high promotions? That we care not how many, how chargeful, how great benefices we take, so they are of great value. Yea, and in the same promotions what other thing do we pass upon than our tithes and rents? O Coveteousness, the root of all evil! Of thee cometh this heaping of benefice upon benefice; of thee so great pensions assigned, and so many benefices resigned; of thee all the pursuing of tithes, of offerings, of mortuaries, of delapidations, by the right and title of the church. O Coveteousness! Of thee cometh the corruption of courts, and these daily new inventions wherewith the silly people are so sore vexed; of thee cometh these chargeful visitations of bishops; of thee cometh this fervent study of ordinaries to dilate their jurisdictions; of thee cometh this raging contention in ordinaries for the insinuation of testaments; of thee cometh the undue sequestration of fruits; of thee cometh the superstitious observation of all these laws that sound to any lucre, setting aside and despising those that concern the amendment of manners. Why should I reherse the rest? To be short and to conclude in one word; all the corruption, all the decay of the church, all the offenses in the world, come of the coveteousness of the priests.[48]

This lament of Colet was no mere temporary outburst of his reforming zeal. At the beginning of his career at St. Paul's he had pointed out the evils of misused clerical wealth, saying: "Nothing hath so disfigured the face of the church as hath the secular and worldly living of clerks and priests."[49] The Lollards listened to him gladly, attending his sermons with keen interest.[50] In a similar manner another humanist,

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

[49] Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers* (London, 1914), pp. 40, 86 f., 247; Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, 230, 246, 247.

[50] Seebohm, *ibid.*, p. 222. Foxe, *ibid.*

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Erasmus, pictured the clergy as passionately fond of money, and correspondingly indifferent to spiritual affairs. The popes sought riches, honors, lands, offices, indulgences, and worldly show, leaving the drudgeries of office to Peter and Paul, who had plenty of time to mind them. The prelate fingered money through a pair of thick gloves, fighting with fire and sword all who challenged their titles to fields, treasures, and dominions. The craft of priests was money-getting, and like all well-practiced tradesmen they were expert in the craft of collecting tithes, offerings, perquisites, etc. The hierarchy was content in reaping profits while shifting the burdens of service to inferiors: "The popes, thrusting out the sickle into the harvest of profits, leave all the other toil of spiritual husbandry to the bishops; the bishops bestow it upon the pastors; the pastors on the curates; and the curates commit it to the mendicants, who return it again to such as know well how to make good advantage of the flock by securing the benefit of the fleece."[51]

Attempts at reformation were made, but with little success and at times in the face of despair. Cardinal Wolsey undertook a visitation of his province, but it bore little fruit. In the end he succeeded in suppressing forty of the lesser monasteries. Edward Fox, bishop of Winchester, attempted a similar survey of his diocese with the aim of remedying abuses, but he met only with failure and discouragement. Writing to Wolsey, he bemoaned a fruitless three years of "study, labour, vigilancy, and pains," to effect a change for the good: "Wherein I came to understand that all that belonged to the ancient integrity of the clergy, and especially the monks, were so depraved by licence and corruption, ... that it increased both labor and pains in me, now spent with age; and took away all hope of ever seeing a perfect and absolute reformation in this my privy diocese."[52]

On the very eve of the break between Henry VIII and the

[51] Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (Holbein ed.), pp. 258, 263, 269, 270.

[52] Strype, *op. cit.*, I, 71–74; II, 25–27.

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papacy there appeared in England an important pamphlet that reflected popular attitude toward the financial abuses of the ecclesiastical system. It was known as the *Supplication of the Beggars*.[53] The document bears all the marks of propaganda as to bias, overstatement, incendiarism, and even wilful misrepresentation; yet, comparing it with contemporary documents, it seems to reveal with some degree of accuracy the sentiment of many among the middle classes in England toward the clergy. The pamphlet attacked the existing religious régime as a social, political, and economic menace to the realm. It catalogued the whole list of papal financial abuses and criticized the system of ecclesiastical graft. It also suggested a remedy for the evils of the time by confiscating the wealth of the church, depriving the clergy of their position, and setting churchmen to work at productive secular labor.

The king not only read the book, but approved it and gave protection to its author. The name of the latter was Simon Fish, a lawyer, who, having lampooned Cardinal Wolsey in a London play, was forced to flee to the Continent. While a refugee abroad Fish wrote the tract, which came into the King's hand through Ann Boleyn. Henry VIII immediately had Simon Fish recalled, made an intimate of him, and handed him a signet as a token of the king's protection.[54]

The tract undertook to point out a grave economic danger in the vast wealth of the church. A third part of all the land in the realm was in the hands of the clergy, and this included the best lordships and manors. When the tithes, offerings, and other exactions were added, the clergy controlled over one-half the substance of the kingdom: "Lay then these sommes to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that ye may se whether it drawe nighe vnto the half of the hole

[53] The original title was: "The Very Beggars Supplication against Popery." A good edition is that by Furnivall, *A Supplication for the Beggars*, London, 1871.

[54] Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, 657.

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substaunce of the realme or not: so shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue."[55] Under these circumstances, it was asserted, a very small minority held the material welfare of the kingdom in its power, since only one person out of four hundred was a clergyman.[56] The church ever accumulated and never alienated property, so that eventually the entire wealth of the realm was destined to fall into its grasp: "All the substaunce of your Realme forthwith, your swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people rynneth hedlong ynto the insaciabill whyrlepole of these gredi goulafres [gulfs] to be swalowed and devoured."[57]

The Beggars' petition then went on to show that the economic ascendancy of the clergy was a serious danger to the commonwealth in a political way. The more land acquired by the church, the less taxable property remained for raising money to carry on war. This situation threatened the defense of the kingdom.[58] Besides, the clergy used its wealth to stir up rebellion against the king both at home and abroad: "And whate do al these gredy sort of sturdy, idell, holy theves with these yerely exactions that they take of the people? .... Nothing but that al your subiectes shulde fall ynto disobedience and rebellion agaynst your grace, and be vnder theym."[59] The church was a kingdom within the kingdom that was destined to gain political ascendancy through its ever increasing wealth: "Have they not translated ynto theyre hondes from your grace half of your kingdom thoroughly, and of one kyngdome made tweyne? .... And whiche of these ii kyngdomes is like to overgrowe the other? .... Truly the kyngedome of the bloodsuppers."[60]

The tract in various places enumerated the financial exactions of the clergy under which the people were suffering, and protested against these impositions. The following will serve as an illustration:

[55] Furnivall, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 4. [56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 10. [58] *Ibid.*, p. 3. [59] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [60] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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These are not the herds, but ravenous wolues going in herd's clothing and devouring the flock; the bishoppes, abbotes, canones, pardeners, somners, priors, decons, archdecons, suffragans, prestes, monks, and who is abel to nomber thys idell ravenous sort, whych seting al laboure at naught have beged so importuneately that thei haue goten ynto theyre honds one third of al youre Realme. The goodlyest lordshyppes, manores, londes, territoryes are theirs. Besides thei haue a tenth parte of the corne, medowes, pasture, grasse, woole, coltes, calves, lambes, pigges, gese, and chikyns. Over and besydes these thei haue the tenth parte of euery servants wages, the tenth parte of honey, waxe, milke, chese, and butter. Yea, and so narrowely thei do looke at theyre profittes that the pore wyves must be accounteable for euery tenth egge or elles she geteth not here rightes at Ester, and shal be taken as a heretick. Whate money pull thei yn by probates of testaments, priuy tithes, and by mennes offering to theyre pilgrimages, and at theyre first masses? Euery man and childe that is buried must pay sumwhat for masses and dirges to be song for him, or elles thei will accuse the dedes frendes and executours for heresie. Whate money get thei for mortuaries; by hearing of confessiones; by halowing of churches, alters, superalters, chapelles, belles; by cursing menne and absolving theim again for money. Whate a multitude of money gather the pardoners yn a yere? How moche money get the Somners by extorcion yn a yere by assityng the people to the commissaries court? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging friars, whate get thei by the yere?[61]

What was to be the remedy for the evils of ecclesiastical wealth and financial abuses? Simon Fish had a solution for the problem and set it forth in unequivocal terms. Disclose the hypocrisy of the ecclesiastics, take away their possessions, and put them to productive labor. In this manner he concludes:

Take away from them all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies abrode in the world to get theim wiues of theire owne, and to get thir liuing with theire laboure in the swete of theire faces. . . . . Then shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swered, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of youre people be translated frome you. Then shall you have full obedience of youre people, Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be better kept. Then shall the generation of your people be encreased. Then shall your commons be

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 2–4.

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encreased in richesse. Then shall we haue ynough and more than shall suffice vs.[62]

III. ATTITUDE AND ACTION OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT TOWARD ECCLESIASTICAL EXACTIONS

The Petition of the Beggars had appeared about the year 1527, and it marked the climax of unofficial opposition and protest against the abuses of papal finance. Its attacks upon the clergy were very bold and very bitter, yet its author lived unmolested in England. For almost half a century since the accession of Henry VII discontent and opposition had been given expression and had been gathering force until a rupture in the church was inevitable. It is only against the background of this period of preparation that the attitude and action of the Reformation Parliament can be understood. That body met in 1529 and extended its sessions for seven years. It was of course subservient to the court, which, it is likely, was largely responsible both for the point of view and for the action of the Parliament. Nevertheless it passed a series of measures that tended to sever England from the papal jurisdiction, and the bulk of its acts had to do with the financial and economic relations between the church and the state, especially in the matter of monetary exactions. Such were the first and second Petition of the Commons, and the acts for annuling the annates, restraint of appeals to Rome, and forbidding papal dispensations and the payment of Peter's pence. Such also were the two acts passed for the suppression of the monasteries.

Immediately after assembling and organizing, the lower house of the Reformation Parliament "began to common their grefes wherewith the spiritualitie had before tyme grevously oppressed them, contrarie to the lawe of the realme, and contrarie to all righte."[63] The result was the first Petition of the Commons, which was presented to the King in 1529. In

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[63] Hall, *Chronicle Containing the History of England from Henry IV to Henry VIII* (London, 1809), II, 165.

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this instrument the Commons complained of six major abuses of the clergy. They included excessive fines collected for probating wills, mortuaries, exorbitant rents charged for church lands, prelates engaging in secular occupations, pluralities, and absenteeism. The step once taken by the Commons marked a crisis in opposition to the church and may be regarded as the beginning of the Reformation in England. Hall, contemporary biographer of Henry VIII, wrote: "These thynges before this tyme might in nowise be touched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made a heretike..... But now when God had illumed the eies of the kynge, and that there subtell doynges was once espied; then men began charitably to desyre a reformacion, and so in this parliament menne began to shew there grudges."[64] The result of the petition was a series of measures enacted by the Parliament to mitigate these practices. Fees for the probating of testaments were fixed, mortuaries were regulated, and pluralities, nonresidence, and clerical secularity were checked.[65]

Of the twelve charges brought against the clergy by the second Petition of the Commons in 1532, the majority had to do with the abuses of the church courts.[66] Cases concerning mortuaries, wills, tithes, marriage, heresy, moral delinquency, and many secular matters were tried in these ecclesiastical tribunals. They were numerous, efficiently organized, and in constant session. They possessed adequate machinery to enforce their decisions.[67] Popular in an earlier day when these courts championed causes neglected by the old feudal courts, success had led to corruption, and at the time of the Reformation the criticism and outcry against them was general.[68] A particular evil of the system was the influence—to use a modern term—of the shyster lawyer who was interested in pro-

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–67.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–70; Gibson, *Codex, Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, II, 560, 580–84.

[66] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–53.

[67] See Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of England*, London, 1896, *passim*; Gibson, *op. cit.*, II, 1120–33.

[68] Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (London, 1865), III, 29.

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moting litigation because it paid him good returns. "There was scarcely a single person in any parish who might not receive a citation to appear before an ecclesiastical judge, if a pettifogging clerical attorney scrutinized his conduct with a malignant eye, or with a view of proffering his silence as a marketable commodity."[69]

Closely connected with the system of courts was the convocation of prelates, which had power to formulate canons and exact penalties that the courts were wont to observe. The petition objected that the laity had no part in making these laws, which were therefor "against all equity, right, and good conscience."[70] Laymen were put to "impotable charges, costs, and expense," due to the limiting of the number of proctors and the consequent delays and conspiracies to thwart justice in the courts of arches and audience.[71] The people, especially the poorer classes, were "inquieted, vexed, troubled, and put to excessive and impotable charges" for light causes and often trumped-up charges. To be absolved, the victim was forced to pay his own proctor twenty pence, the proctor against him twenty pence, the clerk of the court twenty pence, and a bribe to the judge.[72] A long catalogue of excessive fees imposed by the ecclesiastical courts was set forth in the document:

> For every citation two shillings and six pence; for every inhibition six shillings and eight pence; for every proxy sixteen pence; for every certificate sixteen pence; for every libel three shillings and four pence; for any answer to a libel three shillings and four pence; for every act, if it be only two words, to the registrar, four pence; for every personal citation or decree three shillings and four pence; for every sentence or judgment to the judge twenty six shillings and eight pence; for every testimonial upon each sentence or judgment twenty six shillings and eight pence; for every *significat* twelve shillings; for every commission to examine witnesses twelve shillings; which is thought impotable to be borne by your said subjects, and very necessary to be reformed.[73]

[69] *Ibid.*, III, 31 f.
[70] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
[71] *Ibid.*; Arrowsmith, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–4.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[73] *Ibid.*

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Another very grievous complaint contained in this second petition of the Commons was the delays and fees involved in the probating of testaments by the church courts. Evidently the act of 1529 had been little effective in mitigating the evil. The English laity had been vexed and oppressed for many generations by annoying charges assessed on wills. Wyclif had pointed out that the clergy robbed the commons of many thousand pounds contrary to Holy Writ, the pope's law, the king's statutes, and all good conscience.[74] Edward III had a statute passed to check the evil practice.[75] A verse in the "Complaint of the Plowman" runs:

> For whoso woll prove a testament,
> That is not all woth tenne pound,
> He shall pay for the parchement,
> The third of the mony all round.[76]

The case of Sir William Compton proved a veritable scandal in the days immediately preceding the Reformation in England. A fee of a thousand marks was charged against Compton's estate for probating the will.[77] The petition pointed out that a large group of selfish and greedy court officials lingered about the ecclesiastical tribunals to fleece their victims by means of delayed litigation and large fees "impotable for them to bear, directly against all justice, law, equity, and good conscience."[78] The Commons asked that this nuisance be reformed.

Other evils of a financial nature denounced by the Commons in the petition were exactions by the parish clergy for the sacraments; simony in regard to accepting fees and first fruits in the exchange, or transfer of office; nepotism, or prelates conferring office on their very young kinfolk in order to secure the revenues; and the excessive number of holy days

[74] Arnold, *op. cit.*, III, 305. [75] Gibson, *op. cit.*, II, 580.

[76] Wright, *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History* (London, 1859), Roll Series, I, 333.

[77] Hall, *op. cit.*, II, 166; Strype, *op. cit.*, I, 112.

[78] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

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observed by the church as an economic loss of time and harvests. The Commons pointed out that these things were the cause of a "marvelous disorder" within the realm, and that a remedy ought to be applied immediately by the king.

Action was taken also by the Reformation Parliament to annul the payment of the annates. Two measures were passed to that end, the conditional restraint of the annates in 1532, and the actual annulment in 1534. The annates were a tax on church livings, usually bishoprics and archbishoprics, consisting of the payment to the papacy of the first-year revenues of the office after appointment. The practice of collecting these so-called first fruits originated in the thirteenth century and continued until the break with Rome. Much protest had arisen over them in the past, but in the time of Henry VIII they seem to have been most bitterly resented. There seem to have been two main reasons for this opposition and the final abolition of the practice. One objection was that the annates took too much money from the realm and impoverished it; another reason was that their payment worked a hardship on the bishops and diverted money from its proper uses in the diocese.

In the act entitled the Conditional Restraint of the Annates passed in 1532 it is specifically stated that annulment has become necessary because great and inestimable sums of money have been conveyed out of the realm to the impoverishment of the same. The document asserted, in particular, that from the second year of Henry VII the sum of 160,000 pounds had in that manner left the kingdom.[79] In a paper drawn up by Cromwell, the latter pointed out that if the money diverted from England in the form of annates should be appropriated by the crown, the king could duplicate the amount received from Wolsey for the suppression of certain small monasteries. That was 40,000 pounds sterling. Besides this there would be 10,000 marks yearly to be spent on hospitals, 20,000 marks for the king's bodyguard, 20,000

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 178 f.

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marks for new garrisons for the defense of the realm, and 5,000 marks for good roads and for charity.[80]

That the sums paid out in annates were high, and that these payments worked a hardship on the bishops and the diocese, was quite evident. Henry VIII complained that the bishops had to borrow money to meet the payment of annates, and Convocation in 1529 put forth the same objection.[81] In case the incumbent lived long enough to pay this debt, matters did not go so badly; but in case of premature death of the bishop, the bondsmen had to pay, and this made trouble.[82] Bishops were usually elderly men when elected; there were as high as three vacancies in a single year; and the average incumbency of a bishop was six years.[83] The matter of aged prelates and repeating annates had been made a subject of legation with Rome five years before the abolition of the annates, but nothing came of it.[84] The point was so important and so prominent that the Parliament used it as a reason for promulgating the statute.[85] Annates were so unpopular in this period that Convocation itself petitioned the king to abolish them and went to the extreme of suggesting that England separate from the papal jurisdiction in case the pope insisted on collecting this tax.[86]

The Reformation Parliament enacted two measures that made appeals to Rome illegal. Two reasons appeared for passing the statutes. Such appeals encroached on the jurisdiction of the king, and since the time of Edward I parliaments had with little success tried to check the system. The second reason was the delays and expense involved in the appeals.[87] Very similar to appeals to Rome in effects produced

[80] Strype, *op. cit.*, I, 326.
[81] *Ibid.*, II, 158; *Calander of Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, Vol. V, No. 886.
[82] *Ibid.*, No. 172; Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 180; Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 315; Matthew of Paris, *op. cit.*, III, 95, 163.
[84] Gibson, *op. cit.*, I, 123; Strype, *op. cit.*, I, 168; Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–80.
[85] Gibson, *op. cit.*, I, 123.
[86] Strype, *op. cit.*, I, 222; Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 f.
[87] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 f., 195 f.

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were papal dispensations, against which the parliament also passed a statute. Both involved delays and expenditure of money which the people resented. In 1251 the abbot of Westminster, suing for a dispensation at Rome, returned, after a protracted stay, "deeply involved in debt and liabilities."[88] In 1362 it cost the abbot of St. Albans the sum of 5,000 pounds sterling while on a similar mission.[89] Wyclif complained that Englishmen in this manner exchanged vast sums of gold for the "dead lead" on sealed papers.[90] In procuring a dispensation or making an appeal there was usually loss of time and money in delays manipulated by the Roman court. Money had to be spent for exchanges, couriers, and military guard for the journey. Trained solicitors had to be hired to present the appeal, and bribes were necessary for the "speedy expedition" of a case brought into the Roman Court.[91]

The act forbidding papal dispensations also outlawed a whole host of papal exactions which "greatly decayed and impoverished" the realm.[92] Many of these are named in the document, fees for a list of exactions "over long, large in number, and tedious here particularly to be inserted." One of the most important of them was the Peter's pence, perhaps the earliest form of taxation paid to the Roman court.[93] It was a hearth tax originally, and when fully collected affected every family of the realm. In the past its collection had been efficiently organized, and it was still collectable in the early sixteenth century. Bishop Stubbs likened it to the poll tax that helped precipitate the revolt of 1381, and said nothing aroused nationalist feeling as did this payment of the Romfeoh.[94] It was looked on as a symbol of subjection to the Roman court, and as a tribute paid to a foreign power.

[88] Matthew of Paris, *op. cit.*, II, 444.

[89] Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, IV, 230.

[90] Matthew, Wyclif, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[91] Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[93] *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, XV, 174, 191; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, I, 272.

[94] Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1896), II, 475.

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ETHICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGION OF THE SIKHS

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THERE is a widespread opinion that, as compared with Judaism and Christianity, the religions of the East are mostly defective on the side of the ethical. It is true that in some of them the ethical has a definitely subsidiary place, but that does not imply that their moral outlook is not broad or lofty. In fact, in Buddhism and in Zoroastrianism, the ethical cannot be said to be in any way secondary: it is as important as any other constituent whatever. So, also, a survey of the sacred scriptures of the Sikhs justifies in large measure the contention of the late Mr. Macauliffe.[1] "It would be difficult to point to a more comprehensive ethical system" (I, lv).

It may be maintained that the Sikhs as a people supply ample evidence of living in accordance with worthy ethical conceptions. The Sikh is a characteristic figure. His stature and poise manifest strength, physical fitness, and health. His features express a dignity accompanied by a sense of calm, of satisfaction, and of peace. As a rule he impresses one as rightly giving and rightly demanding respect. In history the Sikhs have shown the strength of their personalities. Although probably never more than three millions all told, they have given a good account of themselves in conflicts with powerful empires, and for a time they ruled over a population up to as many as twenty millions. Seeing that the Sikhs as a community arose from beginnings which were predominantly religious and moral, under the leadership of the *gurus*, and in accordance with their teachings, the grounds of their distinctive

[1] *The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors.* In six volumes. Oxford, 1909. All later references in this article are to this work.

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personal character must be sought at least in part in their ethical ideas. An exhaustive survey would show in considerable detail that these ideas are very comprehensive in their range. The present exposition must be limited to the more general principles and to illustrative epitomes of the moral code.

The ideal of the Sikhs is contrasted with what was regarded as the usual practice of mankind. "The custom of the world is to return good for good, but the custom of the *guru* is to return good for evil" (IV, 261). Thus the Sikhs are admonished: "Ever do good to others" (II, 83). "To do good to others is the mark of a saint" (IV, 256). Nevertheless, it is recognized that "they who return good for evil are few in the world" (IV, 25). Such passages indicate at once that the moral attitude is neither passive nor individualistic, but active and social. This is also brought out by the constant criticism of the ascetics and recluses of the various other religions around them, and also by the active lives of the Sikhs and their acts of charity, such as the maintenance of communal kitchens at which Sikhs of any position in life might obtain food. The life of seclusion and of asceticism was definitely rejected, in direct opposition to the teaching of Hindu and Jain sects. "Better is the man who struggles with the world to make his life profitable than he who quits the scene at the outset" (III, 63).

Yet, notwithstanding its social and non-ascetic character, the moral attitude of the Sikh *gurus* was anything but worldly. A religion growing up on the soil of Indian life and thought could not but be affected by the prevalent emphasis on the distinction between the transitory and the eternal. Attachment to the affairs of the world may be the greatest enemy to the realization of the highest experience. The activities of daily life must be performed under the dominance of the true ideal. The highest good must in its own nature be permanent. The transitory character of this life was a recurring theme of the Sikh *gurus*, especially of Teg Bahadur. Again and again the scriptures remind us: "The world is like a nightly dream"

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(IV, 117). "Know that the world is like a dream or a play. There is nothing real in it, Nanak, but God" (IV, 417). Or, again, in another favorite metaphor: "The world is a mansion of smoke" (I, 280). Or in still other imagery: "Empire, wealth, youth, are all shadows; so are carriages and imposing mansions" (I, 28). Viewed from the standpoint of the eternal, of our earthly existence it is said: "We men live but for a moment. . . . . Therefore, in the midst of life be in death (I, 337).

The general principle of the ethic is most frequently expressed theistically, although the influence of *advaita* or singularist forms of thought is constantly apparent. The moral life is to have its roots in religious devotion. He who is pious obeys God's will. The faithful soul is as a faithful wife to God, the true spouse. "Until one love the Lord, all other love is unstable" (II, 162). The true service of God thus arises from an inward disposition, not from any mere following of precepts. Throughout the scriptures as a whole, the predominant stress is on devotion to the "Name," the True Guru, God. All else in the good life is to spring from this as its source and motive. "Make divine love thy pen and thy heart the writer" (I, 8). "God is won by love, not by force" (II, 49). "They who meet in their hearts really meet" (IV, 27). "The best devotion is the remembrance of the True Name; the best act is philanthropy. . . . . Of the various sins that man commits none is worse than selfishness." The love of God is thus associated with the absence of selfishness and with the active service of love to others. "What is the Sikh's duty? To obey the order of his Guru" (IV, 264). The True Guru is the perfect God. There is a passive as well as an active aspect to this duty: man is to accept the will of God as it manifests itself in the ordering of his life. Morality has no real value unless it is inspired by love of God. "He in whom there is no devotion to God hath lost his life in vain" (IV, 407).

Genuine love of God implies a complete trust in Him and

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so a freedom from all anxieties. "I live on confidence in God" (III, 16). "Faith and resignation are the characteristics of the holy: patience is the viaticum of the angels" (I, 278). The actual attitudes and practices of the *gurus* were in considerable measure in accordance with this spirit and the policy indicated in the statement: "Whatever cometh daily is spent daily, and for the morrow my trust is in God" (II, 97). This statement probably had especial reference to the spending of alms for the supply of the necessities for the communal kitchen.

This devotion to God is to be supreme: it must either govern all else or eradicate it. If they are a hindrance to the attainment of divine peace, even wife and kin are to be abandoned. It is thus that in some instances an element of asceticism is seen to be needed. Separation from kindred in the pursuit of the goal of religion is a common idea and practice in India. In some few passages the character of the utterances seems radical: "Abandon love of family and love of everything. Abandon worldly love; it is all sinful. He who breaketh not with worldly love cannot be accepted" (I, 309). "Accursed the love of mother and father; accursed the love of brothers and relations; accursed the love of wife and the pleasures of sons; accursed the love of home. The love of the guild of saints is true: Nanak, happiness abideth with them" (IV, 152). But the wording of such passages should not be misunderstood. They are not meant to advocate a life of asceticism: the tenor of the teaching as a whole is against any such interpretation. They are meant to emphasize the radical change of heart involved from a merely worldly to a genuinely religious and moral attitude to the objects of life. The examples chosen, especially wives and children, are those which appeal as warmly treasured by a wider range of persons than anything else.

The disposition which should be at the basis of the moral life is not to be acquired by silent meditation in isolation. It is transmitted rather, like Christian love, by contagion: it

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grows best in the company of the saints. The life of communal association is an essential factor in morality and religion. "The company of the saints conferreth on men indiscriminately benefits which cannot be estimated" (IV, 242). "Metal blendeth with metal, and love hasteneth to love" (I, 109). "Nanak, break with the false, and seek for the saints who are true friends. The former will leave thee while alive: the latter will not forsake thee when dead" (III, 421). The company of the saints is a definite constituent in moral education. "Do good to others; forswear falsehood; read and ponder on the guru's hymns; and associate with the saints, so shall all thy evil inclinations depart" (IV, 154).

One result of the stress on the inner disposition of love to God and on its practical effects in service for mankind was severe criticism, constant opposition, and entire rejection of many of the rites and ceremonies of orthodox Hinduism. "He should not be called pure who washeth his body. Rather is he pure, Nanak, in whose heart God dwelleth" (I, 344). "Why wash the body defiled by falsehood? The practice of truth is the acceptable ablution" (I, 327). Rites and ceremonies, if not accompanied by the right inner attitude, not only confer no benefit, they are also detrimental in that they keep men from the true object of devotion. "Without God all works are vain. By works of hypocritical devotion, penance, and austerities, man is plundered on this side" (III, 158). The same ground underlies the Sikh opposition to idolatry: to center attention on the idol appeared to the Sikh *gurus* to abstract it from God.

Turning our attention to the details of the moral code, it may be said that it would be difficult to name a virtue which is not advocated or a vice which is not condemned. The particular virtues and vices come up for frequent independent reference. There are, however, a number of passages which describe in comparatively brief summaries the character of the moral life. When asked by some disciples to give them in-

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struction "whereby they might be saved," Guru Amar Das replied:

> Abandon obstinacy and pride; serve the saints; prepare sacred food according to the rules of our religion; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; rise before the day; repeat the *japji;* bestow of your time and wealth on God's service; associate with the saints; meditate on the Word; perform the duties of your religion; hurt no one's feelings; sing the Guru's hymns; be lowly and abandon pride; recognize only the Creator as the one God; and all your desires shall be fulfilled [II, 85].

This passage contains some significant repetitions, as, for example the duty of eradicating pride, which indicate something of the predominant tone of the moral attitude. But a much more representative description is attributed to Guru Nanak himself, who, when asked for a definition of a holy man, replied:

> Recognize him as holy in whom are to be found friendship, sympathy, pleasure at the welfare of others and dislike of evil company. In the first place, the intentions of holy men are pure. Secondly, they are pleased on hearing the praises of others. Thirdly, holy men serve the virtuous. Fourthly, they honour those who can impart to them learning and good counsel. Fifthly, as there is a periodical craving for food or drink, so they feel a craving for the Guru's word and divine knowledge. Sixthly, they love their wives, and renounce other women. Seventhly, they avoid subjects from which quarrels may arise. Eighthly, they serve those who are superior to themselves in intelligence or devotion. Ninthly, even if strong they are not arrogant, and trample not on others. Tenthly, they abandon the society of the evil, and only associate with the holy [I, 136–37].

The contrast of this last feature with the practice of one who was a friend of "publicans and sinners" comes immediately to one's mind. It would nevertheless be unfair to regard the Sikhs as deliberately abandoning the wicked, and as having no care to bring them to a knowledge of the "True Name." Patience and mildness, humility, almsgiving, honesty and industry, domestic love and purity, the absence of avarice and worldliness, are all constantly praised by the Gurus. It is more

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especially among the later *gurus,* particularly with Gobind Singh, the tenth and last *guru,* that the virtue of courage becomes emphasized, and this in relation with the special needs of the time, in the conflicts of the Sikhs with the Muslims. But the Sikhs were recruited largely from hill tribes, and the virtue of courage must have been highly esteemed from the beginning of their movement.

The spiritual forefathers of the Sikhs included both Hindus and Muslims. The line of descent on the Hindu side is from the Bhakti saints, the devotees of the love of God as the way of redemption. The Muslim influence was most probably chiefly that of wandering Sufis and of the sayings and poems of Sufi saints. In Sikhism the religious attitude is paramount: there is little endeavor to formulate a theological system and a philosophical defense of it. Nevertheless definite ideas of theological and metaphysical character which have a bearing on the ethics arise from time to time in their sacred literature, though they are not all quite consistent. The Sikh religion is definitely monotheistic. "There is only one God in this house" (IV, 242). The rejection of polytheism and of idolatry, as also the great reverence which the Sikhs show to their sacred book, *The Granth Saheb,* are certainly in part due to Muslim influences. But the conception of God suggests a closer relationship with the universal One of the *Upanishads* and of the Sufi idea of God, than with the more orthodox Sunni notion of deity. There is, however, nothing antinomian in the Sikh view of the relation of the individual soul to God: moral character is necessary for the realization of true union.

Among the Bhakti saints of Southern India, as also among the Muslims of the North, there was a genuine belief in the reality of mercy and forgiveness and of divine grace. The Sikh scriptures indicate a truly religious acceptance of these conceptions and for what they stand. There is, at the same time, an insistence on repentance so that the essentially ethical character of the teaching is retained. "Our religion teacheth

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pardon for offences" (II, 36). Divine forgiveness is essential for men, and it is a pattern for them in their dealings with others. Divine mercy is allied with grace: but both are obtained only by those who put themselves in the right attitude to receive them. Guru Nanak said: "Shaikh Sajjan: at the throne of God grace is obtained by two things: open confession and reparation for wrong" (I, 47). The soul, becoming conscious of its sin, calls out for compassion: "I take a scale and try to weigh my actions in my heart: my sins are numerous as the waters of the seas and the ocean. Bestow compassion; extend a little mercy, save me who am like a sinking stone" (I, 30). Thus the Sikh is admonished: "When thine own might availeth not, clasp thy hands and worship God" (II, 33). For, "it is God who causeth man to perform good acts, and maketh them stedfast in His service" (I, 334).

As mercy and forgiveness are obtained from God for ourselves, so we should show the same to others. "Practice forbearance and forgiveness, and harbour not enmity to any one in your hearts. Should any one address you with a harsh or disrespectful word, be not angry, but speak civilly in return" (II, 84). "There is no virtue equal to forgiveness" (IV, 335). The moral attitude to others is based on a religious conception of the relation of God to all men. "Better than the worship of idols is it to recognize God's light in everybody, and vex no one's soul: for what place of pilgrimage is equal to mercy? To bear no one enmity is tantamount to fasting" (II, 107). Guru Nanak is reported to have said at his death: "I have forgiven them all for thy sake" (I, 188). In fact: "Mercy is the basis of religious worship. . . . . All the acts of him who hath not mercy in his heart are vain" (III, 25).

By far the most prominent belief concerning the life of the soul is the doctrine of *karma*, that it shall reap as it has sown, apart (as the Sikhs have right to contend from the words of their scriptures) from considerations of divine mercy and forgiveness. It would be difficult to find a community of Hindu

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ancestry which does not show the effect of this doctrine of *karma,* if not its actual presence. In the religion of the Sikhs it is definitely present. The sufferings of this life are to be accepted as due to one's own conduct and not put down to others. "Impute not blame to any one but rather to thine own *karma:* 'I have suffered the consequences of my acts: I may blame no one else'" (I, 6). There is no attempt to justify the idea underlying such a statement: it seems to be accepted, as in Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, as axiomatic. If the wrong is not known as done in this life, it must have been done in a previous one. "Joy and misery are the result of actions in previous states of existence" (I, 59). Nevertheless the Sikh scriptures do not appear to represent this as a merely mechanical following of effect upon cause. It is due to the power and will of God that man receives the due consequences of his deeds, and it seems in accordance with the general character of Sikhism to suppose that God may in his divine mercy and forgiveness abrogate the "law" in relation to true devotees and saints. "The Master granteth man his term of human life according to his past acts" (I, 328). "What pleaseth God, O Nanak, shall happen: What is man?" (I, 113). "Misery and happiness are according to Thy pleasure: to whom shall we cry?" (I, 116).

The Sikh scriptures are not clear as to the precise nature of the future life of the soul. Transmigration is held up as a threat to the wicked and the infidel, especially by Guru Amar Das. Release from rebirth is frequently suggested as an aim of religious life, thus suggesting the acceptance of the belief in transmigration as the otherwise normal course. The faithful are promised that they shall not "again obtain a human body" (IV, 396). Some passages suggest a life in another world: and there is mention of a paradise, called Sach Chand. "Caste and beauty shall not go with thee to the next world: there shalt thou fare according to thine acts" (II, 191). On the other hand the predominant view of the final state of the soul

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is that of absorption in God. The soul is in its essence immortal in that it is one with the reality of God. The state of ultimate achievement and redemption is when, with the eradication of all selfishness, the limitations of individuality as experienced in this life are transcended. "She who under the Guru's instruction abandoneth evil should be absorbed in the Perfect One" (I, 270; cf. Mr. Macauliffe in his Introduction, I, pp. xxiv–v). "It is a law of the body to be born and die, but the soul is different. It is ever the same essence. Holy men have deemed human life temporary, like the roosting of birds for a night on a tree, or a brief occupation of a ferryboat by passengers" (II, 145).

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON MISSION POLICIES IN INDIA

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LIKE any other great and far-reaching movement the missionary enterprise has within it manifold contradictions. Missionaries differ in temperament and in their general outlook upon life. They differ in theology and in educational advantages. They differ as to the essential nature of the missionary enterprise. They differ regarding what work should be carried on and how this work should be carried on. In other words, missionaries are human and have the virtues and the vices of humans. It is not strange then that one finds so many contradictions within modern missions. Missions, on the one hand, are cited to the church at home as worthy examples of progressiveness. Missions, on the other hand, can be held up to the home church as horrible examples of medievalism. It all depends on the point of view and what missions one is actually talking about.

During the writer's term of service on the mission field, he has, because of the somewhat unique character of his own work, been enabled to view the missionary enterprise within several sections of one land with a certain air of detachment and with the eye of the friendly critic. He has observed work that is being carried on well, and work that is being carried on discreditably. He has seen bits of missionary statesmanship, and he has seen bits of missionary stupidity. He has met missionaries with broad sympathies, and he has met missionaries with narrow prejudices. He has endeavored to see the picture as a whole, and he has endeavored to study its constituent parts. Viewed as a whole the picture is pleasing, but as one approaches closely in order to examine the canvas more care-

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fully, one observes defects which, while not spoiling the picture, tend to mar its perfection and rob it of its rightful beauty.

One of these defects is the blemish of traditionalism. One of the puzzling contradictions of the mission field is the large number of missionaries who, while liberal in their own outlook toward life, carry on their work in a thoroughly traditional manner. When questioned upon this point they readily reply, "Christianity is a way of life. Theology and methods of work mean but little when compared with Christian living." Now I agree with this statement in part. Christianity is a way of life. If the man who makes this profession is content to rest his case upon his example I will not complain. But when this same man, himself holding one theological position, teaches another position "because theology makes no difference anyhow," then I question. If "theology makes no difference" why cannot the missionary instruct his Christian brothers in a theology that gives some promise of helping them to feel at home in their world, instead of encouraging them to dream of a better day that is to come? The answer is, "We must preserve the peace, and keep on friendly terms with other missions and missionaries." But my further question is whether an artificial truce can really be called a peace. To pull down the blinds does not lessen the reality of that which is going on out in the street. To instruct converts in the theology of a previous generation for the sake of preserving amicable relations with fellow-missionaries may make life much more enjoyable for the missionary, but what of the crisis that comes when education actually makes itself felt among the masses? What of the crisis that is already at hand when educated nationals are presented with the claims of orthodox Chrisitanity? Here is a problem in missionary ethics.

Problem number two follows along the same line, and is an outgrowth of the various union movements upon the mission field. Now union in missionary activity is both necessary

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and desirable, but in the union movements as I have observed them it is generally the liberal who loses. Perhaps this is commendable. Perhaps the ability to subordinate one's own convictions to further the larger whole is the highest type of Christianity. But certain questions arise. The union movements with which I am familiar have without exception been creedal unions. The uniting parties have adopted a certain creed or series of creeds, subscription to which has been the basis of church membership. What is the ethics of a situation such as was recently witnessed in one mission area, where a national minister was unfrocked for openly expressing theological views not dissimilar in their essence to the views of many of the missionaries of one of the organizations which gave the united church its birth, and who are still holding membership in the synod? Is the line of least resistance always the most ethical line for the missionary to follow? Does not the mission field need, even as we need at home, churches, perhaps small in membership, but with the pioneering spirit, churches to press ahead and to show the way for other churches to follow?

The aim of missions is often expressed as the attempt to "Christianize non-Christians." What does this statement mean? Is it to "save" men in the sense of converting them, or is it to lead them into the Christ-like way of living? Is Christianity a matter of belief, or is it a certain attitude toward life? Personally I feel that it is the latter. As I understand Christianity, the Christian is the man who has a reverent attitude toward his world, who believes in the sacredness of personality, who lives in a friendly and helpful way among men, who loves truth and is prepared to follow the truth as he sees it, regardless of the cost (witness the death of Jesus).

Why then must the Christian missionary regard himself as a proselytizer? Why should he not be a builder, strengthening the weak places of society and making the strong places stronger? Why should he not be a co-operator, having no axe

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of his own to grind, but enlisting in such indigenous movements as have for their aim the spread of the spirit of friendliness, of joy and good will, and the promotion of the public welfare.

The missionary may still be an evangelist, but let him preach the gospel of peace, of self-reliance, of the worth of man, of the dignity of labor, of truth, of beauty, and of goodness. Let him proclaim the glad tidings of release to those in bondage, of health to the afflicted, and of sight to those of clouded vision. Let him save souls from selfishness, from degrading habits, from untruthfulness, from quarrelsomeness, from false dealings, and from unbrotherliness. And if this is not a man-sized job, then let him turn a bit of attention toward social ills, toward the cleansing of the sins of society.

With such an alluring program of possibilities it is difficult to believe that in station after station and district after district the missionary message is still the message of abstract repentance, and the missionary method the round of preaching and of baptism. If one-half of the energy that is being expended in "touch and go" preaching—"proclaiming the Word"—could be put into a scientific program of community building, the results would be most far-reaching and of vast importance for every mission land.

One of the traditional methods of missionary work is that of education. From the beginning missionaries have established schools and have endeavored to raise the educational level of the people. There is no doubt that these schools have accomplished much good, but in one land at least, the education which might mean so much for the welfare of the people has become largely standardized and artificial, shaped more by government grants and examinations than by human need. Here and there a few courageous spirits are breaking away, but by and large the joy of discovery and the free experimentation that should characterize the mission school have long

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since retreated, leaving mediocrity and colorlessness in full possession of the field.

If missionary education is to recapture its self-respect, it must forget government grants and examinations and teach the things that really matter. Let education be related to life, to train for health and for the betterment of the economic status. Let it help boys and young men to feel at home in their world—to be citizens rather than strangers in the universe. Let it open hitherto closed doors that will make life increasingly meaningful. Let it assist men to attain the worthwhile here, instead of in some uncertain hereafter. Let it show how truth overcomes suspicion, and knowledge casts out fear. Let it demonstrate that co-operation and not antagonism is the real law of life. And co-operation means not a theoretical, international co-operation, but the interplay of groups and religions right within the local community.

What we need in modern missions is fewer outposts and more hotspots. For a missionary to administer twenty-five or fifty schools in his district is of no particular credit, unless these schools are superior schools. To compete with government schools on the ground that mission schools give something that government schools cannot give, is a sheer waste of money and of effort unless it can actually be demonstrated that missions really give that "something." The vague apologetic that is so often offered for mission schools must be submitted to the test of actual results. Is the graduate of the mission school superior in character? Has he broader sympathies and wider understanding? Has he been liberated from chilling doubts and from depressing fears? Is he prepared to play a man's part in the life of his day? These are the type of questions that must be answered.

We have many churches on the mission field—churches often preaching an antiquated theology, but manned for the most part by pastors who are living the abundant life. Why not have less of preaching and more of living? Why not make

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the churches centers of experiments in Christian living, clearing-houses for the solution of daily problems, and power-houses for the generation of new strength? It is my opinion that the members of our Christian churches in India are much more in need of friends and advisers regarding the Christian solution to the problems of every-day life than the type of theological exhortation that is proclaimed from the average pulpit. I would see the preacher assuming the rôle of the teacher, detaching himself from the great church building and its endless repetition of words, but spreading the leaven of the vital word that really makes its connection with life.

And speaking of leaven, we need a new emphasis upon that conception. Not—"Come ye apart! Be ye separate!"—but, "Live among your fellows! Demonstrate to others the abundant life!" As I interpret the present state of the missionary enterprise we need character more than converts. We need brotherhood more than baptisms. We need comradeship more than closed-communion.

Dr. Stanley Jones in his recent book, *Christ at the Round Table,* appears to discount Hindu religionists because they are always *seeking* God, as contrasted with the Christian who has *found*. Would that we were all seekers together, and endeavoring to grow with our expanding universe. The major task before present day missions is not so much to save the "heathen" from darkness, as to save the missionary enterprise itself from the growing tendency toward standardization. The findings of the recent Jerusalem Conference are a stirring call to advance. It now remains to be seen whether the rank and file of the missionary body are prepared to move forward.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A NEW STUDY OF JEREMIAH[1]

Professor Welch has given us a very stimulating presentation of the life and work of the prophet Jeremiah. He always has independence of judgment and the courage of his convictions, and these qualities are conspicuous in this book as in its predecessors. The most striking new idea in this book is the denial of the commonly accepted view that Jeremiah was aroused to his prophetic career by the threatened approach of the Scythian hordes. An apparently strong case is made out against this interpretation of Jeremiah's experience in the following fashion. The silence of the Old Testament upon the Scythians is at least as weighty as the tradition recorded by Herodotus. Why should the Scythians have invaded Egypt in view of the fact that both the Scythians and the Egyptians were allies and friends of Assyria? Why are the Scythians not named by Jeremiah while he had no hesitation in naming the Babylonians a little later on? Many of the descriptions of the coming catastrophe do not at all fit the idea of a Scythian invasion, and many of those that do will also fit any other invasion equally well and are used of other people's movements in several instances. The thought of a foe from the north is far from identifying the foe with the Scythians.

The region of the north was looked upon in the ancient world as the home of the gods, and the thought that the chastisement of Israel or Judah would come from the north was little more than the conviction that Yahweh would send a cataclysmic destruction upon his recalcitrant people in particular or upon his foes in general. The north was not so much a region as an idea. Other prophets did not need an external stimulus in the form of threatening foreign foes to start them on their prophetic careers. A deep conviction of the national sin, on the one hand, and of the righteousness of Yahweh, on the other, was enough to arouse Elijah, in the prosperous days of Ahab; or Amos in the midst of the untroubled prosperity of the reign of Jeroboam II and Isaiah in the days of Uzziah.

Thus far we have summarized the case for Professor Welch. Of how much weight is it? Is his presentation of the facts trustworthy? His

[1] *Jeremiah: His Time and Work.* By Adam C. Welch. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. viii+263 pages. $2.50.

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claim that the Scythians were in league with Assyria and Egypt is open to serious question. According to Gadd's *Babylonian Chronicle*, co-operation of Egypt with Assyria was initiated in 614 B.C. and was in support of Nineveh against the Babylonians and Medes who were besieging it. The Scythian hosts intervened and broke up this siege. So far as we know this was the first and last case of united effort between Scythians and Assyrians; and since the expedition of Egypt which arrived too late for the aid of Nineveh was really due to fear of the marauding Scythians, the intervention of the Scythians may well have been due to an unwillingness to see Nineveh in the hands of their more vigorous and dangerous foes. But in 612 B.C., Babylonians, Medes, and Scythians were combined in the final attack upon Nineveh, which was forced to yield. In 610 B.C., the Scythians joined with the Babylonians in the capture of Harran, the last Assyrian capital, of which the Scythians retained possession. There is therefore no good evidence for the existence of a league between Assyria and the Scythians prior to 614 B.C. or thereabouts. That they were in alliance as early as 625 B.C. is pure hypothesis and not at all probable. It is much more likely that the Scythians were looked upon prior to 616 B.C. by all the peoples of Western Asia and Egypt as a potential foe of great danger. Herodotus i. 105 tells us of the terror inspired throughout these regions by the Scythian movements. All the available evidence so far and the situation in general seem to point to the Scythians as everybody's foe. The only interest they had was the furtherance of their own power and plunder. The intervention at Nineveh in 614 B.C. was not due to interest in Assyria's perpetuity, but to the furtherance of the Scythians' own interest in Western Asia and Egypt. Therefore the likelihood of a Scythian invasion of Egypt still stands, and the objections to it are of little force. The name Scythopolis borne by Beisan in Palestine seems to lend strong support to the story of a Scythian invasion of Palestine and Egypt. The Scythians were a volatile people and easily changed their allies, as is clear from the fact that according to Greek tradition they defended Nineveh in 614, but joined in the attack upon it in 612, as shown by Gadd's *Babylonian Chronicle*.

Nor is it likely that Jeremiah would have placed Yahweh in the mythical home of the gods in the north. Jeremiah was too much opposed to polytheistic practices and ideas ever to have accepted the pagan mythology as part of his system of theological thought. Again, it is true that Amos had no actual foe in sight when he threatened Jeroboam; but that was not necessarily the case in the troubled times of Elijah and Ahab, nor was it true of the period in which Isaiah was called to prophetic service. According to the Assyrian records, Tiglath-pileser had

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brought Azariah of Judah to submission and exacted tribute of him, and this was in Isaiah's own early manhood.

Professor Welch's book will arouse discussion but will not carry conviction, unless new facts should present themselves in support of his interpretation. The presswork of the book is good, but some errors stand out conspicuously. On pages 15 and 162, "Shamash-shum-ukin" has been assassinated and "Samassu-milkin" has taken his place; on pages 249 and 260, "Hananiah" has been curtailed to "Hanan"; and on page 62, in line 23, "begin" is without appropriate ending.

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CHRISTIANITY'S TREATMENT OF THE PHARISEES

Few Christians know anything about the Pharisees except what they learn from the New Testament. The resulting opinion is that they were hypocrites and formalists toward whom Jesus rightly found himself in mutual opposition. Students of Judaism of the days of Jesus, even Christian students, have come to see that the gospel picture of the Pharisees is unjustly hostile. The subject of Dr. Riddle's book[1] is to explain how the gospels "got that way." His answer is relatively simple.

Jesus was really much of a Pharisee himself; his position, at least, was precisely that of most Pharisees in the Jewish sources. Paul was a Pharisee, but by a natural psychological reaction his personal experience drove him to an opposite extreme. The gentile Christianity to which he belonged and which he furthered was sharply in contrast with Judaism. A latent anti-Jewish polemic is evident in Paul. It became thoroughgoing and articulate only later. In Rome about 70 A.D., Christians specifically rejected Jewish rules of fasting, sabbath, and ablutions. The Gospel of Mark, which was written then and there, reads this attitude back to Jesus. In Antioch there was a more even contact of Christianity with Jewish and gentile groups and the Gospel of Matthew shows the self-conscious rivalry with both. In this gospel Jesus' anti-Pharisaism is represented in the most extreme form, though the gospel has many Jewish features. Luke-Acts and John represent a still later stage and a different (Aegean) setting. When they were written Judaism as a whole was contrasted with Christianity, and the history of Jesus and of the early church is treated by the authors in relation not so much to current issues as to theoretical polemic, and hence to a quite theoretical reconstruction of history.

[1] *Jesus and the Pharisees: A Study in Christian Tradition.* By Donald W. Riddle. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. 193 pages. $2.00.

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Dr. Riddle's book is not a contribution to our knowledge of the Pharisees, unless his use of the gospel material about them as evidence of what they were not is to be called a contribution. He has not presented the evidence of the Talmud about them, though the publishers' jacket says that "he has gone to Jewish sources." He limits himself to the New Testament and to the development of the Christian tradition about them. Even earlier works on this theme he does not use. For example, C. T. Dimont's article in the *Expositor* for 1911 on "The Synoptic Evangelists and the Pharisees" he does not refer to. He has independently gone over the text and then, using his historical imagination of probable influences, has built up a genetic study of the tradition by a new method.

That method is the "social-historical" method of recent Chicago criticism. If it had been "made in Germany," we should have had to call it *sozial-geschichtliche* to agree with the names of its older sisters, *religions-* and *form-geschichtliche*. This monograph is an interesting and rather convincing illustration of the new technique. The historical writings of the New Testament are first sifted to clear out later viewpoints. Only the remainder may be regarded as historical for the earliest time. In this instance the remainder is very small. No evidence of friction between Jesus and the Jewish leaders may be trusted. Likewise, in Acts, we must recognize a wholly artificial theory of Christian relation to Judaism. But the negative results of the method for the areas of which the canon professes to treat are matched by positive results for the period which the canon omits. The history of Christianity in the sub-apostolic age is elaborately conjectured by the critics from the same unconscious sources, so that we can picture the characteristics of the various local and social environments.

The first section is a mere listing of Synoptic variations in respect to Jesus' hostile interlocutors. This is always fascinating to the specialist, but will not interest most readers. It is a necessary foundation for what follows, but its result is negative and easily expressed. The evangelists have no real knowledge of the exact Jewish opposition to Jesus, hence they freely alter the wording. These alterations Dr. Riddle understands to reveal the bias of their respective groups. I should regard many of the changes of Matthew and Luke as purely literary. They are made to supply a subject for a verb, to supply a pair of words; they are personal and editorial, not social. In Luke they agree with the author's desire to show Jesus victorious in debate and sympathetic with the humble and critical of the self-righteous, instead of manifesting any special attitude to Pharisaism. In this respect as in diction the *Pericope adulterae* agrees with Luke.

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The analysis of the general bias of the several writers is not new in all details, but is fresh and interesting. Mark's Paulinism, lately challenged, is reasserted here in part. Matthew's well-known combination of Jewish and anti-Jewish viewpoints is explained no less successfully than by others. John's collective use of "the Jews" is interpreted in the usual manner as indicating a stage after the absolute breach. A number of acute observations serve pretty well to demolish the scheme of development suggested in Acts, demolishing at the same time most modern reconstructions of early Christian history. Dr. Riddle believes the inception of Christianity at Jerusalem, the transfer of hostility from Pharisees and scribes to Sadducees and priests, and the transfer from "Jewish Christianity" to Gentile Christianity as pictured in Luke-Acts are all artificial, "later traditions of earlier situations."

Though the book is well concentrated on a single subject, it illumines many others. Consider what the effects on our usual viewpoint would be if we should accept its conclusions. The gentile character of Christianity in origins and in its cult is to be emphasized. Paul becomes more anti-Pharisaical than we had supposed, yes, even more so than even he himself realized. Compared with what we have commonly thought, Jesus becomes more sympathetic with Judaism, though we really are left no data to go on. At any rate both Jesus and the Pharisees are exonerated, the former of misjudging the latter, and the latter of being such hypocrites, and all this is done on the basis of historical technique and not merely to serve some irenic purpose or religious prejudice.

Such conclusions, as is usual with this class of studies, will not suit the conservatives. The accuracy of the inspired words is everywhere questioned. Some objections from another angle have been mentioned already. Even if one assents to the main stages of development—Paul, the Synoptics, John—as representing three attitudes toward Judaism (hostile, articulately hostile, theoretically hostile), Dr. Riddle's attempt to classify the differences of the Synoptics among themselves is too subtle. Not only is there, as he admits (p. 120), a gentile aspect of Matthew; there is a Jewish aspect of Luke-Acts. Like Streeter, he overstresses conjectured provenience.

It has been said before that the book leaves us little real data on what seemed to be its subject, the actual relation of Jesus to the Pharisees. That is a disappointment, for it has been a most tantalizing subject into which we hoped that with guides like Klausner and G. F. Moore we might cautiously but safely penetrate. But we are ready to accept ignorance if from lack of authentic records ignorance is necessary. What is more baffling is that we now cannot explain what we *do* know. For, if

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we know anything about Jesus, it is that he was crucified. We used to think that friction with Jewish leaders was ground for this fate and a claim of Messiahship was the excuse for Roman execution. But now Dr. Riddle has denied that there was this friction, as his colleague Professor Case has denied that there was this claim. Later Christians invented both. Why then was there the cross? The Christians did not invent that. Had Jesus or the Pharisees no part in instigating a Roman sentence?

HENRY J. CADBURY

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF JESUS

Dean Mathews has here replaced his well-known book on *The Social Teaching of Jesus* by one that reflects more accurately his present convictions.[1] He makes use occasionally of the earlier work, and is occupied throughout with the same general line of inquiry; but in not a few important respects he has modified his previous findings. The book is to be regarded as essentially a new work, embodying the mature reflection of a mind which has been constantly busy, during the intervening twenty years, with the subject under discussion.

It may be said at once that the book has a value quite out of proportion to its modest size. On every page we have weighty and far-reaching ideas, compressed into few words and yet presented in clear and striking fashion. Dr. Mathews has the great advantage over most theologians and, we may add, most economic and social writers, of coming to his task with a large background of historical knowledge. More particularly he can speak with the authority of an expert on the conditions that prevail in times of revolution, and he brings this knowledge to bear on the greatest of all the movements which have given a new direction to human society.

His general thesis is that Jesus appeared in an age when his countrymen were imbued with the revolutionary spirit. It had found expression in the long series of apocalyptic writings. It had led already to various political outbreaks and was finally to explode in the great national revolt. Jesus addressed himself to this temper which he found among his people, but set himself to sublimate the social passion. "He told men who longed for justice in the new age that God would indeed intervene, but not in the way they expected. They were to prepare for the imminent Kingdom of God, but their preparation

[1] *Jesus on Social Institutions*. By Shailer Mathews. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 158 pages. $1.50.

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must be the possession of a love like that of the Father who would give them the Kingdom. Their ideal had been that of a great empire which involved the bloody triumph of the Jewish people, but God's will would not be done on earth until men loved their enemies and determined to be brothers rather than masters" (p. 39). Jesus therefore adopted the revolutionary point of view, and selected his group of followers from men who represented it; but he aimed at transforming their hopes into "a new moral attitude, pregnant with social implications." Dr. Mathews discusses the nature of this attitude and its significance for all times, and especially our own. He shows that Jesus was far more interested in the obligations than in the rights of men, that he stood for no political system, that he held no specific views on the distribution of wealth, that he laid down no absolute rule about war. His social gospel resolves itself into three fundamental principles: (1) Human life is not under the sole control of economic forces, but must be determined by good will and loving purpose. (2) Human personality must be unified not in some abstract metaphysical way but in social relations. (3) Love is the one practicable basis on which to build human society. To those who object to this teaching of Jesus that it is fanciful and naïve, Dr. Mathews would answer, "They have no quarrel with Jesus, for he said that a man had to take the attitude of a child to appreciate the good news of a spiritual order and a loving God."

The writer's aim is to consider the message of Jesus in its bearing on social institutions, and we cannot expect that he should deal with it in all its manifold aspects. At the same time (and this is our chief criticism of the book) he tends to create the impression that the gospel is to be identified entirely with its social applications. In one or two places he speaks somewhat contemptuously of the church theology, which has "utilised the death of Christ not as an incentive to sacrificial social-mindedness but as an agency by which the mercy of God may be gained. It has too often made its aim an acquisitive one, —the getting of salvation." Some of us would be loath to admit that this is an unnecessary or unworthy aim. In spite of the attraction of a "social gospel" for the present-day mind we cannot but feel that Paul, however inadequately he expressed himself, got at the deeper roots of Jesus' purpose, and that the social gospel itself has little vitality if it cuts itself loose from personal religion. Dr. Mathews appears to recognize in several passages that the social duties are no end in themselves, but only the means to the true development of personality, in its deeper relations to God. We could wish that he had followed this

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line of thought a little farther. It cannot be denied, however, that the spirit of the book is essentially Christian. We feel, as we lay it down, that we have gained new insight not only into the necessary conditions of social reconstruction but into not a few of the central things in the mind of Jesus.

E. F. Scott

Union Theological Seminary

JOHN THE BAPTIST

It has long been the conviction of many New Testament students, the present reviewer included, that a great *desideratum* was a new, thoroughgoing study of John the Baptist, his person, his work, his message. Perhaps no one was better fitted to render this service than Maurice Goguel, of Paris.[1] Known as a scholar of the first order from a long series of valuable books, including his monumental (unfortunately not yet quite complete) *Introduction,* he has displayed precisely the qualities of wide learning, patient examination of the material, and good judgment which are necessary for such a study. His name on the title-page of this volume awakens expectations which on the whole are amply fulfilled. Certainly nowhere have we a more careful and detailed examination of all the gospel data than chapter ii here provides. Nor are subsidiary factors less thoroughly treated in Goguel's examination of the tradition. Chapter i furnishes a fresh investigation of the material in Josephus, with the result of which it is difficult not to be in accord. The Greek text of the *Antiquities* is held to be an authentic and trustworthy witness, with only such divergences from the gospel accounts as testify to its independence and different approach. The additions and variations offered by the Slavic version, on the other hand, are shown as the literary fiction which (despite Berendts, Goethals, and notably Robert Eisler) they assuredly are.

On the question of the relation of the Mandaeans and their literature to the authentic Baptist tradition, just now a live topic in New Testament circles, nothing so clear, objective, and sensible has come to the reviewer's notice as the last twenty-three pages of Goguel's third chapter. His conclusion, based on ample acquaintance with the sources and on their treatment by the most scientific critical method, is that their influence on the New Testament text and tradition is precisely nil. It is hoped

[1] *Au Seuil d l'Evangile. Jean-Baptiste.* By Maurice Goguel. Paris: Payot, 1928. 304 pages. Fr. 30.

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that this judicial discussion will do something to allay the "sorte de fièvre mandéene," which Goguel notes (p. 113) as afflicting of late many of the Germans.

Very admirable, too, is the brief but convincing reconstruction, when the critical analysis has been completed, of the story of John (chap. viii). Perhaps nowhere is the demonstration that Jesus was, at the start, in the real sense a "disciple" of the Baptist more convincingly made. But if such discipleship was only at the start, and replaced later on by complete independence, there must at some point have been, thinks Goguel, a decided break. One of the original and fresh contributions of the book lies in the exposition and analysis of this rupture. And, one must add, one of the book's most vulnerable positions. To support his very positive picture of this alleged "break," Goguel is forced, in default of synoptic evidence, to attach a historic value and importance to the "précieux témoignage" (p. 257) of the third chapter of the Fourth Gospel which are at the least highly precarious.

One other captious word the reviewer may allow himself. The judicial and objective attitude of Goguel seems at times a little too rigorous. There is a certain skepticism (e.g., in chap. vi) toward the gospel passages which seems not quite warranted by the critical examination through which they have passed. These passages are viewed too strictly as *récits*, as reflective and even tendentious compositions. In reality, are they not one and all far more artless and naïve than even this admirable critic sees? The whole matter would be simplified if our investigators, Goguel included, noted clearly the obvious fact that no one of our evangelists sets out to give a *récit* of the baptism of Jesus in Jordan by John. The fourth evangelist has no hint that such an event ever occurred, Luke has only a backward allusion to it in an aorist participle brought in solely as a temporal adverb to date something else. Mark and Matthew, though they state the happening indicatively, do so with practically as much of the "temporal adverb" intent as Luke. What they all set out to tell is of Jesus' anointing or baptism by the Spirit (which initially made him *Christos*). The tradition (probably due to Jesus' own words) that this experience had followed hard upon his water-baptism by John, was too strong for the synoptists, at least, to suppress. The baptism by John is therefore given, but not as a principle datum, simply as a modifier, fixing the time and occasion of the real thing which must be told. To observe this is to clarify greatly our exegesis of the synoptic *récits* of the baptism and to avoid giving them a false importance. Goguel might

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have seen more clearly here, and at a few other points. But he has none the less given us the most valuable study of the Baptist we yet possess, a work indispensable to every student of the gospels.

CLAYTON R. BOWEN

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

RECENT FRENCH STUDIES IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

A little book by Dom Henri Leclercq, the well-known Roman Catholic authority on Christian archaeology, tells in pleasing fashion for the general reader the story of Christianity's growth during the first three centuries.[1] The principal theme about which the narrative centers is the conflict between Christianity and paganism, especially as revealed in the monuments of the early church. While at the outset the author affirms that the new religion was divinely assured of its victory, the triumph had to be accompanied by patient effort and heroic conflict. It is the story of this struggle, vividly and sympathetically narrated within the brief space of seventy-four pages, that constitutes the substance of this volume. Its brief chapters, if a half-dozen or so of paragraphs can be so called, are scarcely more than high points of interest on which the reader may gaze for a few moments. The work of John the Baptist and Jesus is flashed upon the screen for a second by way of introduction. Then follow other scenes upon which the eye is allowed to rest for a moment or two, e.g., "the inevitable conflicts," "the Christian Apostolate," "the penetration of society," "Christians among the pagans," "the loyalty of the Christians," "the life in the communities," "the Christian assembly," "Christian instruction," and the like. The second part of the book, containing sixty splendid photographic reproductions of ancient monuments, probably will seem to some readers the more valuable portion of the work. These plates are prefaced by explanatory comments briefly indicating the site, the date, and the character of each monument reproduced.

Two new volumes by A. Siouville in a series called "Christian Texts" arouse interest.[2] They contain a French rendering of the *Refutation of All Heresies,* by Hippolytus, with an Introduction and notes. This translation is, so our author tells us, the first to appear in French. It is based on the critical text of Wendland, which seems to be faithfully rendered

[1] *La Vie Chrètienne Primitive.* By Henri Leclercq. Paris: Rieder, 1928. 87 pages; 60 plates. Fr. 20.

[2] *Hippolyte de Rome. Philosophumena, ou Réfutation de toutes les hérésies.* By A. Siouville. Paris: Rieder, 1928. 2 vols. 212+249 pages. Fr. 20.

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except for those paragraphs that have been condensed in a brief paraphrase. A considerable number of sections have been so handled. In Book i, following the Prologue, the remainder of Hippolytus' text dealing with the opinions of the Greek philosophers from Thales to Pyrrhus, and also his remarks about the Brahmans, the Druids, and Hesiod, have been compressed into six small pages. Here the Greek covers almost twenty pages, each averaging perhaps twice as much to a page as in the French rendering. The fourth book of Hippolytus is still more radically abbreviated. This seems most unfortunate inasmuch as the book is an exceedingly valuable source for the popular paganism with which Christianity was in sharp competition in the time of Hippolytus. Beginning with the fifth book, the full text is translated up to ix. 18, where Hippolytus gives an account of the Jews. This section of his text is merely epitomized. Book x is condensed to about one-half its original length.

The Introduction to the translation is virtually a critical brochure on the subject of Hippolytus and his writings. The *Philosophumena* is accepted as genuine, and the date of its composition is placed between the years 225 and 234. The main purpose of the composition is thought to have been a desire on the part of Hippolytus to supplement and make more forceful the criticism of the heretics against whom he had written in his earlier treatise, the *Syntagma*. Then, too, presumably he had acquired new documents in the meantime; and, further, it had occurred to him now to show that the heretics were utterly lacking in originality since it could be proved that their views were simply borrowed from Greek philosophy and pagan superstitions. Our author does not agree with those who think that Hippolytus designed his work as a polemic against the Catholic party of his successful rival Calixtus. The nature of the conflict between these two rival popes is represented as fundamentally a difference in defining the character of the church. For Hippolytus, the rigorist, the Christian society was essentially a group of persons who were already saints, while for Calixtus the church was composed of people who were in the process of becoming saints. With the growth of Christianity this radical change in the definition of the church had been necessitated by circumstances, with which Hippolytus refused to come to terms and consequently was himself rejected by the majority. But he is thought to have deserved a better fate. In reality he should be honored as a purist, who at the same time was intellectually much the superior of his rival, and is worthy to be known as the Origen of the West. When truly understood, Hippolytus was above all else a zealous "man of the church."

Origen has fared better than his Western contemporary in that his

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writings have been more extensively preserved to posterity. The significant investigation on the life and work of Origen that has been conducted in recent years by E. de Faye has just been brought to completion in a third volume on the theology of Origen.[3] In the two earlier volumes, one on Origen's life and writings and the other on his philosophical environment, the way had been prepared for a constructive exposition of his doctrine. Notwithstanding his originality and vigorous mental life, it is recognized at the outset that Origen felt himself firmly attached to Christian tradition and was dominated by a very strong Christian sentiment. But in his day theological thinking in the East had not yet crystallized into creedal formulas that could impede his own liberty of thinking. He was not consciously thinking beyond the church, but for the church. In this spirit he worked out, particularly in the *De principiis*, the first systematic statement of Christian dogma in Greek. In his world-view he is found to have been idealistic; his main trend of thinking was Platonic. But Christian tradition, supplemented by the allegorical method of interpretation, made possible for Origen a much closer union between the visible and invisible worlds than ever could have been realized by pure Platonism. For example, he did not have to find God in philosophy; he had God in the Old Testament revelation. But under the influence of Platonic inspiration he transformed this Hebrew deity into an essentially transcendental figure who was the source of all goodness and wisdom. Nor was he a cold abstraction, for Origen's deity was always the god of the vital Christian experience. So over the whole range of theological speculation Origen happily combined Platonic idealism with warm attachment to popular Christian faith, and was able to bring the latter into accord with his philosophical convictions by the liberal use of allegory.

Also a distinctly Aristotelian strain is found in Origen's thinking. This appears, for example, in his anthropology, particularly in his teaching about the soul. Aristotle had posited an entity called "mind," "intelligence," superior to the soul, and he made the existence of the latter dependent upon the body. While Origen follows Plato in giving an independent existence to the soul, he also adopts the Aristotelian notion that man is distinguished from all other creatures by the possession of an element superior to the soul which is called by Origen "intelligence," or perhaps more often "spirit." His reason for appropriating this feature of the Aristotelian speculation is found in the service it rendered in interpreting the Christian doctrine of the Fall

[3] *Origen. Sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée*, Vol. III: *La Doctrine*. By Eugène de Faye. Paris: Leroux, 1928. 306 pages. Fr. 50.

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and in explaining certain features in the experience of Jesus. The soul, being inferior to the mind (spirit), and intermediate between the spirit and the body, can be subject to both good and evil and can experience a "fall." Also in the case of Jesus it is the soul, not the spirit—the man, not the divine Logos—that cries, "My soul is exceedingly sorrowful even unto death."

On many other phases of Origen's thinking M. de Faye has much to say that is fresh, stimulating, and enlightening. In completing this extended and incisive study he has placed all students of early Christianity greatly in his debt.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MODERN MOVEMENTS IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES

Throughout its entire course the history of the church in Scotland, particularly on the constitutional side, has been full of significance on account of the way in which it has illustrated the clash of principles that are universally operative though rarely elsewhere so consciously espoused. The pre-Reformation councils and post-Reformation assemblies of the Scottish church, the patronage issue by which it was torn asunder in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the more recent problems of corporate reunion and creedal revision, and the explicit recognition eight years ago of the autonomy of the Established church on the part of the state which helps to support it are among the phases of that history which claim for the subject the special interest of students of Christian institutions and of church and state relations.

There is assuredly no excess of books in the field, and one hails hopefully any fresh contribution. The reader of *Aspects of Scottish History*[1] by Professor Donald Maclean of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, will find himself equally interested in the author's materials and in his obvious bias in presenting them. The book comprises the opening series of lectures under the "Calvin Fund," instituted at Amsterdam in 1924. The lectures, five in number, were delivered to a Dutch audience in April, 1927. Four of them deal, under appropriate titles, with the principal issues of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, respectively, while the last is a survey of modern tendencies in Scottish theological thought. Professor Maclean knows his ground, and few have treated the subject with more assurance. But the spirit of the book is not

[1] *Aspects of Scottish Church History*. By Donald Maclean. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1927. xi+184 pages. $2.00.

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that of the modern historian. The pre-Reformation and the Reformation church are simply black and white, just as Knox left them in his famous *History*. No mercy is shown to the Stuarts. James I, "the comic offspring of a tragic union," is scourged through five pages of good writing but not quite impartial history. At the Revolution settlement the cream of Scottish piety is found among the still irreconcilable Covenanters. No good thing can come out of eighteenth century Moderatism. The defenders of John Home, that Lothian minister who, greatly daring, wrote a tragedy and allowed it to appear on a London stage in 1756, are condemned for intolerance toward the piety of their elders. Burns is made to "sing the shallow optimism of the Deists in 'a man's a man for a' that,'" and the poet receives no recognition for the service to religion which he rendered by means of his penetrating satires. The record of events, since 1893, is strongly colored by the minority complex of a "Wee Free." The projected union of the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland is unsympathetically viewed, and the act of 1921, which acknowledged the complete self-determination of the Church of Scotland, is said to yield the result that "the Reformed faith is disestablished and disendowed but the Church of Scotland continues established and endowed." Recent theological changes are discussed from the standpoint of one whose armour has shed serenely all the arrows of critical and scientific thought. It is a pity that so well-informed and capable a writer should have felt impelled to divert history to propaganda for the cause of reactionism in faith and order.

A book of a very different category is Dr. J. R. Fleming's study of the thirty-one year period from the Disruption to the Abolition of Patronage.[2] Here we have the results of careful research, and a substantial contribution to modern church history. The body of detail is large, and we recognize the marks of labor, but the card index has been turned into an instrument of thought, and rarely is a fact given without some suggestion of its significance. We see the religious life of Scotland as real life, with its multitudinous energies, its ardent controversies, its distinguished personalities, set forth with scholarly faithfulness and with scarce a trace of partisanship.

In the first two chapters Dr. Fleming discusses "Scotland in 1843" and "The Significance of the Disruption." The remaining three chapters treat approximately the three decades of the period over which the book extends, the divisional dates being 1853 and 1863. The first of these periods is designated a "period of reconstruction," the second one of

[2] *A History of the Church in Scotland 1843–1874*. By J. R. Fleming. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1927. x+276 pages. $3.50.

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"mental and spiritual awakening," and the third of "unity and freedom." Though the chronological order is followed in these chapter-divisions, the materials are never allowed to take the form of annals, but are arranged in an easy, if not always a necessary, topical sequence. Each chapter is provided with a descriptive bibliography. The appendixes include the Free Church Protest of 1843, the Basis of Union of the United Presbyterian Church, 1847, and a convenient note on the history of patronage in Scotland.

Dr. Fleming sees in the Disruption a new chapter in the old struggle for the church's independence, the demand for this having been freshly stimulated by "the coincidence of a democratic uprising and an evangelical revival." In his justification of the Disruptionists he notes that while "they betrayed at times a painful intolerance" their authorized documents were moderate. The catastrophe, he thinks, might have been averted by a wise move in parliament. Among influences that prevented this he includes "the alarm excited by what appeared to be the kindred claim of Oxford Tractarianism." It may be questioned whether the qualifying phrase "what appeared to be" is strictly required in this sentence. The Tractarians had their obsessions, but they instituted in England a thoroughly wholesome revolt against Erastianism. The fact to which he calls attention, that Anglicanism had been characteristically Erastian while the opposite ideal had been dominant in the Scottish church, goes far to explain the lack of English sympathy for the Disruptionists, but it does not affect the question of the affinity of their principles with the constitutional claims of the Tractarians.

Within the first decade following came the formation of the United Presbyterian Church (1847), bringing together the chief Secession groups. For the other churches the period was "ten years' rebuilding," a phrase which Robert Buchanan intended to make the title of a work which would have been a fitting sequel to his *Ten Years' Conflict*. The following decade saw notable movements in worship, evangelism, missions and social effort, and a remarkable development of religious literature in response to the stimulus of science and criticism. In the last period treated, the union of the Free and United Presbyterian churches was in earnest negotiation, but the project was dropped in 1873 on account of the "wrecking policy" of the anti-unionists of the Free church who were resolved not to compromise with Secession voluntaryism. "We surrender to a minority," said Candlish in abandoning the effort. The story of the struggle for the abolition of Patronage is lucidly told. It is pointed out that the Anti-Patronage Act (1874), important as it was in removing the chief barrier to reunion between the Established and the Free church, "only marked a reversion to the democratic ideals of the Reformation."

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The book is dedicated "to the reunited Scottish church of the future," and if it has any ecclesiastical bias, it is that of a Scottish unionist concerned for the future of religion in his country rather than for the rehabilitation of the narrower old loyalties.

JOHN T. MCNEILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH

Professor Peterson, who by his work *Was ist Theologie* exposed himself to vehement criticism, offers in this lecture[1] new opportunity for anger. He discusses three theses: (1) "There can be a church only under the presupposition that the Jews, as God's chosen people, did not and have not become believers in the Lord. It is an essential part of the church concept that she is a church of Gentiles." (2) "There can be a church only under the presupposition that the coming of Christ is not immediately at hand." (3) "There can be a church only under the presupposition that the Twelve Apostles were called by the Holy Spirit and that impelled by the Holy Spirit they decided to go to the heathen."

The interpretation of these sentences is given in the intention to "theologize" historical facts; for Peterson maintains, in contrast to modern historical research, that it is impossible to establish the facts about the early Christian community without "drawing positive theological consequences."

"The church in its universal character originated in the decision of the Twelve to leave Jerusalem and to do missionary work among the Gentiles," says Peterson. "This decision of the Twelve," he declares, "must therefore be maintained in all later situations of the church." That means that one cannot renounce succession, ecclesiastical offices, and ecclesiastical law, and one must, like the Twelve, claim the right for the church to make dogmatic decisions. One cannot be of the opinion that the Scripture alone can establish articles of faith. In other words, a new sort of apostolic succession and authority is to be introduced. That is Peterson's "theological conclusion."

The book furnishes an illustration for the confusion that threatens modern theology. It represents not only an attempt to replace the authority of the New Testament by absolutizing a certain block of early Christian tradition that will ultimately lead to Catholicism, but also a very regrettable adulteration of historical methods with the purpose to hold to

[1] *Die Kirche.* By Erik Peterson. München: Beck, 1928. 19 pages. M. 1.20.

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a certain dogma of ecclesiastical tradition. It seems as if Peterson could learn much about an authoritative church concept and its historical and theological possibilities if he would acquaint himself with the discussions in the England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We may study history in order to learn from the past and not in order to dogmatize the past or—what is worse—a section of the past.

No doubt, we must rethink our theological and religious heritage, especially our concepts of the church. But attempts like these will lead us to a religious and intellectual anarchism, i.e., arbitrariness of judgment. The loud advertisement with which the publisher has decorated the *brochure* seems to furnish proof for such an estimation.

WILHELM PAUCK

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

FRANCIS ASBURY[1]

This author, by a fair inference from a statement in his first chapter, has set out to write a life of Francis Asbury which will be satisfactory to "the great body of American Methodists," a thing which he thinks has not been accomplished by any of the pioneer bishop's previous biographers. The result, in the judgment of the present reviewer, is not a biography at all, but is rather a series of studies about Asbury, each one more or less complete in itself, and each having no particular relationship with the ones preceding or following. For instance, the chapters from v to xviii might have been arranged in any other sequence and it would have made no difference to the reader. There seems to have been no particular reason for making chapter xv a discussion of Asbury as a spiritual adventurer and chapter xvi an investigation of Asbury's citizenship, or why it was any more appropriate to discuss Asbury as a preacher in chapter xii than it would have been to place the same material in chapter xviii. Thus the book has no logical or chronological order, and the reader, unless he is already familiar with the main facts in the career of Asbury, and in the development of American Methodism, would not be enlightened by a reading of this book. The author has realized this fact and has tried to supply the lack by placing in the Preface a biographical and historical outline of the outstanding happenings in the life of Asbury and in the history of American Methodism.

In his concluding chapter the author says, "We have not touched that vast realm of physical fact and social circumstance which combined

[1] *Francis Asbury, Founder of American Methodism and Unofficial Minister of State.* By William Larkin Duren. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 270 pages. $3.00.

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to make the life and labors of this pioneer preacher one of the thrilling tales of American history." Yet without these physical facts and the social circumstance certainly no adequate portrait of Asbury can be drawn. Indeed, the reader would hardly know from a perusal of this book that Asbury was ever on a horse, if it were not for the picture of the equestrian statue of Asbury by Lukeman facing page 208. The author mentions a number of times that Asbury was entertained in the homes of Senator Bassett, Governors Tiffin and Worthington, and General Russell, but he fails to make any reference to the innumerable times he stayed in the dirty cabins of the frontiersmen, facts far more significant, for an understanding of the spread and influence of American Methodism, than the former references. It might have helped in an understanding of Asbury's hold upon the affections of the frontier if we had been told that he attended every session of the Western Conference from 1800 to 1812, with the exception of that of 1804, when he was detained by sickness. One might as well set out to write the life of Napoleon without mentioning his military campaigns as to attempt to understand Asbury without a reference to the "physical facts" and "social circumstance" of his career.

It is true the author states that he did not set out to make a biography, but rather to interpret a life, which seems to justify in his mind these omissions, but it is the contention of the reviewer that Francis Asbury's life cannot be properly interpreted without the very facts which the author deliberately omits.

WILLIAM W. SWEET

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE REGENERATION OF RELIGION

The coincidence of three books[1] on religion which so clearly suggest by their very titles the claim to a renovation of religion is striking. They are three very diverse volumes: Professor Sellars, whose earlier book on *The Next Step in Religion* charmed and challenged us, has here contributed a popular treatment of the coming religion of humanism to a series of volumes on "Philosophy for the Layman." Dean Grant, of the Western

[1] *Religion Coming of Age.* By Roy Wood Sellars. New York: Macmillan, 1928. xi+293 pages. $2.50.

New Horizons of the Christian Faith, "Hale Lectures, 1927–28." By Frederick C. Grant. Milwaukee, Wis.: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1928. xxix+287 pages. $1.50.

Christianity Reborn. By L. L. Leh. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 225 pages. $2.00.

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Theological Seminary, presents a churchman's faith in the more technical, theological terms of the "Hale Lectures." The author of the third volume is apparently a young preacher from a very conservative background who offers the results of what he is pleased to call "a serious and thorough course of self-imposed study of the actual nature of Christianity from the standpoint of human need." Its style is that of the prayer-meeting talk: popular but not very penetrating.

That religion needs reformulation to meet modern life and thought is the major premise of all three writers. This modern culture is dominated by the findings of science, tends to be forward-looking rather than retrospective, and yet bears in mind the testimony of history to the inevitability of religious change, and thinks of religion in terms of inductive interpretation of human experience. The analysis of these causes of the breakdown of tradition is portrayed with bold strokes upon an inter-religious background by Sellars, carefully drawn with detailed reference to authoritative works by Grant, and briefly summarized by Leh. Dean Grant's interpretation of intellectual movements and scientific theories is perhaps the most valuable feature of his book.

What, then, do these three men propose as the direction of further progress in religion? In four splendidly written chapters Professor Sellars tackles the problem of theistic interpretation of the universe and finds theistic supernaturalism inadequate. This does not mean that Sellars is a naturalist in the older sense of the term. In fact, he rejects "reductive naturalism" as definitely as theism, and pleads for an enlarged naturalism free from the leveling-down process of mechanical materialism and able to include "society, human souls and the spiritual." "The spiritual emerges when there is intelligence of a fairly high order, a sense of right and wrong, an ability to set up standards, a drive for creation in art and in social relations, a wealth of imagination." Purpose and spirit in the universe are, then, localized in humanity; so that the author achieves a humanistic religion through a philosophy of evolutionary naturalism. The spirit of love and gentleness which was Jesus' power has been quite separable in Christianity from the supernatural framework. A social product itself, it has become the synonym for Western spiritual life; and to survive it must find interpretation in terms of a scientific morality. This calls for the procedure of systematic thought (i.e., philosophy) as against the techniques of fundamentalism or liberalism. But "man's sense of life can never be pure humanism in any subjective meaning of that term. . . . . There will . . . . always remain a penumbra of cosmic consciousness." In his treatment of the liberal churchman, Professor Sellars is more kindly and encouraging than in

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the earlier volume; and he expresses admiration for church leaders who have to work out a humanized religious program in the face of concrete problems such as the philosopher need not encounter.

Dean Grant might be classified with this group to which Sellars refers. He is conscious of greater possibilities of Christian achievement in response to a world which recognizes the priority of religious experience to dogmas, which accepts the unfinished relativist character of our universe, and interprets life in terms of evolutionary naturalism. But while this last phrase is reminiscent of Sellars, this author parts company with the philosopher (whose technical work he quotes) on the question of theism. He is, however, disappointing in that he falls back in his defense of theistic belief on peculiar types of apprehension which reveal new aspects of the world not reached by scientific realism, on irrational elements in religion (following Rudolf Otto), and on the inadequacy of our categories of thought to embrace the abstractness implicit in the idea of God. This God is presented with all the traditional attributes, and as such is declared to be "found in the end indispensable for modern science and philosophy."

In this regard, the learned dean does not go much farther than the young preacher who rather blandly states that "the strongest proof of the existence of God is man's need of him."

The real issue at stake between Sellars and Grant would seem to be, then, the importance of theism for religion; and behind this lies a difference in method of thought. Dean Grant is at his best when summarizing the views of others or tracing tendencies of thought in various fields. To this extent he indicates the new terrain for religious adventure; but one feels disappointed when the expedition of his original thought goes such a little distance into the new world of modern science and philosophy. The emphasis is distinctly upon establishing a base; and this base is no "Little America" in the wilderness but a quite safe headquarters on traditional theological soil and even equipped with a Satan, angels, and a doctrine of the Fall. He speaks of a "doctrine lying behind the creeds and formulae," which he seems to identify with the "teaching of the Church" and at the same time finds "in immediate spiritual experience . . . . normal, everyday." But these "primary doctrines" he lists as "the Existence, Unity, Personality, Freedom, Fatherhood and Love of God, the Incarnation, our salvation effected through the Atonement or Reconciliation, and the doctrine of divine Grace"; as the very presuppositions of religious experience. The difficulty here seems to go back to a confusion on page 146 of the "mana" experience with "awareness of God" (as theologically defined above?). From this a priori as-

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sumption the rest of the argument is bound to move within limited territory despite professions of empirical approach.

Professor Sellars differs at precisely this point, with the result that for him the idea of God becomes what Grant would call a "secondary doctrine," susceptible of removal without serious impingement on valid religious experience. What, then, is Sellars' basic assumption? It is the fact of the physical universe: a universe, albeit, in emergent evolution through reorganization of familiar elements into new forms. Thus it is that the mental emerges, not as an eventual poking through of a hitherto-restrained cosmic mind, but as a reorganization of matter. Grant this premise, and supernatural theism loses its meaning, for God is theologically reached by separation of mind and matter. On the same premise, purpose is a function of living organisms integrated (i.e., having their component parts organized) in response to an environmental situation, and achieving this response in a space-time series. This order of action is what we identify as purpose. It thus becomes obvious that only time-binding capacity, restricted in nature to human behavior, through memory, and intelligence, can present the phenomenon of purpose. Thus we are brought back to his solution of the mind-body problem where lies the crux of his theory of creative reorganization of matter in brain structure into mind. We here confront two alternatives: either the nervous and brain tissue is organized in some such way as to constitute consciousness (in which case mind is, after all, a form of nervous tissue and hence matter), or else the brain is partly mind and partly not mind. If the nature of substance rests on organization, then either the brain is consciousness or it is different from consciousness and not consciousness. By his own logical law of the excluded middle, we have to choose between dualism and materialism. There can be no evasion in such terms as his own attempted solution.

All of which, however, does not detract from the intense interest of the book and the stimulation it provides for more fearless thought upon religion's coming of age.

EDWIN E. AUBREY

VASSAR COLLEGE

A SURVEY OF ETHICAL THEORY

The topic of the present volume[1] is the history of ethical theory. But, as Professor Rogers warns us in the preface, it makes no pretensions to completeness. It aims rather at including only those "more

[1] *Morals in Review*. By A. K. Rogers. New York: Macmillan, 1927. x+456 pages. $3.50.

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significant contributions which have left a definite mark, especially as they are still relevant to discussions at the present day." As to the wisdom of certain exclusions, opinions will doubtless differ. For my own part the omission from the section on Kant of all reference to the doctrine of the autonomy of the will seems somewhat surprising—as does the absence of any account of Nietzsche. And I should have preferred some consideration of the Greek Sophists in the place of the lengthy discussion of the problem of the historical Socrates.

Ample substance is nevertheless provided. For its treatment Professor Rogers has chosen a method that is only in part, and by no means predominatingly, expository. In each section he has aimed rather at faithful interpretation than at literal report, and above all at critical appraisal. The result will perhaps serve less aptly to introduce the subject to beginners than to stimulate fruitful reflection in the minds of those that already have, or are in process of acquiring, some first-hand knowledge of the writers discussed. For this purpose, however, the book seems well adapted. Professor Rogers has evidently freshly restudied his sources, and frequently takes issue with current estimates. He questions, for instance, whether the high place prevailingly accorded to Butler be really his due; while upon Paley and Mandeville he bestows a more sympathetic consideration than usually falls to their lot. Especially noteworthy is Professor Rogers' strong tendency (despite many adverse criticisms of the ensemble of their doctrine) toward the frank acceptance of some of the most characteristic tenets of the English Utilitarians.

On the whole the present study, while never brilliant or exciting, possesses solid merits. Its style, despite occasional moments of felicity, is in the main quite devoid of literary charm, and becomes at times even painfully pedestrian. Frequently marred by such graceless innovations as "ethicist" and "religionist," it can on occasion sink to the clumsy self-stultification of "There is nothing against supposing that there may not exist some aspect of the human constitution," etc., or to the grammarless confusion of "the practical advantages accruing to Spinoza's doctrine of deliverance through disinterested reason, based on the recognized necessity of things, is best summarized in his own words." None the less, the book's utter honesty, and its sober good sense, are very disarming. And both analysis and criticism, at times penetrating, are always worthy of attention.

Professor Rogers thus well remarks the confusions in ethical theory, and the obliquities in moral insight, for which theological preoccupations have frequently been responsible. He effectively notes the essential

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unfairness of much of the criticism that Utilitarianism received at the hands of the English idealists. He ably points out the inadequacy both of the philosophy of "my station and its duties" and of "the Victorian ideal, with its slightly sentimentalized reverence for character and inner purity and a tender conscience, and its painful brooding over the 'ideal,' and its aristocratic aloofness from the coarse and the common." In conclusion he calls attention to the suspicious consistency with which ethical theory has issued in "an enforcement and amplifying of the more dignified and respectable moral precepts of the ethicist's own age and condition of society," and closes with an appeal to moral philosophers for a "wholehearted admission of the needs for experimental initiative in conduct," in view of the fact that for each individual "the good takes on a personal complexion which cannot be deduced rationally from general principles, but can be discovered only in the process of living by each man himself. That an increasing recognition of the propriety of this same appeal is characteristic also of this "ethicist's own age and condition of society" Professor Rogers does not fail faithfully to note.

RALPH M. BLAKE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

HUMAN MOTIVES

A recent volume from the pen of Professor Coe offers an arresting title[1] indeed, against the background of a literature in scientific psychology that has devoted itself, all but exclusively in recent years, to the mechanisms of behavior and of a scientific method that has focused social attention upon techniques. The author makes articulate a growing conviction on the part of many observers of our civilization that the time has come to inquire into the springs of human effort that lie back of both mechanisms and techniques. Moreover, however invaluable the study of white rats and guinea pigs has been in the exploration of the mechanisms of behavior, there is need to shift the inquiry to a direct approach to human beings who, after all, as Mr. C. Judson Herrick has insisted, are not rats but men.

The author writes with a degree of detachment possible to one who has relinquished his active professional responsibilities, and looks in retrospect over a long and distinguished teaching career that has concerned itself with the conscious reconstruction of human behavior through the processes of education and that has made significant contributions to the literature of both religious education and the psychology of religion.

[1] *The Motives of Men.* By George Albert Coe. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. 265 pages. $2.25.

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The author begins his discussion with the disillusionment of twentieth-century Western civilization regarding human nature. As one would expect from a competent psychologist, he finds the reason for our loss of self-respect, not in the ideation of psychology, philosophy, or theology, but in the concrete patterns of the practical experience of the modern Western world. To be sure, the war, the doctrine of evolution which traced man's origin to an animal level, the realism of such current writers as Theodore Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis, and current visceral psychology with its emphasis upon the drives of sex and nutrition have all contributed in some degree to this loss of respect for ourselves. But the fundamental cause he traces to the industrialization of the Western world with its machine régime and its struggle for material satisfactions. In relation to the industrial factor, the war, our realistic literature, our current psychology, and our theory of animal origin are for the most part only symptoms and rationalizations. In relation to this disillusionment Christianity finds itself in a strange dilemma. Dismayed to find its traditional view of human depravity confirmed by the current disparagement of human nature, it reverses its former attitude by affirming the essential goodness of man. In this the author sees the evidence that Christianity has surrendered to the industrial system and is placing its sanctions behind it. As a consequence, he finds Christianity unwilling to face reality but taking refuge through escape into mysticism.

But the author finds that the disillusionment regarding human nature is itself an illusion not warranted by the facts of experience. In evolution he sees a process within which are being evolved higher capacities, wants, and motives that are not animal. Even behaviorism and Freudianism have not disproved the nobility of human nature. He insists that the regimentation of our intelligence in the interest of the mechanized and materialized values of the industrial system has blinded us to our essential worthiness of respect and suggests that a study of the fresh life of childhood and youth before the regimentation that has fallen upon our adult society has canalized their minds will restore our self-respect. Even the faults of great men in current biography should not blind us to their excellencies in a mixed human nature. Even the industrialist as a man has not quite been submerged by his machines. After all, the things for which both capitalist and the workingman really strive are not the material gains of industry but the human satisfactions these can secure, and these wants, being human, are weighted with spiritual values. He has hopes that the present confusion of values may provide the situation out

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of which criticized wants may lead to new and better desires, centering in self-realizing persons.

But what is the way out? The author thinks it is through the freeing of our intelligence from the inhibitions and regimentation of precedent and the development of a technique for freedom which men will not fear as they do now. This intelligence he would organize for the criticism of desires and for pointing them in the direction of our highest hopes and ultimate convictions. In education this means not the transmission of the wisdom of the past as conclusive, but the fresh exploration of the ongoing experience of the race at the point where it renews itself in the life of the young and where the wisdom of the past is tested and revaluated in the light of its ever emerging new aspects. In political life it means the utilization of minorities for the criticism of public policy, and in religion it means the spiritualization of the existing and changing order. In his technique for the freeing of intelligence, the author places high value upon co-operative thinking.

As one would expect from Mr. Coe's previous writings, the social note is dominant throughout. By the side of the freeing of our intelligence, he places repentance as a technique for self- and social-realization, since repentance involves the revaluation of our desires. For Mr. Coe, religion is not an escape from reality into mysticism, but a conscious reconstruction of personal and social living in the light of emerging and criticised values.

Keen as are the author's insights into the factors that have led to changing current conceptions of human nature, one cannot escape the conviction that he has oversimplified the situation in referring the fundamental causes of these changes all but exclusively to industry. Has science so little to do with this reassessment of human nature? Or our experiment in democracy? For many of us science, with its patient, objective search for the facts concerning the nature of the world and man, can scarcely be characterized as rationalization. If the first inspection of these facts is a bit disillusioning, science is at least helping us to see ourselves for what we are and is furnishing the foundation for a new and better-founded assessment of the nobility that is in us. Surely there has been no more searching test of the weaknesses and resources of human nature than the failures and successes of democratic living. If we sometimes grow discouraged with its difficulties and failures, we still refuse to give up the experiment because of the faith we have in ourselves.

One also misses in this stimulating discussion the note of discovery of the creative factors that are operating in the changing experience that

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is actually under way in our times. Our science, our industry, our democracy, our great modern cities, our machines—do not these furnish the matrix within which new values, new relationships on a vastly extended scale, new idealisms, and new concepts of spirituality are creatively in process of formation? This fact calls for appreciation as well as for criticism and reconstruction. Would not a more searching analysis have pointed out the fact that these experience-patterns are evolving positive social, ethical, and spiritual values never before possible, as well as concomitant evils, in themselves and not in spite of them? And does not religion need to undergo quite as much reconstruction as a result of the interplay of these creative factors as industry needs to be reconstructed by religion? And is not this just what is happening to religion? Is not the function of religion primarily the discovery of these spiritual values in these forms of current experience by which the men of our day live as men have lived by their experience in other days, and the making of these ideals effective in and through these current forms of experience? And after all, in its deepest implications and processes, is this machine age predominantly a materialistic age? And may it not be possible that, when its creative factors have had time to be properly assessed, this age, in spite of its cruel evils which the author justly points out, will be judged one of the most spiritual of all ages?

WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MANUALS FOR THE VACATION CHURCH SCHOOL

The courses that are written for use in the church schools of the various denominations are exceedingly important and should be chosen with the greatest care. They determine in a very large measure the religious training the growing generation will receive. They influence the convictions, ideals, attitudes, values, life-purposes, and social character of the boys and girls and young people who participate in them. Yet too often writers produce, publishers print, and churches buy courses that are far from the kind needed for this twentieth century. Economic factors seem to affect more courses than clearly defined religious objectives worked out in actual life situations.

Whenever a writer shows a trend in the right direction he deserves credit. The two courses reviewed here[1] merit careful attention. They

[1] *Child Life and Religious Growth*. By Edna M. Bonser. New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 380 pages. $1.50.

Building for Tomorrow. By Jean Gertrude Hutton. New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. Teacher's Manual, 124 pages, $0.75; Pupil's Manual, 129 pages, $0.75.

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were written primarily for use in the vacation church schools, but will undoubtedly be used for the Sunday sessions, especially where the time permits. Churches that have extended the Sunday morning sessions to two or three hours are looking for just such units as these two courses offer.

Both writers are experienced. Those who know Miss Bonser's book, *The Golden Rule City* and Miss Hutton's book, *Missionary Education for Juniors* will expect something worth while. Both authors show an acquaintance with modern theory and methods in religious education. They make their approach from the life-situations of the group and seek to develop meaningful experiences which shall control the child's everyday conduct. It is unfortunate that neither writer tells how far the courses are the result of actual experimentation. Miss Bonser's book tends to assume too much on the part of the teacher and reflects theory more than practice. Miss Hutton gives more practical aids for the average teacher. But both have an abundance of valuable material and fertile suggestions for the development of the topics chosen. Neither course is satisfactory in the manner and degree to which experience is raised to a religious level. This is the weak spot in all the curriculum materials that are coming from the press. It will not be remedied until some careful experimental work has been done. Teachers are asking for guidance. Too often the responsibility is thrown on them of giving religious teaching the right kind of religious motivation, of lifting activities to a meaningful religious level, of giving a child experience in evaluating his conduct from a Christian point of view, and of definitely deciding on the desirable outcomes in both individual and social living. Most of the directions or suggestions are vague generalities or empty platitudes.

Miss Bonser's book is intended as a second course in the primary department of the vacation church school. Miss Hutton has written for Juniors. Miss Bonser has put her stories in the second half of her book. Miss Hutton has put hers in a separate volume for pupil use and has added suggestions for other reading, especially in the Bible, and for activities related to objectives, she has chosen "something to do." Both lists of stories are fairly good, but one looks in vain for much in them that will give desirable religious experience, that will help children to discover God's way and create in them a desire to do God's way in specific situations they have to meet. The stories are interesting, but provision for transfer in training is not made, nor is the teacher aided in seeing and bringing to the mind of the child the religious significance of the situations described.

In the first three chapters of the Teacher's Manual Miss Hutton

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gives a very fair description of the modern curriculum approach in religious education and introduces her teachers to the way in which objectives and methods are to be developed. The lesson outlines are carefully made and given in sufficient detail to enable a teacher who has not used this method to handle the course with confidence.

Perhaps in closing this review a brief statement of some criteria that might profitably be kept in mind by those who are choosing courses would be of value: (1) Is the course organized to meet the needs of those for whom it is planned? Is it within their comprehension and likely to be interesting to them? Is it related to the actual life-situations of the group? Should the experiences developed tend to influence subsequent conduct? Are the situations chosen the most critical ones or are they superficial or incidental? (2) Is the course religious? Is it planned to give satisfactory religious concepts? Does the writer seem to have a modern philosophy of religion, and is she able to think in terms of the limited experience of the group for whom she writes? Should a child who takes the course be better able to think in terms of what is God's way, how to find such, and also feel that way is the desirable way? (3) Does the course provide for practice in Christian living under guidance and stimulation of the teacher? Is there provision for checking up and testing results in at least some general way? Does the course seem only theoretical, or would the group for which it is planned feel the practical meaning and value of it? (4) Is sufficient help given to guide the average teacher in the teacher's manual and to serve the pupil's needs in the pupil's manual? Does the writer assume more than either teacher or pupils will likely carry out? The course should be a challenge to the best effort but not impossible under the conditions of the ordinary crowded life. (5) Does the book reflect experimental use in preparation? Sometimes a writer has been in such a hurry to get into print that one might better wait for a later edition? (6) For the life-situation approach loose-leaf sheets or cards with the material and suggestions for pupils are preferable to a bound volume where the pupil reads over all the stories and problems and assignments ahead of time. (7) Any approximation to the life-situation-experience type of curriculum is preferable to the old information text, and any reasonable approach to these criteria must be accepted and each worker in the field join in the co-operative quest for better methods and clearer objectives.

E. J. CHAVE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length]

RELIGIONS IN GENERAL

HOLTOM, D. C. *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies.* Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1928. x+146 pages.

During the last few years Dr. Holtom has written the most significant interpretations of the native religion of Japan that have yet appeared. The present work is timely in that it was offered while the enthronement ceremonies of the new Emperor were taking place. It follows the ceremonial stage by stage, setting the ritual forms on the clarifying background of the primitive past of Japan with the added illumination, on occasion, of the practice of other peoples in similar situations. The author is cautious and conservative in venturing explanations where the materials are not yet adequate for descriptive interpretation. His explanation of the three elements of the royal regalia, mirror, jewels, and sword seems to be definitive. It is probable that not only his Western readers but also the Japanese themselves will be surprised to discover the depth of meaning underlying these ancient and sacred ceremonies. May we hope that Dr. Holtom will undertake the great work for which he is so well prepared and give us the long-needed historical exposition of Shinto as a religion?

RUDD, HERBERT F. *Chinese Social Origins.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. ix+221 pages. $2.00.

This is a study of the sources and nature of the moral sentiments of pre-Confucian China. To the barrenness of philology it brings the services of sociological science. The author sees no reason to assume a nomadic period before the agricultural nor a blend of the cultures of nomad and agriculturalist in the early history of the Chinese race. It would be interesting to have Dr. Rudd's reactions to the many treatments of Chinese origins that have appeared since the first publication of this book. The value of the work is, however, not greatly affected by lack of this since the picture of Chinese social life is the important thing.

WITTE, J. *Mê-Ti, der Philosoph der allgemeinen Menschenliebe und sozialen Gleichheit im alten China.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1928. 56 pages.

The philosopher Moh-tse of the fifth century is at last gaining recognition as an important figure in the Chinese reconstruction of the age of the warring kingdoms. Until the work of Forke in 1922 and of Mei in 1926 he remained a vague figure for the Western student, glimpsed only through stray quotations. This work is a source book in which the sayings of the philosopher are presented under topical headings.

HEBREW LITERATURE AND RELIGION

NIELSEN, DITLEF. *The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai. A Claim for Petra.* Paris: Geuthner, 1928. 24 pages.

A presentation of arguments in support of the identification of Mount Sinai with Petra, which lies directly south of the Dead Sea and straight west

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from Macan. It lies east and a little south of Kadish Barnea. Its location, therefore, is perfectly adapted to the requirements of the biblical narrative. Nielsen's proposition seems well founded.

SINGER, JACOB. *Taboo in the Hebrew Scriptures.* Chicago: Open Court, 1928. xxii+108 pages. $2.00.

Four chapters are given to the study of (i) "Taboos of Food and Drink," (ii) "Sex Taboos," (iii) "Persons, Places and Things Tabooed," (iv) "Evolution and Significance of Biblical Taboos." The method of treatment is for the most part to let the record of the biblical practices speak for itself. Very little is added in the way of interpretation. It is a good handbook upon the subject of taboo.

SKOSS, SOLOMON L. *The Arabic Commentary of ʿAli Ben Suleimān the Karaite on the Book of Genesis.* viii+211 pages. Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1928. $2.00.

Dr. Skoss, who studied the first principles of Arabic with our own Professor Chiera, is continuing the work of his master, the lamented Benzion Halper, in the publication of valuable Arabic texts documenting the history of medieval Jewish religious thought in Moslem lands.

VOLZ, PAUL. *Der Prophet Jeremia übersetzt und erklärt.* "Kommentar zum Alten Testament (ed. E. Sellin), Vol. X. Leipzig: Deichert, 1928. lii+450 pages. M. 25.

This is a semi-popular commentary intended for preachers, Sunday-school teachers, and intelligent laymen in general. The point of view of the commentary is essentially conservative. The changes from the first edition (1922) are relatively few.

NEW TESTAMENT

DAVIS, T. H. *The Gospel of the Living Jesus.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 237 pages. $2.25.

The author proceeds from the observation that the present gospel represents a continuity from the gospels and not merely an identification with them. He distinguishes between the traditional and the liberal methods of discovering the gospel and that which he represents, the experiential. However, one finds that the experience which is expected to discover the living gospel is that of evangelical theology. To be sure, it is a high grade of evangelicalism, presented with homiletical ability, but what is lacking is the social technique which is basic to an adequate analysis.

ESTORNELLE, CAMILLE. *Watching at Golgotha.* Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1928. 87 pages. $1.50.

Devotional addresses grouping themselves around the seven utterances from the Cross.

HAYES, DOREMUS A. *The Heights of Christian Blessedness.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 393 pages. $2.50.

Many a minister finds himself called upon to give a series of talks on the Beatitudes. Professor Hayes, of the Graduate School of Theology, Evanston, has prepared a very helpful handbook for such a purpose. Written for the layman, popular

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in style, it interprets in successive chapters with remarkable power each of the Beatitudes, giving "a literalistic, idealistic, pacifistic, Quaker, Mennonite, Christian interpretation" (p. 9).

LIETZMANN, HANS. *An die Römer. Einführung in die Textgeschichte der Paulusbriefe.* 3d ed. "Handbuch zum Neuen Testament." Tübingen: Mohr, 1928. 134 pages. M. 6.50.

For nearly a quarter of a century Lietzmann's "Handbuch zum Neuen Testament" has been one of the most scientific, compact, and generally useful New Testament commentaries suited to the needs of scholars. It is most gratifying to observe that this valuable series is being kept up to date by the publication from time to time of new editions. The third edition of the volume on Romans, which follows the second edition after a lapse of nine years, exhibits no radical changes. The revision shows not simply the addition of references to literature that has appeared in the meantime, but also a few supplements of importance in the body of the commentary. The number of the suggestive Excursus remains the same as before, though some of them have been slightly expanded. The entire volume is characterized by an abundant display of philological notes that are very illuminating for the study of the Pauline vocabulary. The materials have been drawn not alone from classical Greek and Roman authors, but also from Hellenistic and Jewish writers and from the papyri. A considerable body of information is made available for the study of Paul's language and thinking in relation to both his Jewish and his gentile environment.

PALLIS, ALEX. *Notes on St. Luke and the Acts.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. 83 pages. $1.00.

The value of these miscellaneous notes lies in the light which modern Greek throws upon the New Testament. There are many useful suggestions to be found here, but unfortunately they are scattered among others which are unimportant. It is hardly likely that any but specialists will penetrate the forbidding débris to find the worth while.

ROBERTSON, ARCHIBALD THOMAS. *Paul and the Intellectuals.* New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. 217 pages. $2.00.

This volume is a commentary by chapter and verse on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. It consists of the "Stone Lectures" delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1926.

The principal difficulty for some readers is the controversial spirit of the book. In the opening paragraph he refers to modern attempts "to deride Paul and to explain his theology in terms of Pharisaic rabbinism or of Hellenism, including the mystery-religions." In spite of this statement he does interpret Paul throughout the volume in such terms. "The Person of Christ" is "the foremost theological issue of our own day and of all time" (p. ix).

The word "fulness," *pleroma* (2:9), is explained by saying that "the Gnostic speculators represented the *pleroma* of God as distributed among various spiritual agencies, angelic aeons" (p. 118). On "rudiments," *stoicheia* (2:8, 20), he quotes Lightfoot as he does throughout the volume, and has nothing more recent to offer.

But for a Bible class which is not troubled by the controversial spirit, the book makes a first-class commentary on the Epistle.

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ROBINSON, WILLARD H. *The Parables of Jesus.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. ix+222 pages. $2.00.

The chief contribution of this study is its distinction between the parable and the allegory, and its insistence that parable be treated as such. The book discusses the parabolic teaching of Jesus as coming from his own religious experience. It is maintained that they closely reflect his life and environment. They must not be taken as exposition of systematic Christian teaching. Unfortunately, the few comparisons of these parables with contemporary types appears to be made with an assumed disparagement of the latter. Is this true because no use is made of such modern literature as Strack-Billerbeck and the form- and social-historical method? At all events this aspect of treatment seriously limits the significance of the book.

VOGELS, DR. HEINRICH JOSEPH. *Übungsbuch zur Einführung in die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testaments.* Bonn: Hanstein, 1928. 32 pages. M. 1.20.

Taking this strictly as an introductory exercise-book, it is a useful collection of materials for studying textual criticism. Excerpts from MSS of several types, patristic quotations, versions, and a citation of the "Lesson Tables of Romans" form the materials. It is undoubtedly convenient to have them assembled, but the convenience might be dangerous, for only reference to facsimilies approaches the value of using originals.

WORKMAN, GEORGE COULSON. *Jesus the Man and Christ the Spirit.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 343 pages. $2.50.

This purports to be a new inductive study of the person and work of Jesus from a modern critical standpoint. It proposes to resolve varying views of Jesus by distinguishing the historical from the theological Jesus Christ. As a matter of fact, it reviews the doctrinal rubrics in such a manner that the theological values are found in the alleged historical facts, and the author takes satisfaction in finding results which are as evangelical as they are critical. He might have said quite correctly that they are more so!

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

BRUNI, GERARDO and ZYBURA, JOHN S. *Progressive Scholasticism.* St. Louis: Herder, 1929. xxxviii+185 pages. $1.75.

An arresting book presenting an interpretation of scholasticism by a leading neo-scholastic. The thesis may be stated in the words of the translator, Professor Zybura: "The Scholastic *system* became decadent . . . . but the immortal *truths* of Scholasticism went marching on."

CHRISTOPHERSON, JOHN. *Jephthah.* The Greek text edited and translated into English by Francis Howard Fobes, with an Introduction by Wilbur Owen Sypherd. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1928. viii+158 pages. $2.00.

This is a critical edition of a sixteenth-century play based upon the story of Jephthah. The translation is good, and the Introduction tells the essential facts about the origin of the play and its author. It is an admirable textbook for classes in literature and the study of the drama.

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FLEG, EDMUND. *The Life of Moses.* Translated from the French by S. H. Guest. New York: Dutton, 1928. xii+276 pages. $3.00.

A collection of the talmudic and rabbinical traditions regarding Moses. The translator realizes their unhistorical character, but sends them forth in appreciation of their inherent beauty and charm.

FOGELKLOU, EMILIA. *Die Heilige Birgitta von Schweden.* Translated by Maja Loehr. München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1929. 339 pages. M. 7.50.

This is a translation from Swedish into German of a careful biographical study of Sweden's most famous medieval woman. It is commended to German readers in a short *Geleitwort* by Friedrich Heiler. The book is not only a contribution to Swedish history, but also of interest to the general student of the period of the captivity and the papal schism. St. Birgitta's importance is estimated not in terms of the influence of commanding ideas or organized efforts, but in terms of distinguished personality. "She was no forerunner of Luther . . . . she was herself."

FONTAINE, GEORGES. *Pontigny Abbaye Cistercienne.* Paris: Leroux, 1928. xii+169 pages. Fr. 70.

An architectural study of one of the earliest and most celebrated of Cistercian foundations, with historical summary and numerous illustrations.

KEKELIDSE, K. *Die Bekehrung Georgiens zum Christentums.* Morgenland, Heft 18. Leipzig: Henrichs, 1928. 51 pages. M. 2.

Professor Kekelidse, of the Tiflis University, reinterprets the problem of the conversion of Georgia in the following manner: The country which later formed Georgia consisted up to the middle of the fourth century of several independent units. The most important of these were Khartli (in Greek Gogarene, in Armenian Gugarkhi) and Herethi; Khartli formed until 349, a part of Armenia, although ethnologically it was Georgian. As such, it was Christianized, along with the rest of Armenia, by the labors of Gregory the Illuminator towards the end of the third century. The classical Iberia, which in Georgian is known as Herethi, was converted after Khartli had gained independence from Armenia and had been united with Herethi (349); the chief figure of this missionary undertaking, which originated from Khartli, was a woman captive, Nino by name, who converted King Mirian (ca. 355–56), and not during the reign of Constantine the Great, as tradition asserts. The chief authority for this reconstruction was found in the work of Gelasios of Caesaria, the Latin translation of which, made by Rufinus and appended to the Latin translation of Eusebius, has been hitherto regarded as an original composition of Rufinus.

LINDENBAUER, BENNO (editor). *S. Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum.* Florilegium Patristicum Fasc. XVII. Bonn: Hanstein, 1928. 85 pages. M. 3.50.

A convenient edition of the Latin text of the *Rule of Benedict* with copious textual notes, prolegomena, and indexes.

SAUNDERSON, HENRY HALLAM. *Charles W. Eliot, Puritan Liberal.* Introduction by William Allen Neilson. New York: Harper, 1928. xxiii+253 pages. $2.00.

No great personality in recent years stands more in need of interpretation than does Charles W. Eliot; indeed, "it would be difficult to find another man known by

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so many, and understood by so few." The visible results of his life are known to all, but his "convictions which he felt were too sacred for common utterance," and the secret sources of his power were known to few and misunderstood by most. A recent writer of biography has classed him among the "misunderstood Americans." These are the considerations which undoubtedly have induced the writing of this volume.

It would be surprising to most who knew Charles W. Eliot to learn that "he was a man of powerful emotions and was dominated by lofty affections," or "that he could be as tender with a delinquent student as Abraham Lincoln was with a young soldier who had broken an army regulation." But just these are the things which this book sets out to reveal. In other words, this book is written in the attempt to understand and interpret the inner life of Charles W. Eliot. The nine chapters in this book all emphasize the two great principles which underlie and explain the life of Charles W. Eliot—the worth of human personality and his devoted religious faith, "which gave him an abiding consciousness of being linked with the Almighty." Every great decision of his life, his revolutionary work for education, his condemnation of extreme Calvinism, all are explained by these two great underlying principles.

SPÄLDÁK, ADOLF. *Das Ideal der einen Kirche und die Wege dahin.* "Für die Einheit der Kirche" (ed. J. F. Laun), No. 3. Gotha: Klotz, 1928. xvi+40 pages. M. 2.

This seeks the removal of the misconceptions that hinder the ecumenical movement, with special reference to the Roman, Anglican, and Old Catholic communions.

SPEIGHT, HAROLD E. B. *The Life and Writings of John Bunyan.* New York: Harper, 1928. xxii+224 pages. $2.00.

A well-written biography of the inspired tinker, marked by illuminating quotation chiefly of Bunyan's own writings. The chief works are outlined, with useful interpretation. There are three pages of useful bibliography. F. G. Peabody, in a brief Introduction, says: "Bunyan's Pilgrim is a self-centred and ungenerous kind of Christian, primarily concerned not with building the City of God, but with escaping from the City of Destruction." The biographer admires Bunyan for his literary appeal to the humble and his moral consecration to the principle of liberty of conscience.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND ETHICS

BRIDGES, HORACE J. *Taking the Name of Science in Vain.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 273 pages. $2.50.

The author is convinced that much which passes muster today because it can repeat the shibboleths of science is in reality very superficial. He crosses lances in particular with those who would reduce man to an insignificant aspect of the process which science professes to study. His criticism of behaviorism and kindred positions is keen, but is for the most part conceived along the lines of a rationalistic logic which will seem too individualistic and formal to carry conviction to those whom he attacks. The high-minded idealism of the essays is stimulating to those who are concerned primarily for human values.

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BROMAN, OSCAR FRANCIS. *Transcendent Evolution.* Boston: Stratford, 1928. xi+162 pages. $2.00.

The author finds various "gaps" in the evolutionary process which require the transcendent power of God to initiate a higher level of existence. Thus the reality of a transcendent God is shown, and the main essentials of traditional Christian doctrine are shown to be entirely consistent with science.

BUCKHAM, JOHN WRIGHT. *The Humanity of God.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. xiv+265 pages. $2.50.

A very thoughtful study of the problem of defining the nature of God. Recognizing that such definition must inevitably be through the use of some symbolic term, Professor Buckham contends that the symbol of personality meets with fewer difficulties than any alternative. Using this conception, he discusses with candor, but with a genuine religious feeling, the main questions connected with the doctrine of God.

CHEVALIER, JAQUES. *Henri Bergson.* Translated by Lillian A. Clare. New York: Macmillan, 1928. xxi+351 pages. $2.50.

A valuable critical interpretation of Bergson's philosophy with the author's conception of what Bergson would say if he were to discuss theological questions. The resulting conception of God as the freely acting source of creative evolution is interesting.

COOPER, JOHN M. *Religion Outlines for Colleges.* Course IV. Washington: Catholic Education Press, 1928. xv+207 pages. $1.25.

An admirable textbook for Catholic students. It discusses with competent knowledge some of the main ethical and social problems which begin to loom large in the mind of a college Senior. Over half of the book is devoted to the problems of courtship and marriage. While the Catholic conception of marriage as a sacrament is maintained, and the children of a mixed marriage are regarded as having an inalienable right to a Catholic education, the discussions as a whole are very wholesome.

GILKEY, JAMES GORDON. *The Certainty of God.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 220 pages. $1.75.

Written in fascinating literary style, and marked by engaging frankness in the recognition of real difficulties, this book undertakes to indicate the ways in which puzzled souls today may find their experience of God made more secure. The critical reader will soon discover that "God" is nowhere definitely defined, but is discovered in somewhat mystical experiences with a definitely ethical content. The way is thus open for any amount of honest questioning while confidence is maintained in the positive value of the religious quest.

GRANT, FREDERICK C. *New Horizons of the Christian Faith.* Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1928. xxix+287 pages. $1.50.

An exceptionally readable and suggestive book. The author is thoroughly at home in the realm of Christian history and sympathetically aware of modern ways of thinking. He undertakes to indicate the essential meanings of the historic Christian faith, setting these in a modern relationship. He believes that both the spirit of Catholicism and that of modernism are needed for a sane view of the historical movement called Christianity.

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GUNKEL, HERRMANN, and ZSCHARNACK, LEOPOLD (editors). *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Band II. Lieferungungen 35–42. Tübingen: Mohr, 1928. Cols. 1121–1888. M. 3.60 each double Lieferung.

The conscientious re-writing of this valuable reference-book continues with gratifying speed. The editors have given an unusual amount of care to the securing of competent writers. The revision of the topics treated brings the information well up to date. The work has now progressed as far as the topic of *Hilfsschule.*

HUBERT, RENÉ. *D'Holbach et ses amis.* Paris: André Delpeuch, 1928. 224 pages.

A readable and sympathetic account of the development of the work of the French encyclopedists, followed by pertinent selections from their works bearing on the history and character of Christianity.

JENKINS, BURRIS. *The Drift of the Day.* Chicago: Willett, Clark & Colby, 1928. xii+201 pages. $2.00.

Various aspects of a modernist religious faith interpreted in Dr. Burris' inimitably informal and interesting style. The content of this faith appears in personal and dramatic incidents rather than in logical analysis. It is a stimulating book for preachers.

JONES, RUFUS M. *The New Quest.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 202 pages. $1.75.

A collection of what the author calls "essays," but which are really effective sermons, using imagery and biblical incidents and literary allusions and impressions gained from travel to illustrate various aspects of a rich spiritual ideal of life.

LEH, L. L. *Christianity Reborn.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 227 pages. $2.00.

The thoughtful results of practical and sympathetic experience of a pastor who is undertaking to discover and interpret the positive aspects of Christianity in an age of change. It represents a modernist spirit turning to problems of effectual organization of ideals rather than to mere criticism.

LYMAN, EUGENE WILLIAM. *The Meaning of Selfhood and Faith in Immortality.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. 47 pages. $1.00.

The "Ingersoll Lecture" for 1928. Repudiating a naturalistic philosophy of the self, the lecturer calls attention to the creative originality of human mental and moral life, and concludes that such a self is a psychic super-physical reality. Since this self belongs to the universe, its discoveries are valid evidence on which a theistic philosophy may be based. Only thus is immortality rationally defensible.

MCCONNELL, FRANCIS J. *Humanism and Christianity.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 153 pages. $1.75.

Lectures delivered on the Stephen Greene Foundation at Newton Theological Institution. They are practical in tone, showing how concern for human welfare has constantly been emphasized by the great religious leaders in our Christian tradition. A brief and not very adequate treatment of the current vigorous movement called "Humanism" is furnished toward the end of the volume.

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MACINTOSH, DOUGLAS CLYDE. *Vernunftgemässes Christentum.* Gotha: Klotz, 1928. xii+166 pages. M. 5.

A translation by Otto H. Fleischer of Macintosh's *The Reasonableness of Christianity,* which received the Bross prize in 1925.

MCWILLIAMS, JAMES A. *Cosmology.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. x+243 pages. $2.50.

A textbook written for Catholic students, and discussing the terms and problems of philosophy, employing the nomenclature and the syllogistic logic characteristic of Roman Catholic philosophical method.

MAGILL, HUGH R. *The Essentials of the Christian Faith.* Boston: Stratford, 1928. 177 pages. $2.00.

First making it clear that Christian faith must be an open-minded willingness to face the facts, and protesting against the exclusive view which would exclude men from the church because of differences of belief, the author proceeds to give a reasonable exposition of the familiar doctrines of conservative theology.

MITZKA, FRANZ. *Die Glaubenskrise.* Innsbruck: Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, 1928. 60 pages.

A Catholic discussion of the problems of religious doubt, considering them in the light of psychology, logic, and ethics.

MURRY, J. MIDDLETON. *Things to Come.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 318 pages. $2.50.

A collection of essays, some on religious themes and some dealing with literary interpretations. Religiously, the author is concerned to advocate a religion of faith in humanity's ability to attain a spiritual life. Jesus is the hero of that faith.

SELLARS, ROY WOOD. *Religion Coming of Age.* New York: Macmillan, 1928 xi+293 pages. $2.50.

A keen analysis of the present stage in the evolution of religious thinking. The author is a humanist, and believes that a humanistic interpretation of religion will release the finest kind of aspiration and achievement. The book is, of course, mercilessly critical; but it is written with a genuinely sympathetic appreciation of traditional beliefs, and with an entire absence of bitterness.

WALLACE, WILLIAM KAY. *The Scientific World View.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. xiv+316 pages. $3.00.

A rather rhetorical but suggestive survey of the changes in thought and technique brought about by the transition of Western society from the ecclesiastical to the political order and more recently from political to economic organization. Efficiency thus displaces the appeal to authority.

WASHBURN, JUDSON S. *What Price Salvation?* Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1928. 224 pages. $3.00.

The author is convinced that modern religion is faulty because the fundamental Protestant doctrine of justification by faith is being neglected. He stresses what he believes to be evidences of moral and spiritual deterioration in modern life, and summons men back to the fundamental gospel.

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PREACHING AND WORSHIP

FREEMAN, BISHOP JAMES EDWARD. *The Ambassador.* "Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching," 1928. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 212 pages. $2.00.

Out of long and varied experience, Bishop Freeman speaks of the "sense of authority" which the minister must possess and of how this sense of authority and positive note in preaching seems recently to have declined. He speaks of the minister's physical and moral fitness, emphasizes the call of the ministry to heroic spirits, traces the necessity of high personal standards, discusses the relative importance of so-called small and large parishes, warns against the too-discursive ministry, urges the minister's personal friendship for his people, pleads for more "clinical experience" in the theological schools, for professional honor and loyalty, and stresses the necessity of training of ministers in the conduct of worship.

He is not very enthusiastic about the institutional work of the church, holding that it may easily overshadow its spiritual functions. He deplores the cheap appeals for popularity in sermon topics and other methods, and sees danger in the overindulgence of the pulpit in the discussion of economic and political questions. "Our primary and indispensable work is that of interpreters and dispensers of the mind of Christ. Everything else is subordinate to this."

For ministers who are out at work and would like to know how to do things better, these lectures are not quite explicit enough. But they hold up a worthy and truly Christian ideal of the ministry.

LILLEY, A. L. *Sacraments: A Study of Some Moments in the Attempt to Define Their Meaning for Christian Worship.* New York: Macmillan, 1929. 159 pages. $1.50.

Seven lectures chiefly on the history of sacramental doctrine. The author seeks to illustrate the thesis that theology has consistently sought to "preserve the most fully spiritual theory of the Christian Sacraments." He follows the development of sacramental theory from St. Augustine through the Schoolmen. To the historical treatment are added two chapters, on "The Sacraments and the Modern Mind" and on "Transubstantiation."

MCKEEHAN, HOBART D. (editor). *Anglo-American Preaching.* New York: Harper, 1928. xiii+216 pages. $1.75.

Another collection of sermons, this one bringing together a sermon each from five British, and five American, preachers. The names in order are Dean Inge, George A. Gordon, H. H. Henson (Lord Bishop of Durham), Joseph F. Newton, Ernest W. Barnes (Lord Bishop of Birmingham), Newell D. Hillis, Vernon F. Storr (Canon of Westminster), Lynn H. Hough, Leyton Richards, and Frederick F. Shannon. This group is interesting on two accounts: the intrinsic worth and power of the sermons, and the different characteristics of the two groups. The sermons differ widely in respect to both material and method, the unconventional judgments of Dean Inge, the fearless directness of Bishop Barnes, the insight of Richards, the wealth of historical reference in Hough, the beautiful interpretation of Newton, the lyric tenderness of Shannon. The sermons are uniformly Christocentric. They are burdened with the sense of message. The editor thinks that "there is a kind of direct vigor

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about American preaching which has its own strength," quoting Dr. Hough. Whatever be their comparative worth, these sermons are fine examples of the best product of the modern pulpit on both sides of the Atlantic.

NEWTON, JOSEPH FORT. *Altar Stairs.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 205 pages. $1.75.

A book of prayers, helpful for use in private devotions, and for study by those who have public worship to conduct.

OTTO, RUDOLF, and MENSCHING, GUSTAV (compilers). *Chorgebete für Kirche, Schule und Hausandacht.* Second Edition. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928. 93 pages. M. 2.50.

A collection of responsive readings from Old and New Testaments, with prayers collected and original. The purpose of the compilers is to secure larger congregational participation in public worship. Selections and arrangement excellent.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

JACKSON, JEROME K., and MALMBERG, CONSTANTINE F. *Religious Education and the State.* New York: Doubleday Doran, 1928. 195 pages. $2.00.

This book discusses the problem of the evolving relation of the church and state in their mutual educational responsibilities. The authors base their study upon the changing attitude of the state toward religious education as measured by legislation, whether mandatory or permissive, and by court decisions, since 1900, in regard to the reading of the Bible in the public school, to the release of pupils on the request of parents for religious instruction in the churches, and to allowing credit for Bible study. On all of these items there has been a marked and continuous trend in legislation and the policy of local public-school authorities to provide for religious education, chiefly through the churches co-operating with school. The authors record a marked growth in week-day schools of religion and a corresponding improvement in equipment, personnel, and standards, and think the movement, now in an experimental stage, will become permanent and make a vital contribution to the larger total objectives of education. Ninety-one pages are devoted to interpretation of the data of the study and one hundred pages to appendixes, consisting chiefly of legal enactments and court decisions.

MISCELLANEOUS

GOLLANCZ, SIR HERMANN. *Personalia. The Story of a Professional Man's Career Told in Certificates, Testimonials, Congratulatory Messages, Letters and Addresses, Reports and Presentations, etc.* Oxford: University Press, 1928. xi+244 pages.

SHASTRI, PRABHU DUTT. *The Essentials of Eastern Philosophy.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. x+104 pages. $1.60.

Two addresses delivered at the University of Toronto in 1922, one on "The Spirit of Eastern Philosophy," and the other on "Eastern Systems of Philosophy."

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STANGE, D. ERICH (editor). *Die Religionswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen.* Band IV. Leipzig: Feliz Meiner, 1928. vii+232 pages. M. 12.

VOLLMER, PHILIP. *The Importance of the Social Sciences for the Modern Minister.* Palmyra, New Jersey, 1928. 19 pages. $0.10.

WAGGONER, JOHN GARLAND. *The Beautiful Sunset of Life.* Boston: Stratford, 1928. xvii+121 pages. $1.50.

WERFEL, FRANZ. *Paul among the Jews: A Tragedy.* Authorized translation from German by Paul P. Levertoff. London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1928. 150 pages. 4*s.* net.

WOODCOX, BENJAMIN F. *The Silence.* Battle Creek, Michigan: Woodcox & Fanner, 1928. 64 pages. $1.00.

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THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THEOLOGY

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EVERY important advance in human knowledge ultimately affects theology. By "ultimately," I mean literally "last of all." First comes the pure scientist, quick to discover the truth because impelled by pure disinterested curiosity. After him hastens the applied scientist, eager to assimilate truth as soon as it is discovered and put it promptly to work. Next, at a more leisurely pace, comes the philosopher, open-minded as a rule, but so much concerned with maintaining a balanced view of the whole system of things that he views radical innovations with a cautious and critical eye. Last of all, with halting step and troubled mien, comes the theologian, anxious to know what this new thing may be, but already prepared to dispute it.

Such at least has been the prevailing attitude of theology during the whole period of the rise and growth of modern science; and it would be premature to announce that it has radically changed. It might be supposed that after sustaining two disastrous defeats in the "warfare between science and theology"—once at the hands of the nascent physical sciences under the leadership of Galileo, and again at the hands of the biological sciences under the leadership of Darwin—it might be supposed that religious thought would have altered its tone. Yet as one observes the attitude which many of our contem-

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poraries are taking toward the infant science of psychology (especially since it has entered upon its behavioristic phase, and begun to talk boldly in scientific tones) one seems to hear strange echoes of bygone controversies.

Take for example Mr. Harvey Wickham's book, *The Misbehaviorists*, which I have heard publicly and enthusiastically recommended by a Methodist bishop, and which seems to be having quite a run in theological circles. Wherein does Mr. Wickham's book, with its tone of contemptuous ridicule, differ from the books which were written to prove that the Darwinian theory was a tissue of absurdities, and could safely be ignored? Indeed, *mutatis mutandis*, it might have been written early in the seventeenth century, and designed to warn good Christian men against the heresies of Copernicus and Galileo. I hold no brief for the infallibility of psychologists, and I suspect they need to listen occasionally to the friendly ridicule of such witty observers as Mr. Lee Wilson Dodd, whose book *The Golden Complex* should tickle the risibilities of Dr. Adler himself. But Mr. Wickham's temper differs altogether from Mr. Dodd's, and one need only read his prefatory remarks to discover that his jousting is in deadly earnest. He feels that Christian faith is seriously menaced by this impudent young science, and he proceeds to mock, castigate, and spit upon the leaders of every prominent school of psychology with all the pious fury of a veritable *auto da fe*.

Unless we learn wisdom from past mistakes, the conflict between science and theology may easily break out again in our generation over the issue of psychology; and it may assume a highly aggravated form, for psychology is that science which most nearly affects our deepest religious interests. A man may remain relatively indifferent when science remolds his picture of the inanimate world, or even his picture of the place of mankind among the animal species; but when science thrusts her dissecting-knife in among his vitals, and proposes to deal with all his inmost motives, hopes, and aspirations as

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coolly as she deals with frogs and worms in the zoölogical laboratory, then it takes a tough mind to remain unmoved, and a level head to remain impartial. Already there are signs of panic in the theological câmp. I am credibly informed that the reverend president of a denominational college recently expressed himself substantially as follows on the subject of Behaviorism: "My object is to have this college produce healthy, upright, clean-minded young people who may be expected to lead happy married lives." This was his major premise. His minor premise, that a leading Behaviorist had been unfortunate in his marital relations, was unstated. His conclusion, however, had no ambiguity about it: he was not going to have any Behaviorists on his faculty to corrupt the morals of his students. Is it fanciful to recognize in this utterance the same spirit which sent Giordano Bruno to the stake and put Galileo to the torture? Not that our psychologists are likely to lose their lives, or even their jobs in many instances in this somewhat more enlightened age; but if fear and hostility could kill . . . . after all, it may be found that *odium theologicum* has not yet lost much of its intensity!

Yet there is reason to hope that psychology, in spite of the crucial problems which it raises, may not become the occasion of any such acrimonious disputes as those which marked the coming of age of the physical and biological sciences; for there are signs that both science and theology are beginning to see through the fallacies which underlay their former misunderstandings—and when once these fallacies are thoroughly exposed, it will become harder and harder to repeat them.

On the one hand, students of the logic of the sciences are coming more and more clearly to recognize that science never tells the whole truth about anything—although it very properly aims to have something to say about everything. In accordance with that purpose to predict and control which underlies the entire scientific enterprise and that demand for mathematical exactitude which is its first and greatest com-

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mandment, science necessarily confines its attention to those aspects of reality which can be mechanically manipulated as a result of quantitative analysis. A scientific explanation is therefore always a partial explanation, and a scientific account of a phenomenon is always an abstract account, which is to the concrete phenomenon itself as a blueprint is to a cathedral, or as a medical manikin is to the living human body. Hence it is always fallacious to assert that the phenomenon is "nothing but" what science reveals it to be: or that aspects of experience which science tacitly assumes to be negligible or nil (because irrelevant from its specialized point of view) are thereby "proved" to be "unreal."

Theologians, on their part, are coming likewise to sense the fallacy involved in their former position: the fallacy, namely, of segregating certain sacred regions of reality from all intrusions of profane curiosity, and trying to prevent scientific analysis from penetrating these barriers in its onward march—as if scientific explanation of a phenomenon destroyed its religious significance; as if the Divine could live only in darkness and inexplicability, and could be chased off the scene by the advancing light of knowledge! As the realm of scientific law has steadily and irresistibly widened its domains, theology has gradually ceased to contest its progress, because the calamities which were expected to result from the conquest have uniformly failed to occur. When Newton first bound the whole physical universe together with a set of simple mechanical formulas, Bishop Berkeley felt that God was being annihilated; yet, before many years had passed, Paley was erecting on the basis of the Newtonian universe what seemed to be an irrefutable argument for the benevolence of the Creator. Darwin in turn refuted Paley, and again theologians shuddered in alarm; but today the doctrine of evolution has become a favorite basis of theistic argument. The belief in miracles has indeed receded before the advance of science, but theology has come to prefer a dependable and law-abiding

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God to a God of caprice, while the ultimate mysteries, before which religion loves to bow in awe, remain as impenetrable as ever. Science, claiming to be the whole truth, may have to be fought by both philosophy and theology in the interest of all the higher spiritual values; but science, claiming only such validity as a philosophic scrutiny of scientific aims and methods will allow, must be cultivated by theology in the interest of those same values.

All this is plain so far as hitherto established sciences are concerned; yet even liberal theology still hesitates about receiving psychology as a friend and ally, and threatens to repeat the mistakes of the past. As recently as 1912, when Professor Leuba made his survey of liberal theological opinion, he was obliged to report that it was mainly hostile in its attitude toward the attempt to give a psychological explanation of religious experience. His chapter on "Theology and Psychology"[1] seems to me to have presented a challenge to theology which ought to have received far more discussion than it actually evoked; and I wish, therefore, to review its main contentions.

Professor Leuba found that liberal Protestant theology, in beating a strategic retreat before the advance of modern thought, had got itself entrapped in a cul-de-sac. Obliged to yield the whole broad expanse of nature and history to the physical and biological sciences, betrayed and disappointed in its effort to escape through the abstract metaphysics of the Hegelians (who had only a dead and impersonal Absolute to offer in place of a God), theology had renounced all direct connection with science and metaphysics, and taken refuge in the last and only region as yet uninvaded by science: the region of the "inner life." Common to most schools of theology at this period (most clearly in the case of the prevailing Ritschlian school) was the tendency to appeal from all intellectual

[1] Chapter xi in his *Psychological Study of Religion* (New York, 1912). The state of theological opinion represented is approximately that of 1895–1905. Changes were already afoot in 1912 which Leuba failed to note.

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arguments to the testimony of the "heart," the immediate witness of "religious experience."

This appeal to religious experience had a scientific sound —as the time-honored evangelical phrase, "experimental religion," suggests—but it masked a most unscientific tendency to take the affirmations of religious experience, unanalyzed and uncontrolled by psychological study, at their face value. What is more, Professor Leuba detected a distinct tendency on the part of many theologians to resent the intrusion of scientific psychology into the sphere of religious experience, and to assert that here at least was a sphere in which nothing but a supernatural explanation was competent to deal with the facts. Sabatier typifies this attitude when he says, "Truths of the religious and moral order are known by a subjective act of what Pascal calls the 'heart.' Science can know nothing about them, for they are not in its order."[2] The line bounding the proper sphere of science is here identified with the line between the objective or outer world and the subjective or inner world; and scientific psychology is thus ruled out.

Against this attempt to wrest the whole sphere of the inner life from the jurisdiction of scientific psychology, Professor Leuba protests with an indignant fervor that sometimes leads him to extremes. Not only, he asserts, is psychology as competent to deal scientifically with religious phenomena as with any other mental data, it is the legitimate heir of theology, which "continues to bear to psychology a relation similar to that of alchemy to chemistry" (p. 259). Theology has tacitly admitted, by abandoning the appeal to metaphysics for the appeal to religious experience, that the gods of religion are empirical gods. Very well, then, says Leuba: "Since the gods of religion are empirical gods they belong to science"; and since the specific appeal of theology is to inner experience, this means that "theology is a branch of psychological science" (pp. 212, 276).

[2] *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 311.

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It would be hard to defend the position which Professor Leuba takes up in the more polemical passages of this chapter; but I shall not linger to discuss it, since he himself makes plain that it is only an argument *ad hominem;* for in his final chapter on "The Future of Religion" he works out a highly metaphysical theology of his own. Indeed he specifically says that, while religion and metaphysics are not identical in aim, "this certainly does not mean that religion is not dependent upon certain parts of metaphysics for its intellectual foundation" (p. 333). Hence obviously theology cannot simply be identified with psychology; it has necessarily a most intimate relation with general philosophy, and through philosophy with the whole field of human knowledge. We must, therefore, understand Professor Leuba to mean, not that theology is destined to be completely absorbed by psychology, but that psychology is the science from which theology could learn the most, if she would only abandon her attitude of antagonism. That this is his real meaning will appear in the following magnificent passage, which I wish to quote at length, since it seems to me to furnish a veritable charter and program of theological reconstruction:

> Simple religious souls, as well as most theologians, continue, alchemist-like, to believe in the existence of a religious panacea, and therefore neglect, nay often despise, the careful, persistent, scientific study of man's spiritual nature, of its defects and remedies. In what practical way, for instance, is the present soteriology in advance of that of St. Augustine? What has Christian Theology done in the course of two thousand years to increase our knowledge of "sin," its central problem? . . . . The eradication of moral evil is a problem demanding for its solution a knowledge far more difficult of attainment than that which has already enabled us to master many bodily diseases: nothing will suffice short of an exhaustive knowledge of general psychology, individual and social; in particular a knowledge of psychology in its relation to physiology.
>
> The indifference of those who are supposed to be the custodians of religious knowledge to the only ways by which knowledge on the cardinal problems of practical religion can be increased, excusable a hundred

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years ago, has become a scandal and a public danger—a scandal and a danger which will continue as long as the Christian Church seeks its information on sin and the means to righteousness only in its own sacred Scriptures and in unanalyzed experience [pp. 260–61; cf. the parallel in the Preface to the first edition].

It is pertinent to ask, What has theology done since Professor Leuba took his cross-section of theological opinion to make his accusations less valid? Much, to be sure—if we mean by "theology" the whole theological curriculum, and *not* the department of Systematic Theology! The psychology of religion has become a recognized branch of Practical Theology; and its close relation to the philosophy of religion has also been perceived. It is now cultivated in all liberal theological seminaries with as much scientific detachment as has been achieved in biblical criticism; and every book that is published today in the field of religious education or the philosophy of religion shows the effects of it clearly. Not only the psychology of religion, but other branches of psychology—notably educational psychology, abnormal psychology, and mental hygiene—are being eagerly studied in many theological seminaries. The psychoanalytic movement, in spite of its anti-religious bias, has received a very friendly welcome in certain theological circles; and a Swiss theologian has gone so far as to write a psychoanalytic life of Jesus.[3] One wonders, indeed, when one considers the activities of some of our amateur pastoral psychoanalysts, whether the welcome accorded the teachings of contemporary psychology has not been too hasty and too undiscriminating.

When we come to the department of Systematic Theology, however, we find a more wary attitude toward psychology still prevailing. One important change is to be noted: there is no longer any serious objection to the scientific analysis of religious experience, since the attempt to rest the whole case for

[3] G. Berguer, *Some Aspects of the Life of Jesus from the Psychological and Psycho-Analytic Point of View* (New York, 1923). Cf. my reviews in the *Journal of Philosophy*, XXI (September 11, 1924) 509.

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the truth of the Christian religion upon extraordinary religious experiences ("moral miracles") and upon the uncriticized witness of the heart has been pretty generally given up. The predominance of Ritschlian subjectivism, so notable in the first decade of the century, has passed. But though psychology has thus been granted admission to the sacred precincts formerly barred against her, it would be an exaggeration to say that she has been made welcome. Theology seems mainly concerned to guard against the damage that she may do, by pointing out the strictly limited validity of psychological explanations, and the "fallacy of psychologism" which is committed when these explanations are taken as final.

Now there can be no doubt that much caution is necessary in interpreting the results of psychology; but one wonders why theology after assimilating—to her great enrichment—the contributions of evolutionary science, historical criticism, and social idealism should take a merely negative and precautionary attitude toward a science which, as Leuba points out, promises to contribute most directly to the solution of the central practical problem of Christian thought: the problem of sin and salvation. Where is the theologian who will do with psychology what Henry Drummond and Lyman Abbott did with evolutionary science; what Ritschl and Harnack, Clarke and Brown (and a host of others) did with biblical-historical critcism; and what King and Hyde, G. B. Smith and Walter Rauschenbusch did with the ethical imperatives of the new social conscience?

There are some who would point to Germany—that land of perpetual theological ferment—and claim that in Georg Wobbermin our new theological Messiah had already appeared. Has he not published three volumes of his *Systematische Theologie nach religionspsychologischer Methode?*[4] Is

[4] Leipzig, 1913–25. Cf. Faber, *Wesen der Religionspsychologie und Ihre Bedeutung für die Dogmatik, eine prinzipielle Untersuchung zur Systematischen Theologie* (Tübingen, 1913).

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he not the translator of James's *Varieties of Religious Experience?* Does he not deliberately set out to supplement and correct the theology of Schleiermacher along lines suggested by modern religious psychology? I do most heartily agree that in Wobbermin's theology we have a development in the right direction; but I feel that his application of the psychological method to theology is too abstract and too general. He is interested in the contribution which the psychology of religion can make to the understanding of the nature of religion and the nature of historic Christianity—*not* in the new light which psychology can cast on specific practical problems like the problem of sin and salvation. The psychological method is for Wobbermin simply an aid to the study of historic forms of religion;[5] it assumes that one of these historic forms of religion must turn out to be the absolute and final religion; whereas we may well hope that the careful study of human nature in its depths and heights will contribute to the development of a new Christianity which, however deeply indebted to historic Christianity, will in some respects be genuinely different and better. Of course, we should consider the fact that Wobbermin has so far simply been laying the foundations of his system, and has yet to treat of the specific Christian doctrines in regular order; but, if I understand the theoretical bent of the German mind, he is not likely to carry over into theology any more direct applications of empirical psychology than he has already made. This, he would say, would be to lapse from the "psychology-of-religion method" to a merely "psychological method"—a result which he repeatedly declares his intention to avoid.

I am inclined to think, then, that the response to Professor Leuba's challenge will not come from Germany, where psychology is cultivated as an adjunct of epistemology and metaphysics, but from America, where it is cultivated as an

[5] Cf. I, 403: "It means the method of *selecting from the forms of religious expression which lie before us in history the decisive, basic motives and tendencies.*" Cf. G. B. Smith's review in the *Journal of Religion*, VI, 211.

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adjunct of education and mental hygiene. The materials for such a psychological theology have been slowly accumulating for some years: in books on the psychology of religion, in books on the philosophy of religion, in practical treatises on religious education, pastoral theology, psychiatry, and social case-work.[6] Having used these materials for some time in Systematic Theology courses, I have gradually come to see that the psychological approach to theology constitutes a genuine principle of theological reconstruction, quite as significant for our day as was the historico-critical approach for the decade before the turn of the century, or the socio-ethical approach for the decade before the war.

Certainly if one had to characterize this post-war period in a phrase, one could hardly do better than to call it an age of psychology. In place of the social idealism of the decade before the war, in place of the eager interest in great public issues which rose to its climax in the willing sacrifices of the war itself, and the sanguine hopes of the period between the Armistice and the fiasco of Versailles, we have now reverted to an intense individualism. Disappointed in our hopes for a social millennium, we are thrown back upon ourselves, and the age-old quest of individual salvation (or "self-realization," as the preferred phraseology now goes) has once more been taken up. Some are seeking their happiness in riotous self-expression; and with them, Freudian psychology (with its enticing sex appeal and its apparent justification for throwing off all social restraints) has enjoyed a veritable *succès de scandale*. Some are making a god of commercial success; and with

[6] Besides the well-known works on the psychology of religion, I would mention such books as Professor Hocking's *Human Nature and Its Remaking;* Professor Wieman's *Wrestle of Religion with Truth* (especially the chapter on "How Religion Cures Human Ills"); Professor Coe's *Social Theory of Religious Education* (especially the chapter on "Sin"); Dr. Hadfield's *Psychology and Morals* (especially the chapter on "Nervous Disease, Moral Disease and Sin"); Professor Elliott's *Bearing of Psychology on Religion;* and such articles as Rev. Pryor McN. Grant's article in the July, 1928, number of *Mental Hygiene,* on "The Moral and Religious Life of the Individual in the Light of the New Psychology."

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them, the psychology of advertising and aggressive salesmanship has become the basis of the only devotional exercises they practice. Some have been left mentally crippled by the war; and scientific psychiatry is their only hope. All of us have been more or less infected with the restlessness and mental maladjustment of our cynical, jaded, confused, and overstimulated times; and psychology with its promise of self-knowledge and guidance in the quest of self-realization, answers to the yearning of our times most directly. I will instance the fact that a psychological game, "I've Got Your Number," was the success of the season last year!

Enough has been said, I hope, to make clear how desirable and how opportune it would be for theologians to give friendly attention just at this time to the results of empirical psychology, and to attempt a reconstruction of theology along psychological lines similar to that which has already been accomplished along historical and social lines. It remains for me to indicate, in rough and general terms, how we might go about this work of reconstruction and what are some of the dangers and difficulties that lie in the way.

Obviously, our task is one of reconstruction, not one of construction from the ground up. Neither our general Christian heritage nor our heritage from recent theology can be ignored without needless waste of effort. Even Professor Leuba, who seems to feel that nothing written before the dawn of modern science deserves a moment's attention,[7] would have to admit that the liberal theology of the last hundred years, which has consciously adopted the scientific ideal as part of its creed, must have yielded some results. We should, therefore, conceive that the psychological approach to theology is not antagonistic to previous approaches (such as the historico-critical and social approaches) but supplementary thereto; and we may quite properly take over from previous theologies our general topical rubrics and much of the substance of our

[7] Note his remarks in the Preface, on the futility of going back to the Fathers.

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teaching—only taking pains to inquire in connection with each topic what new light psychology can shed upon it and what changes in former concepts are thereby necessitated.

Ever since Schleiermacher (whose "theology of experience" forms a natural springboard for our psychological approach) it has been customary to introduce a system of theology with a preliminary discussion of the nature of religion in general and of the Christian religion in particular. These two introductory problems are partly historical ones, since religion is a historical phenomenon; and we should be foolish to ignore what the patient labors of innumerable religious historians have contributed toward their solution. Schleiermacher himself, however, seems to have regarded the psychological approach as the more fundamental; and we are now in a position—after thirty years of genuinely scientific research in the field of the psychology of religion—to define more accurately than he could, what the psychological nature and function of religion really are. Psychologists have devoted more attention to defining the nature of religion in general than they have devoted to the study of special types of religion; and so a discussion of the psychological nature of Christianity and the psychological differences between its main historic types will, in part, have to be pioneer work; but much help may be derived from such books as Dr. Brown's *Imperialistic Religion and the Religion of Democracy: a Study in Social Psychology*. So far, we shall be proceeding along lines already clearly marked out; and we shall not be far from Wobbermin's *Religionspsychologische Methode*.

When we come to map out our systematic treatment of the main body of Christian doctrine, we shall find that our psychological method commits us to what is commonly called an "anthropocentric" theology. This does not mean, of course, that it commits us to a humanistic philosophy, nor that we are obliged to treat God as a mere convenience, existing for the aid and comfort of mankind. It simply means that we shall

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find it most logical to begin with those doctrines concerning "Man, Sin, and Salvation" to which psychology, the science of human nature and human behavior, may be expected to make its most direct and telling contributions. Here we are in psychology's own province, and we may expect it to speak clearly and decisively on many matters which have perplexed theologians since the days of Augustine and earlier: on original human nature and its driving motives; on the degree of empirical liberty and responsibility to be ascribed to the human will; on the origin and nature of the human "soul" or personality, and the empirical meaning of its "salvation" or "loss"; on the proximate causes of human sin, misery, and maladjustment; on the empirical "means of grace" whereby a disordered personality can be restored to health and a normal personality expanded, strengthened, and inspired; on the psychological function and value of religious faith, conversion, confession, and prayer and their secular analogues and adjuncts as employed by the physician, the psychiatrist, the social case-workers, etc.

I have made frequent use of the words "empirical," "proximate," etc., to indicate that even in this most practical and human side of theology there are certain ultimate metaphysical questions involved, to which neither psychology nor any other science can give a final answer: questions like the mind-body problem, the problem of the ultimate meaning and final destiny of human personality, the problem of metaphysical libertarianism and determination, and the problem of evil. Psychology can contribute valuable data which may set these problems in a new light, but can no more settle them than Darwinian evolutionism could settle the question of the existence of God. There have been those who have hastily rushed to the conclusion that science has said the decisive word at last and the question is buried, but these questions have a way of rising from their graves in new and unexpected forms, and will probably be debated as long as the race endures. Such problems,

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however, should properly be excluded from the more practical side of theology with which we are now concerned. This side of theology should aim to give an empirical, non-metaphysical solution to the urgent practical problem of the distressed soul, "What must I *do* to be saved?"—a question which has as its obverse the question of the Christian pastor or layman, "What can I *do* to help?" These questions can be answered by theology well enough for most practical purposes without resorting to metaphysics, just as in the case of the cognate questions of the patient and the physician: "What must I do to get well?" and "What can I do to cure!"[8] And psychology (including psychotherapy and mental hygiene as applied branches of psychology) can help most mightily in giving the answer.

When at last we do come—as come we must—to the more metaphysical side of theology, and face such questions as the nature of God and his relation to the world, the meaning of the doctrine of the Trinity, the person of Christ, and the immortality of the soul, then the relation of psychology to theology becomes indirect and merely contributory. If we are to work the psychological approach for all that it may be worth, we must continue to employ the empirical method (here again following in the steps of Schleiermacher); but we must not identify the empirical method with that of a purely scientific psychological analysis of religious experience, or we shall find all metaphysical ultimates evaporating in the process. As we have already pointed out, contemporary critics of the logic of the sciences are beginning with one voice to declare that all sciences (including psychology) give but a partial and abstract account of phenomena, and need to be supplemented

[8] The applied science which corresponds most closely to this practical side of theology is the new science of Euthenics, the "science of right living," which, as taught at Vassar, draws upon "all that the natural and social sciences, particularly physiology, psychology, and economics, have to contribute to human welfare and world harmony." (*New York Times*, November 27, 1928.) The close relation between euthenics and mental hygiene is obvious.

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for metaphysical purposes by . . . . well, here the critics begin to differ, but a surprising number of them agree that scientific analysis needs to be supplemented by a kind of synthetic intuition, or sympathetic appreciation, or contemplation (the words vary but the thought is the same) which views things in their wholeness, and as it were, from within. Bergson and Whitehead, Royce and James, are all at one in this contention. We shall, therefore, have to supplement our scientific psychological analysis of the experience of God or Christ with what our German contemporaries would call a "phenomenology"[9] of it; that is, with a sympathetic description of how the experience feels from within, to the religious man himself. Since our ultimate concern is not with the experience itself, but with the metaphysical object (God, Christ) revealed in the experience, we shall have to exercise great care in sifting out the objective element in the experience from all subjective or illusory elements. Scientific psychology will be an indispensable aid in this sifting process, but it cannot carry us all the way to our metaphysical goal. If there are any doctrines which cannot be approached by this method (as Schleiermacher felt was the case with the doctrine of the Trinity), we shall simply be obliged to ignore those doctrines, and leave them to be explored by other approaches. Tentatively, then, our outline of theology will read as follows:

Introduction:
1. The Nature of Religion
2. The Nature of Christianity

Part I. Practical—Human Sin and Misery: Their Cause and Cure
1. Human Nature and Human Motives
2. Human Ills and Perversities: Their Causes
3. Human Ills and Perversities: Their Cure
4. The Christian Way of Self-Discipline and Self-Realization

Part II. Metaphysical—Christian Experience and Christian Faith
1. The Experience of God
2. The Experience of Christ
3. The Experience of Eternal Life

[9] The term refers to the method employed by Husserl and his school.

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Many of the dangers and difficulties which our method involves will have appeared in the statement of it; but may I, in conclusion, single out a few of those which it will take the most care to avoid.

1. There is always danger that, in our enthusiasm for a new point of view, we may entirely lose sight of some vital aspect of reality which no Christian conscious of his heritage ought ever to be so absent-minded as to forget. Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, in his recent all-too-famous paper on "Medical Science versus Religion as a Guide to Life," pleaded, according to the *New York Times*, for "a supplanting of theology by mental hygiene," and argued that it was futile "to attempt to inculcate a view of God so hopelessly inadequate and out of date as that which was slowly and painfully evolved by the semi-barbarous Hebrew people in the days when a rudimentary type of geocentric and anthropocentric outlook reigned supreme and unchallenged." I share Professor Barnes's faith in the possibilties of mental hygiene as a guide to life, and I hold no brief for Hebrew cosmology; but I believe that the religious insight of the Hebrew folk, "slowly and painfully evolved" out of bitter experience and fervent aspiration, still constitutes a more central and important part of our heritage than anything we owe to Greek philosophy or modern science. It remains the foundation; the rest is superstructure.

In following the present trend of the times, and turning the focus of our interest once more away from society to "the individual in his solitariness," we must be particularly on our guard lest we lose sight of those profoundly significant considerations which the "Social Gospel" movement so recently brought to our attention. The psychological method (unless kept in balance by a liberal infusion of social psychology of the Baldwin-Royce-Cooley variety) undoubtedly has an individualistic bias. If we yield temporarily to that bias, it should be only as an intellectual experiment. Progress in understanding comes through a frequent varying of the point of

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view combined with a periodic comparison between the old perspective and the new.

2. Perhaps the most serious practical difficulty with which our program is faced is that presented by the unsettled state of contemporary psychology. Twenty years ago, one could work in the field of applied psychology with some peace of mind; there was a psychology to apply. Today, the situation is aptly symbolized by that very useful book entitled *Psychologies of 1925;*[10] and the only psychologists who have any consciousness of a sure foundation are those who have succeeded in ruling all their antagonists out of court as unscientific—a process of mutual annihilation in which the Freudians and Behaviorists have been particularly successful. Today, *odium psychologicum* bids fair to outstrip *odium theologicum;* and the theologian who attempts to apply any psychological concept along the lines here suggested is almost certain to be berated by some psychologist who regards these particular concepts as unscientific and misleading. Let him, for example, try to explore the theological implications of mental hygiene; and while he will doubtless be applauded by Professor Barnes, he will immediately fall foul of Professor Knight Dunlap, who took issue sharply with Professor Barnes at just this point:

> Admitting that psychologists were remiss in not making greater efforts to develop the field of abnormal psychology, Dr. Dunlap said that unfortunately psychiatrists have been little interested in acquiring psychological knowledge or psychological technique.
>
> Out of this has grown the exploitation of mental hygiene, which has already begun to have an unpleasant odor, as must any extensive attempt to apply what none of the appliers knows. . . . . There is probably no expanse of fiction as rich in imaginative products as is the mass of material being put before the public as mental hygiene. [*New York Times,* December 30, 1928.]

While the psychologists rage at one another in this style, the theologian must walk softly and pick his way with caution,

[10] Lectures at Clark University by the exponents of the warring schools of psychology, originally published in the *Pedagogical Seminary.*

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a modest layman among none too reliable experts. His task would indeed be hopeless at the present time, and would have to be postponed for another generation—while humanity suffered many unnecessary tortures—if it were not for the fact that a certain amount of agreement can already be discerned beneath the mass of confused psychological verbiage by which it is so badly obscured. When the Freudians talk about a non-pathological "complex," when McDougall talks about a "sentiment," when Watson, most verbose and roundabout of all, talks about a "behavior-pattern" in which both "overt" and "visceral" behavior are involved, they are talking about one and the same thing. And they all, heaven be praised, still talk about "habit." If only our warring psychologists could be imprisoned together somewhere, and kept on bread and water until they could adopt a common and comprehensible terminology, psychology might then be fairly launched as a respectable science, and a good half of the disputes that are now rocking the psychological world would automatically disappear. Meanwhile a cautious application of psychological concepts is already possible, and ought not to be discouraged. If we err, we are not likely to wander far without being notified of our error!

3. A final caution comes to us from the side of theology. Professor Fernand Ménégoz, of Strasbourg, has recently published a remarkable book on the problem of prayer,[11] in which he argues that the whole "anthropocentric" trend of modern theology, for which Schleiermacher's emphasis upon "experience" is responsible, has made impossible an adequate theory of prayer and worship and shut us up in a subjectivistic trap. In our own country, the revival of interest in the problem of worship, and the new stress which is laid upon the central, non-utilitarian importance of the divine Object of worship, urge the same difficulty upon us.

We must undoubtedly exercise great care, in following our

[11] *Le Problème de la Prière* (Strasbourg, 1925).

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empirical approach, to avoid the bias inherent in what Professor Perry has called the "egocentric predicament." But a danger clearly seen is a danger already avoided; and it is coming to be recognized that the ambiguous concept "experience" refers just as necessarily to the experienced object, as to the experiencing subject. For my part, I am inclined to doubt whether the kind of headlong leap of faith or intuition on which M. Ménégoz sometimes seems to rely is half so effective a way of getting out of the prison of subjectivism as is a patient, step-by-step climb from the depths of human experience to the heights of God. In appealing to the experience of prayer as his "principle of a revision of theological method," M. Ménégoz is after all using a kind of empirical, psychological method.

But difficulties like these are only an incitement to the courageous. I am confident that within the next few years there will be many minds simultaneously turning in the direction we have tried to indicate, and taking the psychological approach to theology. From this meeting of minds, may great benefit accrue to humanity!

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TRUTH IN ANCIENT ISRAEL[1]

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THERE is an astonishing story told in II Kings 8:7–15. Elisha, just arrived in Damascus, was approached by Hazael at the instance of the sick Ben-hadad in regard to the latter's prospects for recovery. The prophet's reply was, "Go say unto him, thou shalt surely recover; howbeit Yahweh hath showed me that he shall surely die" (vs. 10, R.V.).[2] To this deliverance he added an oracle for Hazael

[1] At the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Washington in April, 1928, I presented the gist of this discussion. The opposition encountered was a surprise, for the main lines of my position have been the common property of biblical scholarship for more than a generation past. I have merely examined one phase of the immorality which Israel ascribed to their god, his standards of honesty, have intimated the relation of this to the national conduct, and have sought to sketch the rise of a better conception. However, my failure to convince the Society has shown me that nothing may be assumed; the position must be argued in detail. So I have completely re-written my manuscript, and at greater length than I had thought necessary.

[2] The passage, were it an isolated evidence, would be inconclusive for the deductions presently drawn from it. Indeed, the translation given rests on an emended text. The passage actually runs "לך אמר לא חיה תחיה". But against the genuineness of לא is to be noted that the usual place of the negative in such constructions is between the infinitive absolute and the finite verb (G.K. 113 v.); that it creates a difficulty in the sense, the latter part of the verse becoming then a redundancy beyond even Hebrew tolerance; and that אמר here requires a directive לו. In view then of the frequent confusion of לא and לו it seems better so to emend with the ancient versions and the more recent English translations. However, the wide connotation of the Hebrew imperfect might seem yet to offer an escape from our exegesis. Is תחיה to be regarded in a *modal* rather than a *temporal* sense? Did Elisha say, You should recover, or You may recover, or It is possible for you to recover? It will be seen though that such rendering either is quite improbable, or at the best is a palpable evasion. This, scarce less than straight futurity, would be calculated to deceive Ben-hadad.

Again, it is urged that Elisha means this: "Go and say to your master that his illness is not at all critical; but I can see in your black heart the base ambition and murderous jealousy which is watching an opportunity to kill him"; with this agrees vs. 11: Elisha stares the guilty plotter quite "out of face." I cannot, however, see

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himself, predicting his accession to the Aramaean throne. The sequel need cause no surprise: next day Hazael murdered his master and "reigned in his stead."

Now it is commonly recognized that the prophets of this period, in furtherance of their policies, did not shrink from expedients of *Realpolitik*. As occasion might demand they readily stooped to insinuate sedition[3] and assassination[4]—for the glory of God! In this present instance, though it is not explicitly stated that Elisha prompted Hazael to kill Ben-hadad, yet clearly Hazael so interpreted his utterance; nor can we escape the conclusion that the prophet intended that he should. The blood of Ben-hadad, then, is upon Elisha! Yet doubtless the charge of murder will be softened by the trite reflection, *C'est la guerre*. It but illumines the perennial human tendency to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel that, so casually glossing over a major crime, still we cannot avoid a distinct sense of shock that Elisha lied. And lie he did!—and that in his official capacity as prophet of Yahweh. He is quite frank with Hazael that Yahweh has revealed the impending death of Ben-hadad, but in the face of this sends the king a false oracle deliberately calculated to deceive and render him the more readily a dupe of Hazael's murderous ambition. And to add to our amazement, the biblical narrator, who merits his

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any good grounds for this exposition. The emphatic infinitive absolute construction in vs. 10*a*, leaves little ground for other interpretation than that Elisha sent a promise of recovery. If he had meant the other, Hebrew is quite adequate to expressing it explicitly. Moreover there can be little doubt that this incident is related as the final step in obedience to Elijah's instructions at Horeb. And just as in pursuance of these Jehu had been anointed and urged to massacre the house of Ahab, so here, the analogy requires that the instigation to the death of Ben-hadad comes from the prophets. Their consistent effort through this period was to bring to an end any cordiality that existed between Samaria and Damascus (cf. I Kings 20:35 ff.), a purpose to which Hazael might lend himself more readily than Ben-hadad. But further vs. 11, admittedly obscure, seems to bear least of all the interpretation here put upon it. Whether the sense of shame was Elisha's or Hazael's—and both language and context are indeterminate—the explanation of the verse quite evidently looks on to vs. 12 not back to vs. 10.

[3] E.g. I Kings 11:26–40, 19:15–17; II Kings 9:1–10.

[4] E.g. II Kings 9:7–10 cf. 10:18–28.

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present-day reputation for "inspiration" at least to the extent that he is representative of the better religious thought of his time, is quite unaware of any taint of obloquy in the prophetic conduct; indeed, he seems rather to present the entire Damascene episode as one of the laudible features of Elisha's career. So where are we? In the discharge of his office as "man of God," the prophet was dishonest—and the biblical writer loved to have him so!

Now this can mean but one thing: standards of truthfulness in Israel in the ninth century were very low; even the best people were oblivious of that sensitiveness which has become the rudiment of modern morality. But still worse, they must have backed up this dishonesty into the character of their god. The prophet was to them the embodiment of the spirit of god—the incarnation, one might almost say; he was איש אלהים, a godlike man, or indeed the construct may here bear the force, of a man who (for the time being) is god.[5] However this may be, there is a heavy weight of evidence in demonstration of their belief that Yahweh was not merely capricious but downright false.

We can afford to neglect the mere probabilities in the case: that a people, whose own character was none too high, would be indifferent to divine duplicity; that a savage immoral deity, such as Yahweh was then considered, would include deception in his bag of tricks; that in a much higher stage of religious development survivals of this are evident:[6] we need concern ourselves with concrete evidence alone.

[5] Cf. G.K., 128 *r, s, t, v*. Parallels are כל איש גבור I Sam. 14:52, and גבור מלך Dan. 11:3, and perhaps too אל גבור Isa. 9:5 *vid.* Gray, *ICC* in *loc.*

[6] It is said that among Christian theories of the Atonement in medieval times was the belief that God had bartered with the devil over human iniquity and finally agreed to surrender Christ, on consideration that Satan, on his part, relinquish all claim to the real sinners. But, with much glee they recorded, as soon as the agreement was solemnly closed God refused to pay the price, swindled the poor devil—and so here we all are! This is a very good illustration of a stage in the evolution of honesty. Like other virtues it applied first only to the immediate group; but long after morality had repudiated deception of one's friends, it remained praiseworthy to lie to an enemy.

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Obadiah's protest to Elijah (I Kings 18:9–14) is relevant, the more so that it implies not merely prophetic unreliability[7] but the irresponsibility of the רוח יהוה. In passing it is of value to note that Obadiah was convinced only when the prophet swore to his honesty of purpose. A phase of the Gideon story is, perhaps, a step closer to the issue in hand. In the execution of a divine commission already attested by infallible signs, full-armed on the verge of battle he hesitated to question, "If thou wilt save Israel by my hand *as thou hast said* . . . . if there be dew on the fleece only and it be dry on the ground then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by my

[7] Cf. II Kings 20:8. It helps little to argue here that this request for a sign was intended, not for demonstration of Yahweh's honesty, but merely as proof that Isaiah spoke in his name. At the most that pushes the problem but one degree farther away. Was not Isaiah known as Yahweh's prophet? And did he not give this as an authentic oracle? It may be noted, too, that the passage is not an exact equivalent of its parallel in Isa. 38 and that recension considerably softens the issue. Perhaps then the account in Kings is scarce historical? But let it be said now, once for all, that for the purposes of this argument, we are not concerned in the least whether the passages cited are "historical" or not. For the use here made of them their historicity is beyond cavil. They are records of the thinking of their authors; beyond that we need not care if they should be shown to be every one pure fairy tale. Their date, too, cannot affect the validity of the argument save as it may have bearing upon the level of development in the period concerned. The passage here cited serves as type of the long series of incidents where a "sign" is demanded or given in corroboration of the divine message. Why a sign? Why was not the word of Yahweh sufficient? Possibly it may be suggested, as it was in Washington, that this is but a phase of primitive thinking. It is of course easy to reply, Exactly so; that is the whole point! Their primitive thinking was such that they could not conceive their god true. But perhaps there is in this a deeper thought: a feeling of the unfairness of applying to these primitive folk our modern standards of ethics. And if so, that is perfectly correct. To condemn them for their ignorance of matters discovered only centuries later, but toward the discovery of which their own age made its full contribution, would be unreasonable in the extreme. Yet surely our historical instincts are equal to the mild strain of avoiding a feeling of censure in a citation of facts. Moreover, what can we do—what can any investigator do, but approach a question from his point of view? In this case the relevant point of view is the modern ethical code. The first thing we discover is that Israel's code was different. It is a legitimate question how far-reaching was that difference and what development can be traced in their standards through Old Testament times? Further, if our morality is at all based on theirs, how has it come about that we have drawn away so far from them? Surely there is nothing censorious entailed in such investigation. To deny the propriety of this "application of modern standards" is, if consistent, to outlaw all historical study.

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hand *as thou hast spoken.*"[8] Similar, though even more shocking in a blunt insinuation of undependability, is a famous passage where perhaps very familiarity has obscured the implication: when Abram receives the divine assurance of his inheritance of the land he blandly inquires, "Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?" (Gen. 15:8). And Moses, discouraged by initial failure in the path of Yahweh's commands, taunts him with broken faith, "Wherefore hast thou dealt ill with this people? Why is it that thou hast sent me? . . . . thou hast not delivered thy people at all" (Exod. 5:22–23).[9] The incident is paralleled in Jeremiah's career, and there without qualification the prophet charges he has been duped.[10]

[8] Judg. 6:36–37. Note as well the story of the old prophet of Bethel (I Kings 13:11–32). There is no suggestion that he based his deception in an oracle of Yahweh; but that a prophet of Yahweh, evidently of some local repute, could lie so callously is of distinct importance to our argument; still more so that divine displeasure fell, not on the shameless old miscreant, but on the honest "man of God" who obeyed what he thought an oracle of Yahweh. On this, however, more later. Cf. Exod. 4:24: this though Moses had been divinely urged to go to Egypt! The story of Balaam, too, would seem to give a bit of Yahwistic caprice that merges on crookedness. After telling him to go, Yahweh next day withstood him and sought to kill him for so going. However, the documentary analysis of the passage seems to remove this inconsistency.

[9] The writer intends in the sequel to vindicate gloriously the honor of Yahweh, and has thrown in here Moses' doubts in the nature of a literary counterpoise or relief. But none the less that he did not shrink from representing Moses as even temporarily in that mood is highly significant of the theological views of the ninth century.

[10] Jer. 20:7. R.V. renders "thou hast persuaded me" (margin, *enticed*); but the word is פתה, literally, "made a fool of me," the word that is used elsewhere of deception. See *BDB* Lexicon *s.v.* For this thought in Jeremiah cf. 15:18*b*. Doubtless it may be objected to all these illustrations that they are but the Hebrew writer's way of presenting a mood which we might describe as doubting the validity of one's own experience. But I am quite unaware of a single clear case of such introspection in the Old Testament—the sense of guilt so wonderfully portrayed in the great penitential Psalms is quite a different matter. The nearest we come, is a doubt of the other fellow's experience, and how far this is from refuting our argument is apparent from the Micaiah-ben-Imlah story. The ancient Hebrew was no more prone to doubt his spiritual experience than to question the evidence of his senses, indeed for him it was equivalent to a sense perception. And if events should prove him deceived the only explanation which his philosophy permitted was in an objective deceiver. However, even if we were to grant that the Jeremiah passages are amenable to such explanation, there are still the earlier stories. Beyond question the Hebrew

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But the incident of Micaiah-ben-Imlah (I Kings, chap. 22) is most important in its unequivocal teaching of Yahweh's deception of men. He had called a heavenly conference to debate ways and means to deceive (יפתה) Ahab (vss. 19–20); at length the spirit (הרוח) offered to become a lying spirit (רוח שקר) in possession of the royal prophets (vss. 21–22) and Yahweh sent him with his blessing on this errand (vs. 22). That the passage means that Micaiah (and by implication the author of the passage) believed that Yahweh was deliberately and maliciously deceiving Ahab is incontestable.[11] However the king is represented as an enemy of Yahweh, in effect an alien from the household of faith, so his treatment is less crucial than that of the prophets. That these court prophets were devotees of the Yahweh cult is apparent from verses 6, 11, 12, 24.[12] Yahweh, in furtherance of his ends, deceived even his own prophets! Yet indeed this conclusion need excite no surprise; it is exactly in harmony with the explicit claim of Ezek. 14:7, 9 and the implication of Deut. 13:1–4.

This position is corroborated by a number of incidents apparently outside the field of prophecy, yet in their genius germane thereto. The Hebrew, no less than modern religions,

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writers conceived of a previous "dispensation" wherein God dealt personally and objectively with man, or in particular with their religious heroes (cf. Deut. 34:10, Exod. 33:11, Num. 12:6–7, etc.). There we have then the objectivity of the experience, of which we have just spoken, and deception when it occurred was of necessity equally objective. That the narrator could conceive of Moses, Abram, or any other, in such a case, feeling himself duped is all that our argument requires: at the period of the writer deception by Yahweh was considered a possibility.

[11] In the discussion which took place in the American Oriental Society, it was urged that this story is late and unhistorical. I confess I fail to see any reason for assigning it to a late period; and in any case its implication is so clear that the only effect of such a course would be to make the position of those who argue for Yahweh's truth so much the worse. As for being unhistorical: did any biblical scholar ever suppose that this heavenly conference actually occurred? We are concerned here only with ideas, and whether this notion was Micaiah's or the author's is negligible in the extreme.

[12] Note too the Yahwistic name of the chief prophet. That Ahab was not an unrelenting foe and destroyer of the Yahweh cult I first heard argued several years ago by Professor J. M. P. Smith.

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held that the divine spirit which manifested itself uniquely in the prophetic experience yet could and did move in impulse and leading in the hearts and lives of other men. And there the stories have given us, unfortunately, records of misleading. The most famous is the episode of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart.[13] Quite clearly, Pharaoh is represented as fully decided after each plague to release the Hebrew slaves; but just then Yahweh in co-operation with his confederate Moses intervened, stole his better judgment, and so entailed the poor man ever deeper in the cycle of ruin.[14] In a smaller way the same is recorded of Rehoboam; his folly at Shechem was "of Yahweh that he might establish his word that he spoke by Ahijah the Shilonite" (I Kings 12:15). In the case of Eli's sons this divine misdirection realizes itself not in mere folly, but in actual iniquity—or at the least, persistence in iniquity; and the writer's explanation of the situation (I Sam. 2:25) gives us a remarkable correspondence to the classical dictum, Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.[15]

So then they considered that Yahweh freely deceived his enemies both within and without Israel, but also that he gave lying oracles to his prophets; and they were none too certain that he did not dupe his specially favored friends. This is not

[13] It was urged in the discussion in Washington that this is a feature of P; J and E merely assert that Pharaoh's heart became hard. Apart from the fact that Brightman's synthesis of scholarly authority *(Sources of the Hexateuch)* assign Exod. 10:20, 27 to E, 9:14–16 where the divine "hardening" is implied to J, and, on the contrary, 8:19 to P, it is permissible to ask what bearing this consideration can have on the argument, beyond, as suggested above, carrying into later times the crude ideas of primitive days.

[14] A similar thought appears in Ezek. 39:1–7, Isa. 10:5 ff.; 30:28; cf. Isa. 37:29. Since the narrators, particularly in the early books, represent successful war as having been directed by Yahweh, the stories of ambuscades and ruses are relevant at this point also. See Josh. 8, n.b. vs. 18; Judg. 7:19 ff; I Sam. 11:1–11; n.b. vs. 10; etc. Note too the implied approval of Rahab, Josh. 2:4–6; of Ehud, Judg. 3:20–23; of Jael, Judg. 4:17–23; the exultation in the latter's murderous deception of a guest in Judg. 5:24–27; the evident satisfaction with the ruse and massacre by Abimelech in Judg. 9:57.

[15] See further W. E. Staples, *AJSL*, XLIV, 151, and cf. Bertholet, *History of Hebrew Civilization*, pp. 363–64.

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all, however. The suspicion seems to have been not remote that the entire nation may have been the victim of a callous hoax. Yahweh lived apart in some Semitic Olympus following his own pleasures and devices. As it suited his interests he entered into relations with mankind, but when caprice so impelled he repudiated all his solemn engagements.[16] Such is the implication of the murmuring in the wilderness. This discontent seems unusually to have been directed against Moses, a mere evasion of the issue however: their complaints were really against Yahweh, as Moses reminds them,[17] and in the story of the riot subsequent to the return of the spies the charge against him is specifically formulated.[18] The narratives, probably next to worthless as accounts of the Mosaic age, at least evidence for the ninth and eighth centuries an unreadiness to trust Yahweh however clearly his spokesmen might be attested. The remark of Gideon (Judg. 6:13) has similar force; for a national god to "cast off" his people presupposes, to say the least, a capricious unreliability. And indeed the recurrent national calamities could have found in the popular philosophy no other explanation. It is the greatness of the biblical writers and prophets that, through their peo-

[16] Tennyson's picture in his *Lotus Eaters,* of the aloofness of the Greek gods, is familiar to all. The similarity of the conception to that in I Kings 18:27 is a striking illustration of the universality of religious phenomena. Though Elijah, in this passage, is jeering at the Baalistic cult, a study of the religion of Yahweh readily reveals the same thoughts entertained toward him: for illustration, in the frequent stories of his hearing the cry of his oppressed people and "visiting" or "coming down" to them. It is patent that they thought of him as "musing, or gone on a journey, or gone aside," or pursuing his own pleasure heaven knows how, until the unprecedented din of his people's lamentations broke in upon his interests and compelled him to turn aside to quiet them. Cf., too, Ps. 2:4.

[17] E.g. Exod. 16:7, 8, cf. Exod. 32. The episodes, of course, are very modern in their rapid evaporation of religious enthusiasm, but the situation surveyed in its entirety speaks of something much more serious.

[18] Num. 14:3. The argument does not rest on the mere idiom of thought or expression that they spoke of Yahweh as bringing them to this *impasse*—a palpable orientalism—and that the English employs apparently a phrase of purpose, "to fall by the sword." Hebrew seldom distinguishes purpose from result, and in this case properly so. The implication is the same whichever way it is understood. The whole point is the complete lack of confidence in Yahweh.

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ple's tragedy, they were compelled to a deeper understanding of life in the vision of a supremely righteous God. But this very greatness separated them from their coreligionists who knew no better theology than that a god who is well bribed with sacrifices and mollified with acceptable ritual should prosper his people; that he might inquire into what we today call national morality had never occurred to them. It may then be surprising, but at least it is cogent corroboration, to hear Jeremiah, for all his moral passion and spiritual experience, musing that Yahweh had deceived the whole people (Jer. 4:10); and centuries later Paul of Tarsus, cultured and devout Jew though he was, in one of those backwaters of thought to which even the most progressive and logical seem prone, said practically the same thing.[19]

As depressing as is this glimpse of Israel's thinking, our conclusions can be regarded as in no sense novel. That Yahweh's virtues were as a tender plant and a root out of a dry ground has long been recognized; and failing the wealth of evidence that lies on the very surface of our Hebrew records, we might have anticipated his duplicity when we realized that he was primarily the war god of Israel. The familiar *bon mot* that man has made god in his own image has all the shortcomings of its epigrammatic cleverness, but it has here at least this measure of truth, that the Hebrew conception of Yahweh was but a projection of their own qualities and standards, and as war god he was but the apotheosis of the human fighter. While the free play of brute passion is today supposedly curbed by some more refined sense, yet still we glibly patter that "All's fair in war." How much more so then. The business of the fighter was to overcome his enemy—by decent means if that were convenient; but in any case, to overcome. Prowess was but one weapon; guile might be even more effec-

[19] II Thess. 2:11. The entire passage, vss. 7–12, would serve as an interesting commentary on the Micaiah-ben-Imlah story. One would almost venture the guess that Paul had this episode in mind.

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tive. Then with the national or tribal peril past, the warrior naturally perpetuated these successful methods in the new alignments of life's conflict: he served his own interests at the expense of his erstwhile comrades in arms. And just so Yahweh; his great merit was his might—or whatever other quality achieved concrete advantage for his people. Morality was negligible, if not, indeed, by limiting his activity and thereby his success, distinctly undesirable. They worshiped a god of power; the gentler constraint of mercy and truth was but the mark of a despised weakness.

The story of Samson is important both to illumine and to corroborate this view. We have here more than an entertaining folk-tale. Samson was the Hebrew Hercules. That he was a godlike figure the narrative leaves no doubt; he was filled with the divine spirit, performed his prodigies under its impulse, and to the end enjoyed Yahweh's approval. His most brutal deeds are fully justified by the ancient Golden Rule, "As they did unto me, so I have done unto them" (Judg. 15: 11), and no aspersion of wrong attaches to his conduct save in that one superb folly—he told his secrets to his women friends! Yet what a character! Brutal, selfish, lascivious, indifferent to the needs of his people whom his great strength might have served so well, he used his prowess but to gratify his own passions. But he was mighty. There we have the ideal of the age: the contemporaneous picture of god. Their highest aspirations took no account of truth; but to be like Yahweh was to be filled with power so as to buffet about whole legions of enemies!

Now while, in all this, Israel but thought of Yahweh as altogether such an one as themselves:[20] his character was but

[20] Ps. 50:21. Cf. Xenophanes:

"But mortal man made gods in his own image,
Like to himself in vesture, voice and body.
Had they but hands, methinks, oxen and lions
And horses would have made their gods like-fashioned,
Horse-gods for horses, ox-gods for oxen."

Presumably it will be excusable to relieve the tedium of this argument with a little gossip and more especially when such garrulity leads up to a first-class piece of

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the faithful reflection of their morals; yet the reverse must have been true as well. In a vicious circle the imputed character of their god must have reacted as example and authority in deepening depravity of the Hebrew people. However that may be, the actuality as revealed in story and poem and prophetic oracle is a repulsive welter of dishonesty. Prophet and priest, king and commoner, parent and child, all alike on occasion were guilty of the most unabashed falsity. There was no relationship too intimate, too venerable, too revered or sacred to insure against a heartless deceit born of self-seeking.[21] That such despicable crimes occurred is not the point: they do today likewise; the really significant thing is their frequency and their unconcerned acceptance, if not indeed tacit approval,[22] as the norm of human life. They occasioned little comment beyond a disdainful pity for the poor fool so gullible as to trust another's honor.[23] Even the men to whose religious insight we are indebted for our Old Testament narratives show, at the best, but the earliest stirrings of misgiving on the matter. Abram lied about his wife, and deluded his

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wit. Some days after the Washington meeting one of the Toronto dailies hit upon the local account of the discussion, excerpted my share in it and published this with the inevitable sensational heading. Then there ensued a most lovely little tempest in a teapot. Certain of the community understood me to have said that God is a liar: obviously they were roused. Evidently it was this thought that prompted a correspondent who wrote me when the affair had about run its course. The letter was brief but pointed: "Possibly you have overlooked the words, 'Behold thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself, but I will rebuke thee.'" What delicious sarcasm!

[21] It has become the orthodoxy of scholarship to speak of the group solidarity of ancient Hebrew society. The condition here portrayed is, however, the antithesis of communal consciousness; it presupposes an extreme individualism. Evidently group solidarity held only for certain clearly delimited matters as blood guilt, ancestral property, and the like—and even here it was not proof against personal interest.

[22] It was objected in the discussion in Washington that the Old Testament never commends falsehood. Emphatically it does! The inescapable implication of the stories already cited of Elisha, of Jael, Abram's lying about Sarah, Jacob's deception of his father and brother—and so on and on—is that when in a tight corner or when the end may justify such means, a lie is so proper as to require not even an apology—and those who use it effectively entail the blessing of Yahweh!

[23] Cf. II Sam. 3:33.

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son[24] to the point where he was ready to murder him;[25] Isaac is guilty of at least one of these charges. Jacob, that notorious supplanter, made capital of his brother's necessity and, inspired by his mother, perpetrated a most callous deception of his blind and decrepit old father, only to go, however, red-handed, direct to the divine approval at Bethel.[26] Probably

[24] Such may have been common. The frequent stories of deception of parents presupposes a corresponding dishonesty on their part. The regular practice of selling daughters (Exod. 21:7–11) and the occasional enslavement of sons (e.g., Neh. 5:5) may well have provided many a heartless scene where a lie was made to facilitate an advantageous bargain.

[25] For this and other of the incidents cited cf. Volz, "The God of the Old Testament," in *The Bible and Modern Religious Thought*, II, No. 3, 11.

[26] Everybody is familiar with the present-day religious use of Jacob's career, and most workers in the biblical field know that it was the rabbis who first pointed out the retribution in kind which life brought to him. But this is quite aside from our present concern. Long before the great rabbis, Judah had achieved an exalted standard of truth; it helps us not at all to see how their acceptance of this ideal affected their homiletic use of the Pentateuchal narratives. We are studying rather the mind of the authors of those narratives, as evidence of the best thought of the ninth century B.C.

And, if in relating the story of Jacob's deception by his sons, the writers were conscious of a moral to be drawn therefrom, their conclusions were certainly no more definite than the hesitating emphasis upon truthfulness which our discussion presently attributes to them. Probably, though, they did not draw even these modest conclusions. They were possessed of a keen dramaic instinct; the deception of Jacob may then be no more than the play of their literary genius in rounding out the incident. If their sources gave them the salient facts of the success in Egypt of the ancestor of the Joseph tribe and his arrival there through the jealousy of the other tribal heads, their chastened imagination can be trusted to inquire—and to answer—What happened when the old father learned of the disappearance of his son?

Much emphasis too is sometimes placed upon the Peniel incident (Gen. 32:22 ff.) as an account of Jacob's transformation. But this is extremely dubious. His character appears in better light from this point on mainly because his place in the stories is more meager: that the little we have accords with his earlier conduct is noted below in a comment on Gen. 34:30. The story of the wrestling at Peniel, like Moses' escapade at the מלון (Exod. 4:24–26), is in origin quite evidently an old legend of the night hag, and here blessed and baptized into the orthodoxy of Yahwism means, in the main, the same as before: the spiritual menace of nighttime. The change of Jacob's name to Israel can mean at the best but the improved tone already admitted of these documents; at the other extreme it may but signify the absorption of a Jacob tribe by one called Israel.

Perhaps in view of the vicissitudes of my argument, I may be pardoned some feeling of gratification in a comment of Gunkel's (*What remains of the Old Testament?* p. 15): "Jacob by lies and deception, obtains the divine blessing. Some have tried to read into this narrative the idea of a divine discipline and conversion of the

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his love for Rachel was a case of deep calling unto deep, for she first stole from her father and then lied to him.[27] They were a happy family! To complete the joy it required only that the children likewise should dissemble. And they did. Simeon and Levi broke their solemn agreement with the men of Shechem,[28] then later the aged Israel tasted the bitterness of the sins of his youth: his sons lied to him in turn and well-nigh brought down his hoary head with sorrow to Sheol.[29] And so the dark catalogue runs on. Moses[30] and Aaron,[31] Jonathan[32] and David,[33] Jehu[34] and the rest: they are but a few guilty ones selected at random.[35] And save as that great evolution which we are presently to trace has already touched the consciousness of the narrators, all alike are presented with implied approval—evidently with the thought that Yahweh cares for his own! Or is it the ancient counterpart of the callow doctrine that Providence helps those who help them-

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deceiver, but the narrative itself does not contain one single word that indicates disapproval of the deception he practiced on Isaac." Cf. too Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 343. Bertholet, though, fails to grasp the full significance of the facts he cites.

[27] Gen. 31:19, 34–35.

[28] Gen. 34:8–29. It is significant that their father's rebuke (vs. 30) is concerned only with a fear of retaliation.

[29] When later circumstances compelled the ten brothers to contemplation of their crime, it is to be noted their sense of guilt pertains not to the deception of their father, but to their cruelty to their younger brother, Gen. 42:21. The passage may have value as evidence on the order of emergence of moral concepts.

[30] Exod. 5:1, 3, 8:28, cf. 10:24–26. There can be little doubt the "three days" of the request are but a ruse for escape. The spoiling of the Egyptians, Exod. 3:21–22, 11:2, 3, 12:35–36, has long been felt to require some apology. Though the Hebrews merely "asked" (שאל), it is implied that they wished the Egyptians to understand it as a loan.

[31] Exod. 32:24.

[32] I Sam. 20:28–9.

[33] I Sam. 21:13, II Sam. 11:15.

[34] II Kings 10:18 ff.

[35] The following passages likewise are relevant, though the incidents are not all Israelitish, and the conduct or implication in some is perhaps "doubtful" rather than positively dishonest. The list makes no claim to exhaustiveness. Gen. 11:8 ff., 18:15, 22:1, 29:23, 30:37 ff., 38:14 ff., 39:17, 49:17, 50:15–17; Exod. 1:17–20; Josh. 8:4 ff., 9:3 ff.; Judg. 9:30 ff., 12:5–6, 16:4 ff., 17:2, 18:7–10, 18:27–29, 18:19–20, 20:29 ff; Ruth 3:1–4 ff.; I Sam. 16:1, 2, 5, 19:17, 27:10–12; II Sam. 16:3, cf. 19:26–7, 24:1, 10 ff.; I Kings 21:8 ff.

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selves? And that the character of the people as a whole remained unchanged in the later days of the kingdom and down to the triumph of ritual Judaism, to say the least, is evidenced by the incessant complaint of the prophets. They charge wholesale falsehood, fraud, and perjury. Making all allowance for a measure of exaggeration pardonable in the intensity of his earnestness, it is yet a serious charge when Hosea avers "There is no truth or goodness or knowledge of God in the land. There is naught but swearing and breaking faith. . . . ." (Hos. 4:1–2). Jeremiah, too, in a Diogenes-like quest, searched Jerusalem for an honest man, but professes to have found none.[36]

Yet this dark picture is not unrelieved. Probabilities, to say the least, are against a uniform and unmitigated dishonesty. There must have been some truth in ancient Israel. It is too much to suppose they lied consistently and uniformly—even when the truth would have served their interests better.[37] Indeed it is rather probable that truth was usual. It must have been: it is the natural reaction to circumstances. The use of deception is attained only by education—of some sort; and for facility there is demanded, as in all fine arts, considerable natural propensity. The difficulty, though, was that one could never be certain just when this morbid training would force itself to expression. And in proportion as matters increased in importance and, *pari passu*, the need of honesty, just so did reliability diminish, for there entered the corrupt-

[36] Jer. 5:1–5. These in addition, again an incomplete list: Hos. 5:10, 6:7, 10:4, 11:12, 12:1, 7; Mic. 6:10–12; Isa. 5:18, 30:9; Jer. 5:27, 7:9, 8:5, 10, 9:3–6, 8; Zech. 8:16–17.

[37] The situation under discussion has, of course, its best commentary and demonstration in the present-day hither Orient. And that lying is rampant everyone knows. This interesting phase of deception where truth would be more effective is given to me by Professor Currelly of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, from his own observation in Egypt: A crime is committed in A; suspicion falls upon a certain individual and arrest follows. Actually at the very time of the occurrence he was in B and could doubtless secure hosts of witnesses to establish an alibi, but instead he swears perversely and persistently that he was in C and, unable to prove his contention, is in imminent danger of conviction.

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ing expectation of personal gain. Yet life, to organize itself in society, however crude, demands some basis of much higher certitude than provided by any such law of poor averages. And assurance was attained quite simply and easily—by the oath, covenant, or similar magico-religious ceremony through which supernatural powers were invoked to attest the truth or wreak vengeance upon the falsity of the contracting parties.[38] Yet it must be noted that the certainty secured even by such most solemn undertakings was still but modest. So ingrained was their deviousness that frequently nothing could deter the Israelites from dishonesty.[39] The solemn ritual of the covenant and the unnamed terrors of the oath were both alike ignored evidently on the ground that present and tangible gain could very well be balanced against the remote and problematical ills which superstition conjured up.[40] In such a contingency, however, society has frequently evolved a nicely graduated scheme of binding oaths, and for a much later period such is actually evidenced in Matt. 23:16–22; something similar doubtless existed in Old Testament times—probably there were terrible oaths that could frighten the cupidity of

[38] This question in itself could well provide discussion for a full-length article. It is a phase of the conception of the "word of power" so prevalent in the ancient world. A suggestive point of view is provided by *E.R.E.* articles: "Covenant," "Word," "Cursing and Blessing," etc.

In the case of Yahweh, it would seem, honesty might be attested also by a miracle, e.g., Exod. 4:29–31, 14:31; Num. 14:11, 22; Judg. 6:36 ff.; etc. The idea is eloquent of a crass ignorance of the very nature of truth, that could elevate power into a moral quality. But as well we have probably here a confusion in thinking. For a people to whom God is supremely power the working of miracles, it may be admitted, is a reasonable authentication of one's claim to be a messenger of God (*vid.* Exod. 4:1–9). From this they easily slipped over to regarding it as proof of the truth of Yahweh himself.

[39] There is abundant evidence of this, e.g., in the prophetic passages cited. N.B. Hos. 4:2.

[40] As well the position was doubtless pragmatic. They had observed breach of oath where no dire results, but only the contrary, ensued. The situation illustrates well the inadequacy of external compulsion as a moral sanction. Only the "law written on the heart" can effect ethical progress.

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even the most reprobate, yet we can but speculate as to their nature.[41]

Now the fact that oaths were commonly attested in the name of Yahweh, and that thus some greatly enhanced measure of truthfulness was attained, would seem, at first glance, to cut the ground from under our whole argument, counterbalancing the evidence derogatory to his character. But it must be borne in mind that oaths were essentially magical and that their god on occasion himself swore to his good faith. The attestation was originally above Yahweh,[42] and only as a part of the increasing moral sensitiveness which we must now examine did Israel come to regard him as guardian of the honesty of their agreements.

To begin, then, this happier side of the story with one more apparent contradiction of our argument thus far: Israel's conception of the supremacy of truth is rooted in a very early period if indeed we are not to say it was implicit from the first: there must surely have always been some feeling, however mute, that honesty was nobler than craft. And in tracing the growth of this, we are faced with that duality of Hebrew life and religion with which we have become familiar elsewhere. Indeed, many of the stories carry a strange double implication: a true index of the half-shaped convictions of their age. In the account of the deception by the old prophet of Bethel (I Kings 13) the author seems to be saying that the

[41] Professor Price in his discussion of *The Oath in Babylonia and in Israel* refers to the super-oath of Babylonia. And once again the modern Orient provides an illuminating parallel. It is said that the Syrian *fellahin* will lie shamelessly, while swearing volubly by Allah and all that's sacred, but an oath by the local *weli* will secure meticulous honesty—Allah is far off and very busy as well! But the old sheik is right at hand to take vengeance on the miscreant who may misuse his name.

[42] This, I am well aware, may appear an ex cathedra pronouncement on a very intricate subject. But my excuse is this very complexity which forbids adequate discussion here. The whole question of the oath demands careful investigation; when it receives this I am convinced there will be found a belief in impersonal force—magic, fate, or whatever else—as much above the gods as they in turn were above men. See, for a contrary view, Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 365. If one may venture the criticism, however, Bertholet's pronouncement is altogether too easy—and superficial.

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Judean "man of god" was in fault that he admitted for one moment the possibility of Yahweh's revoking his word. The misleading of Rehoboam, whereby Yahweh rent from him the sovereignty of North Israel, was in order that he might establish his word which he spake by Ahijah the Shilonite. Heirs of their travail of soul and all the accumulated advantages of thirty centuries, it is not for us to scoff at their shortcomings; that they were apprehending, however imperfectly, the faithfulness of God was a very great achievement.

In the more than dubious historicity of the Pentateuchal stories, probably one of the earliest literary memorials of the rise of Israel's sense of truth is in the Code of the Covenant. There we find not merely strict regulations for honesty and fair dealing in business (Exod. 22:1–15) but also legislation against slanderous gossip and false evidence as well as toward an incorruptible judiciary (Exod. 23:1–3, 6–8). And it is significant that this code in its present setting—and almost certainly some idea of the sort pertained to it from the beginning—finds sanction in the mind of Yahweh. It is he who is guardian of the honesty and truth of society. Yet that the full bearing of this belief was unrealized appears from the evidence already adduced. It was but a dogma of immense potentiality when it might focus progressive thought, but for the time little better than dead. Nor can much advance be discerned for long. Through this earlier period Yahweh's guardianship of the oath and covenant seems to have firmly established itself, but this, too, was significant more for latent than for actual influence. Nathan's rebuke of David has some relevancy, as also Elijah's of Ahab in the Naboth incident, yet the stories are perhaps most eloquent of the lack of finality in the prophetic thinking. In the former, the royal crime is denounced primarily as a violation of property rights, then afterwards as murder; while Elijah seems to reverse this emphasis. But only by vague implication does either prophet deprecate the dishonesty that accomplished the actual crime,

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an oversight the more apparent by contrast with the clean-cut analysis of conduct found in Amos and his successors.[43]

It is this same confusion of the issue that faces us in the great literary memorial of this middle period of the Kingdom, the J document: the convergence of evidence establishes fairly clearly that such uncertainty was the best level of the progress of the age. That the author carries down a heavy freightage of the dishonesty of the early times has already been sufficiently demonstrated. But side by side with divine approval of Abram's lie or Jacob's deceit or whatever else, he gives us without apology or explanation, clearly quite unaware of the explosive character of the notion he is entertaining, some really fine delineations of Yahweh's reliability. Such implication is unmistakable in Gen. 24:7. To his steward's apprehensions Abraham replies, "Yahweh, the God of my fathers who took me from my father's house and from the land of my nativity and who spake unto me and who sware unto me saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land: he will send his angel before thee." In all his far-flung wanderings, the old patriarch had found his God dependable, and he rested his confidence in that faithfulness. It is, however, the larger aspects of the narratives that give us most of relevancy here. We trace in the accounts of God's dealing with Israel two great conceptions struggling for pre-eminence, the Power of God, and the Truth of God. His might the writers love to depict in his triumph over all the embattled hosts, human and divine,[44]

[43] Presumably from about this period come also many of the stories of I Sam. In 15:29 is a statement that for the pre-prophetic age would be most remarkable. Unfortunately, though, it bears all the marks of spuriousness. It interrupts the narrative; it is foreign to its spirit, being a sententious comment in the midst of a passage of vigorous action. It is suspiciously in conformity, too, with the thought and phrasing of a later age. It is a valuable expression of belief in divine dependability, but its evidence does not belong here.

[44] The authors generally shrink from representing Yahweh as entering the jousting lists in challenge of the Egyptian gods; rather he deals in his sovereign power with a recalcitrant menial or tool. But the idea of a conflict of the gods appears none the less: in the rivalry of the Egyptian magicians, Exod. 7:10–12, 22; 8:7. See

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of Egypt; and in his supremacy to the dangers and difficulties of that great and terrible wilderness. But no less he was a god who throughout, in spite of the rebellion and recrimination of his people and the doubts even of their great leader, remained faithful to his covenant. True, on a few occasions,[45] provoked to most just wrath and indignation, he contemplated abandoning both people and covenant. It can, of course, be urged in defense that Israel had broken the agreement, hence Yahweh was no longer bound by it: it then but points the more remarkably his faithfulness that of his free grace he stood true to a rescinded covenant. As a matter of fact, however, he is represented on these occasions as amenable to considerations neither of truth nor yet of grace, but moved by a concern for his own reputation for might. It was yet too early in the history of revelation to hope that Truth should stand supreme. Here the Power of God triumphed over his Faithfulness.

However this may be, faithfulness even though bolstered up with the artificiality of a solemn covenant is something—for that age a very great thing. And indeed, in one moment of brilliant insight even this attainment is far transcended: with none of the mechanical paraphernalia of oaths, covenants, and the rest, Abraham believed God, and that, J contends, had virtue equivalent to righteous conduct (Gen. 15:5–6).[46]

As doubtful as much of the delineation of the Hexateuchal sources yet remains, still we can trace somewhat confidently a great advance on this side of the moral code, in the two or three generations that bring us to the period of the E document. Perhaps this is most apparent in this writer's handling

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on this point, Sellers: "Moses as an Egyptian Magician," *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought*, IV, 375; and cf. Griffiths, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 54 ff.

[45] E.g. Exod. 32:10; Num. 14:12 ff.

[46] Gen. 18:25 has perhaps some little value here for this narrower phase of morals.

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of the foreign escapade of Abraham and Sarah. He is constrained to "explain" the barefaced lie of the father of his people. At the most, he says, it was but half a lie—a sort of "white lie!" for "she is indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother" (Gen. 20:12). There is surely, too, valuable significance in Balaam's moralizing that "God is not a man that he should lie. . . . . Hath he said and will he not do it?" (Num. 23:19). The implication is inescapable that normal human conduct is to "lie" and "say and not do it," and the very emphasis of E (or E's source) upon the divine honesty betrays the novelty of the idea.

A little more uncertain, however, are conclusions based upon E's conception of God's relations to Israel, but it would seem that he did not conceive of Yahweh as ever contemplating abandoning his people.[47] In harmony with this, the divine punishment, when it falls, is less indiscriminate and unrestrained than in J implicating merely "some of the people" or the "outskirts" of the camp.[48] An improved tone is apparent too in the theophany at the mountain of the law; in J there is

[47] The documentary theory of the Hexateuch seems but the more firmly established through the re-examination which it is undergoing whether in hostile or friendly hands. Yet we are a little less sure of details of analysis and sources than Old Testament science purported to be a little ago. The work of Eissfeldt, Eerdmans, Morgenstern, and the rest, has at least sufficed to foster the conviction that we are not yet at the end of the problem. With this reduced certainty, one can perhaps scarce do better for purposes of a discussion such as this than fall back upon the orthodoxy of Hexateuchal analysis. Brightman's *Sources*, already referred to, serves as a convenient compendium of scholarly opinion. Exod. 32:10 Brightman prints with E, noting however an array of scholars who say Rje, Rd, R, while "there is great difference with reference to the analysis of the chapter: the majority agree that there is a J narrative imbedded in the material, but there is no consensus with regard to the division of the sources"; Num. 14:11–12, on the other hand, he attributes to J, with again some less significant difference of opinion.

[48] E.g. Num. 11:1, 14:45, 21:6, 25:5 and even Exod. 33:28. Contrast for J Exod. 19:24*bβ*, Num. 11:33–34, 25:4, Exod. 33:3*b*, 5. Num. 16:31–33*a* bear on the question but opinion is not decisive as to their source. It is freely granted that the evidence here is pretty thin. I have no wish to place much weight upon it. The most that can be claimed is that there is discernible some slight difference of mood of the documents.

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given a threat of Yahweh's "breaking out": a range of ideas in the realm of pagan taboo; but in E while the portents are scarce less appalling and the terror of the people equally great, Moses as the spokesman of God speaks in calm reassurance and faith: "Fear not, for God is come to prove you" (Exod. 20:20).

There is an incident of about this same time which, if our interpretation be correct, bears on our question. It is a phase of that Micaiah-ben-Imlah story (I Kings 22), already invoked. When the court prophets were called in at Jehoshaphat's suggestion and gave their favorable oracle the Judean king, still unconvinced, asked for another prophet of Yahweh (נביא ליהוה עוד vs. 7 cf. עוד איש אחד לדרש יהוה vs. 8) and Micaiah was summoned. Now, what is the inwardness of the incident? What was Jehoshaphat's thought? Why was he dissatisfied with the four hundred? And was he then convinced by Micaiah?—he joined Ahab in the expedition in spite of Micaiah's prediction of disaster. Of course as Judean monarch he probably stood a little closer to the Yahweh cult than did Ahab, but that the four hundred purported to be bona fide Yahwistic prophets has already been pointed out. Then why did he not believe them? Whatever the answer to this question, at least the fact is clear that he did not. And that fact is in itself significant: the disbelief not of an irreligious man, but quite the reverse. Devout and pious, he yet discredited the accepted spokesmen of his god.

It is the emergence of that spirit of criticism which always —and necessarily[49]—marks the sloughing off of a lower faith and the birth of a better. But when we attempt a more detailed understanding of the incident, frankly we go into sheer

[49] Compare the spirit of criticism of accepted religion in the great prophets, in Jesus, in Luther, etc.; and the death of the classical gods through a general revulsion from their immoralities, a feeling expressed and fostered by such satires as Lucian's. Perhaps we stand too close to the thought of our own day to carry general conviction when it is claimed that here also a spirit of doubt turned on modern superstitions has given us a better faith.

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speculation, but it is at least a plausible guess. The story hints rather suggestively that the prophesying of the four hundred was of the ecstatic sort: they gave the two kings a demonstration of the mad ravings and hysteria which were the repertoire of the religious charlatans of the time, which too did actually function for most as self-evident proof of divine inspiration. Whether it was the first stirrings of revulsion from an insane and pagan practice that now moved Jehoshaphat to skepticism, or whether he but voiced a thought over which he had long pondered, his attitude seems to have rooted in a feeling that such proceedings were scarce compatible with the dignity and greatness of Yahweh. To seek to push the question further is idle: any society contains shades and varieties and antitheses of thought. To inquire into the cause of this is hardly the task of Old Testament science.

However, this mood of skepticism received augmentation from the clash of the prophets, illustrated in this incident but presently to become an open scandal of the national religion, eventually tearing it asunder. When the prophets came to denounce one another publicly, venting mutual recriminations and even violence, and freely charging deception, what were the populace to believe? The old sanction was shattered; no longer could a prophet be believed merely as obviously a prophet. There must be found some better criterion. For the present, the populace evidently accepted the old evidences; even more progressive men scarce got beyond a vague disquiet. But the situation held the promise of very great things.

This middle period of the kingdom, then, a time devoid of high religious achievement, is yet far from negligible. In it lie the headwaters of the great currents destined to change in the succeeding centuries the direction of Hebrew thought, and a little later to transform completely the belief and practice of Judaism. It was a time of readjustment: the old was outgrown, its inadequacy ever more evident, but the new had not yet come in. Men were groping, all too ineffectually, but none

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the less genuinely following a great spirited quest; and here and there, in seeming independence were catching the fire of a spontaneous contagion of thought. The untamed passion for Yahwism and social justice in the rugged Elijah, the skepticism of Jehoshaphat, the inscrutable intuitions of the J document and the more conscious amelioration of E: dissociated facts, as they appear, they yet stand significant of a ferment at work in Israel's religious experience. The tide was setting in.

And with Amos the new day seems to have arrived; not, however, that the popular thinking was transformed, for on the contrary we must reckon with the persistence of lower beliefs far down into an age when the truthfulness of God had captured the loyalty of all the better elements. Nor yet did the prophets themselves leap at once to a consistent realization of the primacy of truth. Still, notwithstanding all that had gone before, and the too palpable limitations of the prophetic belief, their ideal and passion for truth are such as to constitute a profound revolution in religion. Their emphasis here is scarce less remarkable than their well-known advocacy of justice, indeed for them—and this is most significant—the two are essentially one, associated together in a sort of religious hendiadys: honesty of word and of deed spring from the one common root of faithfulness. Truth is no longer a negligible appendage of religious thinking: it has won its place, it has come to self-consciousness, it is basic in all morality. Yahweh has become a God of truth (Jer. 5:3) indignant with the selfish dishonesty of his people (Amos 8:5–8, Isa. 30:9); his prophets speak truth, those who utter lies are not of him (Mic. 2:11, Jer. 23:14). "Lies" and "Falsity" are synonyms for the strange gods, a deception to their devotees; Yahweh then is Truth (Isa. 28:15). The ideal for the future is that Jerusalem may become a city of righteousness, that is, a town of faithfulness (Isa. 1:26). It was a very great attainment; it argues a profound insight and daring originality on the part of these eighth-century thinkers that places them among the very first

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of those who in the long course of man's career have contributed to an understanding of human life.

And while their very greatness baffles explanation—genius never can be fully analyzed: there is always a residuum of personality, invariably indeed the most significant element of personality, which ancestry and training cannot explain—yet there are considerations which promise some measure of understanding. The prophetic attitude roots essentially in the emotional response to experience. Sense perception entails an accompaniment of likes or dislikes. These are of varying intensity in different experiences and individuals. Now, given a person whose interest has been attracted to the religious and moral realm, whose emotional nature is of a keenness beyond the average and who, for reasons of boldness, indiscretion, or whatever else, freely voices his reaction: you have there the first prerequisite of prophecy.[50] Then, too, with this religious bias—or rather this particular sort of religious bias—they evidently drew heavily on the better thought of their age. We might say, they had a high selectivity; rejecting the dull immorality and paganism that made up most of the religious expression of the time, they vibrated keenly to the few high notes of nobility and truth, whether emanating from among their own people or coming from afar. Hebrew life, on its material side, was making great advances. The specious fallacy that improved physical conditions automatically produce better living needs no further refutation than this very eighth century in Israel; still it is true that the amelioration of life along even this lower side carries some possibility if not even probability of real betterment. It fosters a deepened sense of the dignity and worth in human life, which while so often producing only a tawdry ostentation may really turn to better ends. We have already seen this in the case of Jehoshaphat. The line of reasoning which we have postulated of him would be quite

[50] Need I emphasize that I have not the least thought of offering this as a final explanation of prophecy? Exceedingly important aspects of the movement lie entirely outside this suggestion.

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inconceivable in the primitive days of, say, King Saul. Equally here the material well-being of the nation must have had quite as large a share in shaping Isaiah, or even Micah and Amos, as the wealth and leisure of any period in the production of its literature and art: in a word, its refinement.

But it was not the narrowly Israelitish culture of the time which alone bore fruit in this moral advance. The civilizations of the ancient world had reached maturity. Communication was easy and the tides of influence flowed readily back and forth. From the Zagros mountains to the oasis of Siwah and the fertile fields of Dongola, there was neither toll nor barrier to the interchange of ideas. There were varieties of culture, but for thinking men the intellectual heritage of all this great region was one. That neither Israel, dwelling by the side of the road, nor even Judah in the cul-de-sac of her rugged hills could exempt herself, if she would, from the pull of the great currents of the time, needs no further evidence than the prophets themselves. Amos argues familiarly of Kaphtor and Kir and the region beyond Damascus; and Hosea, still more Isaiah, knew Egypt and Egyptian life in some detail.[51] And with all her mummery of deified animals and official religiosity, there persisted in Egypt even in this decadent age the remarkable primacy of truth in her moral code. Babylonia too, preeminent in business, with two thousand years of legally guarded fair dealing, took no second place to the land of the Nile as exponent of honesty. The prophets could not have been untouched by this heritage of their days. True, evidence of their dependance is not abundant; except in rare cases[52] they regard foreign lands as examples to be shunned, not followed. Probably they themselves were unconscious of their indebtedness, which at the most was less direct appropriation than response to a pervasive atmosphere. It is tempting to find specific Babylonian influence in Ezekiel, immersed as he

[51] Cf. the detailed knowledge of Egypt found in the E document, specifically in the stories of Joseph and of Moses.

[52] E.g. Jer. 2:10.

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was in the life of the plain; in particular his indignation toward a breach of contract (Ezek. 17:15, 18–20) seems to carry a distinct Babylonian flavor. But we cannot be certain.

We are on more obvious ground, however, when we find considerable prophetic revelation in the stern logic of the events of their day. It is an old story to biblical criticism that Israel's great achievement fell in the days of her decline. Amos and Hosea saw clearly that her political course was run; Isaiah and Jeremiah lived through a day when the grandiose dreams of empire cherished by the populace came tumbling in on them like Samson's Philistine palace. But while these, in transparent consistency, argued that the god who could not save them was unworthy of their devotion, the prophets with incredible audacity rose rather to a belief that the God of their poor little stony plateau was the supreme and righteous God of all, compelling even the haughty empires to work his will. Here, in the shattering facts of the failure of the war god,[53] we trace the death of Israel's paganism and the clear lesson, for those with insight to read it, that human destiny is swayed ultimately not by might but by truth.[54] It is no belittlement of the prophetic revelation to see these men as keen students of events, whose genius cut clear of the blandishments of local loyalties as well as the confusion of transient facts and surveyed in their own days the operation of universal and eternal forces.[55]

This view of the confusion and conflict of the times as fostering a higher faith brings us back to an aspect of Israel's religious problem already touched upon. It is in this period that the disagreements and mutual recriminations of the

[53] The "problem of suffering" so acute a little later has the same implication for the individual as national disaster here for the group. In both cases it compelled a deepening of religious values.

[54] Isa. 31:1–3, Zech. 4:6.

[55] In a sense they were scientific. In the changing phenomena they discovered the constant facts and evolved from these their conclusions—their "theory," if one may use the word. That is, religious "revelation" and scientific "discovery" lie close together. For this view I am indebted to Professor W. T. Brown, of Yale.

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prophets are most pronounced. Prophecy had clearly broken up into two distinct groups. For even the grossly ignorant populace of the day the line of division must have been somewhat apparent. The problem of the prophetic sanctions became now acute beyond precedent. The common crowd, of course, still accepted the obvious: ecstasies and all the irrationality of the hysterical were palpable evidence of genuine inspiration; add to this such poor stage tricks as the gullibility of the time could accept as miraculous, and the thing was proven. But better minds were more than ever turning from this, and to that extent were largely cutting adrift, for there was yet no recognized higher certitude. Even the prophetic group themselves were groping for a criterion. Isaiah with all his greatness still clung to the apologetic worth of the miraculous.[56] On the side of its externalism, the well-known test supplied by Deuteronomy is of a piece with this appeal to supernaturalism: accuracy of prediction is the mark of genuine inspiration (Deut. 18:22), a test by which most if not all the great prophets would themselves stand condemned. Yet this very criterion is significant of the advance of thought, for by implication Yahweh, and Yahweh alone, through his prophets speaks naught but truth. And Deuteronomy too, in another passage (13:1–5), leaves all this rule-of-thumb behind, pointing out quite properly that physical portents can be invoked in support of false teaching, their value as in index of Divine revelation is nil, and far from serving as the hallmark of truth, they must rather themselves be submitted to the searching standards of the "commandments" of Yahweh. The writer, let us admit, may well have seemed here to be obscuring the issue with fine phrases, for the crux of the whole question is just what are the commandments of Yahweh. To this he gives no answer; probably he had none to give, other than the nearly worthless standard, the orthodoxy of the

[56] Isa. 7:10, 38:7. Let us be sympathetic with Isaiah: the vast majority of religious people to this very day likewise cling to the miracles as props to their faith.

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time.[57] He was wrestling with a great problem and had but vaguely apprehended the solution. Yet toward that solution, prophetic thought through these couple of centuries steadily moves. It is almost enunciated by Micah (3:5–8): in contrast to the popular prophets whose appeal is in their promise of wine and beer (2:11), his own case rests upon no more demonstrable grounds than his moral passion and message—but this he seems to say, is the strongest possible evidence. The work of Habakkuk[58] a century later provides peculiarly high enunciation of this view. And Jeremiah's, scarce less:[59] the avoidance of sensationalism by this central figure of Judah's last days is not the least evidence of his remarkable insight and spiritual understanding.

Now the importance of this is in the deepening conception of the nature of Truth: it is not some external thing to be bolstered up with sleight-of-hand tricks or the hocus-pocus of tawdry wonders. Truth is final, it is self-evidencing. It cannot be proved: it is realized by those whose hearts are turned toward right.

Yet the reality of this quest is apparent at every step in the very failures of the best exponents of Israel's religion. This was no cold academic discussion. They were searching the deepest things of human life. And in that search, they struggled through doubts and uncertainties: in the end but to feel bafflement and loss closing in upon them. The prophetic

[57] That is, the orthodoxy endorsed by the book of Deuteronomy.

[58] The great passage of course is the well known 2:4; but see, too, 2:1–3. Note the emphasis on Divine faithfulness in 1:12–13.

[59] See 12:3, 15:19–20, 25:4–5. In 1:12 and 28:9 there appears some persistence of the test of accurate prediction. But both are amenable to a deeper interpretation. 1:12 really depends on personal faith; and while chapter 28 seems oddly enough to suggest that the mark of true prophecy is its unpleasantness, yet the whole incident, as also that of chapter 29, in both of which we have Jeremiah flatly contradicting and denouncing as false the rival prophets, and offering no better proof than his own charges—the two stories imply that Jeremiah's certitude is based in his own religious experience. If we may generalize from this, Jeremiah's position is that the criterion of prophecy is its spiritual character and ethical content. 23:22 is very important in demonstration of this.

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quest was of the very blood and bone of human experience. The problem was real; the failures are apparent.

Jeremiah, it has already been pointed out, still admitted the pagan idea that his God on occasion could stoop to deception. That he felt himself a mere pawn in the grip of universal purpose, that he could concede that Purpose to be indifferent to honesty toward his humble tool, we might explain as not so much due to an uncritical acceptance of his spiritual heritage as rather wrung from him by the agony of his loneliness and failure. But he charged God also with deception of the whole nation (4:10), an idea from which Isaiah too is not free.[60] And Isaiah, as well, if the salient portion of 10:5–19 be properly attributed to him,[61] entertained the old notion of wholesale deceptions. The same thought is fondled lovingly by Ezekiel in his too dramatic but thoroughly hideous treatment of Gog of Magog (chaps. 38–39). There can be little doubt that in all this the prophets, under stress of their people's need, but perpetuate the crude theology of an earlier day. Heathenism has the vitality of the proverbial cat!

However, the exile is epochal in Israel's discovery of Truth. The disaster to the nation came to be understood as a demonstration of the reliability of the prophets and of the God who had spoken through them. Second Isaiah[62] in particular is the great exponent of Divine faithfulness. It is im-

[60] Isa. 6:10. Certainly we have here "the gradual hardening and ultimately fatal effect on character of continued disobedience to the voice of God" (so Gray, *ICC in loc.*) But we will require some evidence for the implied view that Isaiah conceived of this as working out through normal moral forces. He says pointedly that it was Yahweh's interference which made the people's hearts fat and their ears heavy. When we recall the early prevalence of this notion of Yahweh's deception of those with whom he is displeased the onus of proof is on those who would deny that here is a "vestigial" bit of Isaiah's theology.

[61] See Fullerton, *JBL*, XLI, 48–49.

[62] The argument and position remains in general unchanged if instead of the prevalent dating, we accept Professor Torrey's placing of II Isaiah in the fourth century. Perhaps indeed this latter would have distinct advantages for the history of an idea here essayed. We shall shortly see that it was the fourth and following centuries, not the sixth, which mark the great success of this thought of Truth. The later date for II Isaiah would then link him more immediately with this movement.

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plied in his scorn of idols, things of naught, a deception to their worshipers; but the God of Israel made and sustains the world. It is clear in his great teaching of Yahweh as the God of history, in accordance with his eternal plan working out the destinies of nations. He foretold events, and now was attested in their occurrence. His "righteousness" was to be vindicated in his approaching restoration of Israel. What clearer statement of the transcendent faithfulness of God could there be than those great passages in which the writer encourages his people to the venture of faith? "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee. . . . . For I am Yahweh thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour" (43:1–3). No less apparent is the faithfulness of God in the Servant Songs. The servant endured his persecution, sustained alone by a confidence in God, and even though done to death he rose again to triumphant vindication through the immutable purposes of his God.

It is more than a coincidence that II Isaiah saw this God of Faithfulness as supreme ruler in an ordered universe.[63] The root of the old fickleness of Yahweh was in his anthropomorphism. As long as Israel saw in him but a projection of human qualities, they would necessarily think him capricious. But a god of such character could never explain those immutable processes which we are prone to flatter ourselves we can "un-

[63] There is in this no intention of suggesting that the thought of Yahweh's supremacy in the world of nature here first emerges. Israel was but one with other primitive races in ascribing the creation of the world to her own god. But it requires no demonstration that the work and character of the god of Genesis, chapter 2, are quite remote from the height attained in the conception here.

It is possible that in the thought here under discussion, we have another influence of Babylonia upon the Old Testament. It was at this time Jewish thinkers were becoming intimately acquainted with Babylonian life, and they may well have learned of the immense mass of astronomical observation accumulated through the centuries by the priests for purposes of divination. The Greeks characteristically turned these to the interests of science and founded the study of astronomy; it may well be that Judah, following her special genius, made this impressive new knowledge subserve the interests of theology.

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derstand" through natural law. When, though, the national war god was sloughed off and instead Israel bowed before a "God who stretches forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth by himself," it was inevitable that their thought should advance to One who "frustrateth the signs of the liars, and maketh diviners mad, that turneth wise men backward and maketh their knowledge foolish, that confirmeth the word of his servant and performeth the counsel of his messengers.[64]

It will be seen at once, how close all this is to the priestly theology of ritual Judaism.[65] The legalists did, it is true, perpetuate much that was primitive, and in original significance, to say the least, pagan; yet true to human inconsistency they have given us also most majestic conceptions of a transcendent God. Here also is the Creator who spoke and it was done, from whose thought the ordered processes of nature sprang into being, who ordained the heavenly luminaries for signs and for seasons and for days and for years, who knoweth the number of the stars . . . . for that he is great in might not one faileth.[66] The Psalter is the great voice of the ideals and aspirations of normative Judaism, and the Psalter reiterates with no uncertain emphasis the faithfulness of God: it is striking and indicative of the transformation in religious thought that so frequently חסד and אמת are associated as attributes of God.[67] Yet even more important are the great

[64] Isa. 44:24–26; cf. Jer. 31:35–37, 33:20–22, very strong corroboration of the view here presented.

[65] The advance which we have undertaken to set forth is apparent in a comparison of II Sam. 24:1 with I Chron. 21:1. In the former Yahweh moves David to number Israel: then, true to the fickleness admitted by contemporaneous theology, punished him severely for this very obedience. By 300 B.C., this immorality is left behind: the Chronicler says that David's inspiration was Satanic!

[66] My colleague, Professor W. R. Taylor, has drawn my attention to the fact that it is identically this thought of the vision of God in the order of nature which is stressed in the Yahweh speeches in Job. And it is implicit in the view, in Prov. 8, that God made the world through "Wisdom." The thought emerges as early as Gen. 8:20 (J).

[67] See Ps. 100:5: cf., too, Pss. 25:10, 85:10–11, 89:1–2, 119:142, 146:6, etc.

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devotional Psalms in which the faithfulness of God is merely subsumed. How remote the mere suggestion of falsity in such great passages as Pss. 23, 90, 91, 121; or the wonderful glorification of the God of nature in 104 and 107!

Yet we must avoid the hasty conclusion that the full meaning of these lines of thought was at once realized. Second Isaiah makes much of his hope for a miraculous interruption of the orderly ways of nature, and in the Hebrew nature poetry beyond question the emphasis is much more upon the might than the faithfulness of the God who reveals himself there. Nor indeed if we include in our consideration here, as we have done earlier in this discussion, the thinking of the common people can there be anything better claimed of the days of the second temple than the probability of a considerable advance:[68] has popular theology even yet realized to the full that God is Truth? But the best thought of Judah[69] in those immediately post-exilic centuries did reach something approximating finality. The merging of the two complementary lines of revelation of a God who realizes his moral purpose in human society and a God who sits supreme in a universe of eternal law led inevitably to the vision of a Being of absolute and unimpeachable faithfulness whose demand of his worshipers is Truth in the inward parts.[70]

[68] It is perhaps justifiable to see in Ps. 116:11, a mood of reconsideration of the writer's wholesale disparagement. In this regard contrast the prophetic passages already cited; Jer. 5:1 ff., Isa. 1:23, etc.

[69] The evidence for this period is so voluminous that no effort is made to cite it exhaustively. A phase of the development worth observing, though, is the ethicizing of the Messianic hope. See, e.g., such passages as Isa. 11:3–5, 32:1–7. The idea of God in the Apocalypses is likewise of value here. Note, too, the high level of Rabbinic teaching; on this see G. F. Moore, *Judaism*. N.B., I, p. 13 ff.

[70] Ps. 51:6.

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SOME LATE ELEMENTS IN THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS

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IN THE teachings of Jesus as they are recorded in the Synoptic Gospels are certain items that may much more reasonably be ascribed to the authors of the gospels, or to the tradition which they employed, than to Jesus himself. One thinks at once of certain instances that have been often mentioned and about which there would not be much dispute. There is for example Matthew's version of Jesus' question as to "who men said that he was"; where Matthew, by inserting the words "the Son of Man" makes Jesus answer his own question in asking it.[1] Or Matthew's inclusion of rules in connection with church quarrels, among the words of Jesus.[2] Or his addition of the discussion of the propriety of Jesus' baptism, which he inserts into the account of Mark.[3]

If one gathers together the various passages which may reasonably fall under suspicion of this sort he will find that they fall into at least two classes. There are first, certain words which appear to the reader as part of the speeches of Jesus which, upon closer scrutiny, seem to come from the evangelist himself and were probably intended by him to be so understood. The absence of modern printing devices such as parentheses and quotation marks has led us to attribute these words to Jesus himself. An instance of this sort is to be found in the story of the paralytic as told by the three synoptists.[4] Jesus asks his critics whether it is easier to say "Thy sins be forgiven thee," or to say "Rise up and walk." Then

[1] Matt. 16:13; cf. Mark 8:27; Luke 9:18.
[2] Matt. 18:15–20.
[3] Matt. 3:14–15.
[4] Mark 2:10; Matt. 9:6; Luke 5:24.

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follow the words, "But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, he saith to the sick of the palsy." If these words were all intended as words of Jesus, the writer should have written, "But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, I will now say to the sick of the palsy." If he had intended the words to be all taken as his own, he should have written, "That they might know that the Son of Man had power on earth to forgive sins he said to the sick of the palsy." But if he was telling the story of what Jesus had said and done, and threw in as his own the words "that ye may know, etc.," addressed not to the people who listened to Jesus but to those for whom the Gospel was written, the sentence reads as it should. A modern device like quotations marks would have prevented the confusion of the present wording.

A clearer instance of the same thing is found in the speech which Mark[5] puts into the mouth of Jesus, "I was daily teaching with you in the temple and ye did not take me; but that the scriptures might be fulfilled." Clearer, I say, because Matthew evidently understood that these words about the scriptures were not Jesus' but Mark's, and in his own gospel[6] he makes them clearly editorial as he understands Mark to have done. Perhaps all words which attribute to Jesus the application of scripture to himself should be attributed to the evangelists.

I raise the question whether the same may not be said of all words which refer to the parousia as near at hand. It is now usual to relieve Jesus of all responsibility for the "little apocalypse."[7] But if any of it be attributed to him, certainly the words, "This generation shall not pass," "there be some standing here, etc.," are the words of the evangelists addressed to their own generation. If Jesus ever predicted his own coming on the clouds of glory, it is still more difficult to

[5] Mark 14:49.

[6] Matt. 26:56.

[7] Mark 13; Matt. 24; Luke 21.

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think that he did so at a time considerably earlier than this while he was still teaching in comparative freedom and nothing yet definitely threatened his life. Certainly at such a time he would not have predicted his parousia as being near at hand. If the instruction to the disciples about their missionary tour goes back to Jesus (and I see no reason why it should not), the words[8] "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come," are out of place among them. If at this early time he can be supposed to have foreseen his own death, resurrection, and parousia, he surely did not expect them all within such time as it would take his disciples to make a tour of Galilee. These are evidently the words of the evangelist, addressed not to the disciples Jesus sent out but to those who, in the evangelist's day, were going on similar missions at a time when the parousia was daily expected.

The same is probably quite as true, though not so clear upon the face of it, in Luke's record of the parable about the Unjust Judge.[9] The parable seems to end with the statement that God will avenge his own even though he be long about it. Then follow the words, "I tell you He will avenge them speedily." As part of the parable these words could hardly be more inappropriate, since the teaching of the parable is that the vindication may not come speedily. If the words belong to Luke instead of to Jesus, they express Luke's conviction that the vindication cannot now be much longer delayed. "There is not much longer to wait," he says; and then he adds—for he himself is not so sure of it, nor that the Christians can hold out till it comes—"Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh will he find the faith in the earth?" In the mouth of Jesus and as part of the parable this question adds nothing. Written by Luke, as his comment on the lesson of the parable, it is an eloquent testimony to the difficulty of maintaining the Christian faith in view of the fact that Jesus did not come.

The reference to Judas in Mark 14:21 seems best account-

[8] Matt. 10:23.

[9] Luke 18:1–8.

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ed for in the same way. Jesus is predicting his betrayal; the evangelist inserts the reference to scripture, "As it was written of him," and then adds, in view of what had afterward happened to Judas, that it would have been better for Judas if he had never been born. It is questionable whether Jesus ever came to feel that the events of his life had been foretold in the Old Testament. The evangelists felt that they had, and a large part of their apologetic consisted in citing the instances. They cite one such here, and add a half-pitying judgment on Judas in the light of later events. In the same way when Mark[10] tells the story of the anointing, makes Jesus commend the woman and then adds "Verily I say unto you, wherever this gospel is preached throughout the whole world this that she hath done shall be spoken of as a memorial to her," these latter words are certainly more appropriate in the mouth of Mark, who wrote when the gospel was beginning to be preached far and wide and when the story had doubtless been told many times, than in the mouth of Jesus. And it is quite likely that Mark expected them to be so understood.

In the same way again, the evangelists close their story of the walk through the corn[11] with the statement "Therefore the Son of Man is lord also of the Sabbath." The statement, in the mouth of Jesus, is a *non sequitur*. The moral of the story, pointed out by Jesus himself, is that the Sabbath was made for man not man for the Sabbath. The statement that Jesus is lord of the Sabbath is doubtless that of Mark himself, by which he means to assert that the Christians in their freer treatment of the Sabbath have the authority of the example of Jesus. Probably here also Mark did not expect his own words to be taken for words of Jesus. Of the same kind are the words in Mark 10:45. Mark has been giving the teaching of Jesus about true greatness; the greatest man is the greatest servant. To drive home this teaching of Jesus he adduces the

[10] 14:9; Matt. 26:13.

[11] Mark 2:38; Matt. 12:8; Luke 6:5.

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example of Jesus, who "came to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." These words, I suppose, are not impossible for Jesus, but they are certainly more natural for Mark who looks back upon the death of Jesus and is familiar with the interpretation given to it by the early church. So Luke tells the story of Zaccheus[12] and after Jesus' commendation of him Luke adds the observation that Jesus also came to seek and to save that which was lost. How easily such observations were added is shown in the fact that the same sentence was in many manuscripts added to Matthew's account of Jesus' teaching about offenses against "one of these little ones."[13] It used to appear in the older versions of the gospel but it is now recognized as a gloss, and in Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament is omitted as it is from Goodspeed's translation. Of these instances just given it should be noted that Jesus is called in them not Jesus but the Son of Man, a name not given to him by any of his contemporaries but commonly used of him either by those who looked back upon his life and death or forward to his parousia. It should also be noted that these references to the example of Jesus almost invariably come in at the end of some speech of Jesus where the evangelist is turning to some other scene or utterance. This was indeed the natural place to insert them. They are real addenda.

The second class of statements which may be attributed to the evangelists or the tradition behind them cannot be explained in this way. They were clearly intended by the evangelists to be understood as words of Jesus. But the reason for raising a question about them is plain enough. There is no difficulty, for instance, in attributing the parable of the Sower[14] to Jesus. But it is not so easy to think of Jesus as explaining his own parables; and in this instance the interpretation[15] fits so badly into the time when Jesus spoke the parable and so

[12] 19:10.
[13] Matt. 18:11.
[14] Mark 4:1–9; Matt. 13:1–9; Luke 8:4–8.
[15] Mark 4:13–20; Matt. 13:18–23; Luke 8:11–15.

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admirably into the period in which the Gospels were written, that it would seem clear that the interpretation goes back to the evangelist or to the tradition that grew up in the time between Jesus and him, and not to Jesus himself. Indeed, so long ago as Julicher's *Gleichnisreden Jesu*[16] it was not uncommon for New Testament scholars to attribute all the interpretations of the parables to a hand later than that of Jesus. Such a conclusion seems reasonable. Certainly the explanation of Jesus' purpose in teaching by parables,[17] that it was done so that the initiated might understand (by the help of the interpretation or perhaps in some instances without the need of it), but that the uninitiated might be merely mystified, in order to prevent the latter's being converted and forgiven, must be credited to the evangelist in spite of the fact that he himself credits it to Jesus. It is impossible to imagine Jesus using his parables with such a purpose; besides, the statement does not fit the parables, which are for the most part notable for their clearness. But for the evangelist, this was the natural explanation of the apparent inability of the people to understand and respond to Jesus' teaching. It was easy for him or for the tradition he used to think of Jesus as also taking the same view of the matter. Matthew apparently felt some difficulty in this, and softened Mark's statement, making the blindness of the people the reason for the parables, not the purpose of them.

Of certain other parables not the interpretation alone (where such is given) but the parable itself fits very poorly in the time of Jesus but very beautifully in the time between Jesus and the writing of the Gospels. Such is the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, closing with the words[18] "Watch, therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour." If the parable itself be attributed to Jesus, these last words at least are more naturally assigned to Matthew; a conclusion rendered more probable by the fact that Luke[19] also has a saying about

[16] 1910.

[17] Mark 4:11–12; cf. Matt. 13:11–13.

[18] Matt. 25:13.

[19] Luke 13:25.

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the door being shut but has no such conclusion to it as this of Matthew's. Like the words of Luke about finding the faith in the earth, these words of Matthew fit the time when the parousia was daily expected. But indeed the same thing must probably be said of the entire parable.

Likewise in the parable of the Evil Husbandmen[20] the servants who have been mistreated and even killed by the keepers of the vineyard would seem to be the prophets. The well-beloved son would seem to be Jesus. And the parable would seem to date most naturally from a time when people not only looked back upon the life and death of Jesus but had seen his gospel rejected by the Jews and carried to the Gentiles. The parable of the workers in the vineyard,[21] some of whom came early and some late but all of whom received the same reward, seems to betray its origin in a time when the parousia was supposed to be near and the question had arisen how it would fare with those who came into the Christian fold just before that event, as compared with those who had come in earlier. The parable of the Tares in the Wheat[22] sounds like something written at a time when unworthy persons had crept into the church, say in the time of the missionary activity of Paul. The interpretation of it,[23] that the sower is the Son of Man, the field is the world, the good seed are the sons of the kingdom, and the bad seed the sons of the Evil One, the harvest the end of the age, etc., seem to mark both it and the parable it explains as belonging to a time later than Jesus. The late date of the interpretation is further attested by the fact that the Kingdom of God of which Jesus spoke is here replaced by the kingdom of the Son of Man.

Whoever should read the passage beginning[24] "Whereunto shall I liken this generation" without having been accustomed to ascribe it to Jesus, would say at once that it seems to apply

[20] Mark 12:1–12; Matt. 21:33–46; Luke 20:9–19.
[21] Matt. 20:1–16.
[22] Matt. 13:24–30.
[23] Matt. 13:36–43.
[24] Matt. 11:16–19; Luke 7:31–35.

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to the age in which the Gospels were written. The speaker seems to look back equally upon both Jesus and John the Baptist. He refers to Jesus in the third person as he does to John and as if both had equally finished their work. The generation that is condemned for its treatment of both of them seems to be the generation of the evangelist himself or of his immediate predecessors. Matthew gives twice the request of the Pharisees for a sign. In one instance[25] he represents Jesus as replying that no sign should be given except the sign of Jonah. In the other instance[26] he expands the answer to include the words "For as Jonah was three days and nights in the belly of the whale so shall the Son of Man be three days and nights in the heart of the earth." If the verb here were "was" instead of "shall be," it would be clear that this was Matthew's own comment. That it is such in spite of the tense of the verb is rendered more probable by the fact that Luke, who has the same question and answer about the sign, lacks these words about the nights and days. It cannot be maintained that the verses which immediately follow both in Matthew and Luke[27] go back to the evangelists; they agree so intimately that it is plain they are taken from a common source (not Mark). But the character of them certainly suggests that they would be more naturally attributed to that source than to Jesus. For they contain the comparison of Jesus with Jonah and Solomon to the disadvantage of the latter two; a comparison as unnatural for Jesus as it was natural for his followers in the years after his death. In this passage also occurs the phrase "this generation" which occurred in the passage just discussed. The generation is apparently the generation that is immediately confronting the judgment, which was to follow immediately upon the parousia. The same use of the word "generation" is to be observed again in Mark 8:38: "the Son of Man will be ashamed of this adulterous and wicked generation, when he

[25] Matt. 16:1–4.

[26] Matt. 12:40.

[27] Matt. 12:41–42; Luke 11:31–32.

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comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." The natural inference is that the generation referred to is not the generation of Jesus himself but that of Mark, and, therefore, that it is Mark and not Jesus who has spoken the words.

It is not the object of this paper to evaluate any reinterpretation of the teachings of Jesus that would result from a clearer discrimination between his own words and those of a later time that have crept in among them, but only to indicate that such a discrimination is desirable. But it may be remarked that most of the passages here examined have to do with the judgment or the parousia. Might it be that Jesus never did predict his own coming on the clouds? And would this be one door of escape from the "thoroughgoing eschatology" of Schweitzer?

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THE RELIGIOUS SIDE OF JOSEPH BRANT[1]

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TO MOST of us the name of Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea [Tä-yĕn′-dä-nāy-gȧ]—inevitably connotes the Cherry Valley massacre, the destruction of Minnisink and Harpersfield. To associate religion with the accomplice and intimate of Walter Butler seems an absurdity. Yet the student of history is only too familiar with individuals and groups who were either fanatical in the assertion of religious precept and negligent in practice, or in the name of religion, perpetrated such atrocities as the Albigensian Crusade, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and more recently, the Russian pogroms against the Jews. One might assume then, that Brant belonged to one or both of these categories, but would, I think, be wrong. I hope to show that Brant belonged to that much larger class of people who can be intensely religious about some things at certain times and places, and quite the contrary about other things and in other times and places. Brant's biographers have related the main facts of his religious activities. In this paper I propose to assemble these items and add a few unknown to the biographers,[2] in order that we may survey the religious phase of Brant's career as a unit.

Lewis Morgan has shown us that Iroquois religion was a combination of dualism with a subordinate polytheism, strongly tinctured with superstition; or, as Dr. W. M. Beauchamp characterizes it, a strong but vague belief in which "all things had a tinge of the supernatural." One of its peculiarities was

[1] Read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, Indianapolis, December 28, 1928.

[2] William L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant* (New York, 1838), I, chap. i; II, chap. xv; Lewis A. Wood, *The War Chief of the Six Nations* (Toronto, 1914), chaps. iii, xiv, xv.

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that it had no special religious functionaries. Cadwallader Colden confirms these observations and adds that the Iroquois had "no kind of public worship . . . . and no radical word to express 'God,' but used a compound." Their funeral rites suggested a belief in a life after death.[3] Such was the religion the child Thayendanegea learned in the Long House. As a lad he was much about the home of Sir William Johnson, where his sister Molly officiated as housekeeper and more or less morganatic wife. How much of the religion of the Johnsons, who were Anglicans, Brant may have absorbed cannot even be guessed at. In the reign of Anne, Anglican missionaries had established a chapel where the Schoharie flows into the Mohawk, near "Iconderoga," the lower "castle" of the Mohawks, on the site of the present village of Fort Hunter. To this chapel Queen Anne presented a silver service, of which "more anon." There was no resident missionary between 1719 and 1735. After the latter date the tenure was very irregular and the incumbent often ignorant of the Mohawk dialect,[4] so it is to be doubted if Brant absorbed much if any religion from this source. Nor is it probable that he imbibed anything more than a vague familiarity with the Anglican ritual through his associations with the Johnson household. Like Caliban, he may have had enough Christianity to swear by (or with).

Sir William, however, in the summer of 1761, sent Thayendanegea, (then nineteen years old) with two other Mohawk youths to Moor's Charity School, at Lebanon, Connecticut.

[3] Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (New York, 1922), I, Book II, chap. i; C. Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (New York, 1904), I, xxxvi–xxxviii; William M. Beauchamp, *History of the New York Iroquois* (Bulletin 322, University of the State of New York, State Museum No. 78; Archaeology 9, Albany, 1905), p. 131; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (New York, 1846), pp. 36, 85–88; J. K. Bloomfield, *The Oneidas* (New York, 1907), chap. iii; W. M. Beauchamp, *Iroquois Folk Lore* (Syracuse, 1922), pp. 61, 158, 169.

[4] E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1851), IV, 506; W. M. Reid, *The Mohawk Valley* (New York, 1901), chap. vi; Beauchamp, *History of the New York Iroquois*, pp. 346–47; Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–76.

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As everyone knows, this school, founded by the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, developed into Dartmouth College. Wheelock found Brant "a considerate, modest, and manly spirited youth." One of Joseph's schoolmates was Samuel Kirkland, the son of a minister of Norwich, Connecticut. In November, Dr. Wheelock sent Kirkland and Brant to the Mohawk Valley to seek more Indian pupils. They bore a letter to Sir William in which Wheelock described Kirkland as a "Charity Schollar Whom I have been fitting for College; And is designed to continue with me several years, in order to learne the Mohawke Language & ca With a View to a Mission if God pleases."[5] Like his preceptor, Samuel Kirkland was destined to establsh a school for Indian and white boys which evolved into a college—the "Hamilton-Oneida Academy" of Kirkland's foundation (1793) becoming Hamilton College in 1812, only a few years after the deaths of Brant and Kirkland.[6] Among Kirkland's papers in the library of the college are many which bear upon our subject. Few of these have ever been published.

Both Wheelock and Kirkland were Calvinist clergymen. Undoubtedly they sought from the outset to Christianize every Indian in the school, but it was not until 1763 that Wheelock could boast that Brant had been converted the previous winter.[7] Whether that convert ever formally affiliated with a Calvinist church is very doubtful. Wheelock and Kirkland planned for Brant to accompany Kirkland to Prince-

[5] E. Wheelock, *A Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Indian Charity School at Lebanon, in Connecticut* (Boston, 1763, Rochester Reprints No. 1), pp. 30, 41–42; Sir William Johnson to Wheelock, November 17, 1781, in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History*, IV, 197, 305; Wheelock to Johnson, November 2, 1761, in James Sullivan and A. C. Flick, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1921, *et. seq.*—cited below as *Johnson Papers*), III, 556–58; Frederick Chase, *History of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge, 1891), I, 20–21.

[6] J. D. Ibbotson and S. N. D. North, *Documentary History of Hamilton College* (Clinton, 1922), *passim;* S. K. Lothrop, *Life of Samuel Kirkland* (Boston, 1848), pp. 339–46.

[7] Chase, *op. cit.*, I, 21.

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ton, but the miscarriage of letters from Sir William frustrated this plan.[8] Instead, with Johnson's approval, Wheelock sent Brant, in June, 1763, to act as guide and interpreter to the Rev. Charles Jeffrey Smith, an instructor in the school, who wished to spend the summer among the Mohawks. He expected to continue Brant's instruction in the Lebanon curriculum while Brant reciprocated by teaching him Mohawk. Both Smith and Wheelock had excellent opinions of Brant. Wheelock said Brant was doing well in school and was "indeed an excellent youth"; while Smith said he had selected Joseph as his companion because he was "a promising youth of a sprightly genius, singular modesty, and a serious turn."[9]

According to one of his biographers "it was with sad misgivings that Joseph thought of turning his back upon the school where he had been for scarcely two years," but he consented, since Smith was to continue his instruction. Rather contradictory is Wheelock's statement that Joseph was becoming restive at Lebanon, being much disturbed by Mohawk disapproval of his continuance in the white man's school. His sister Molly had rather peremptorily summoned him home in May, so he probably welcomed Smith's mission as an easy way out of his predicament.[10]

At any rate the missionary enterprise came to an abrupt end. Pontiac's War had just begun and Brant's veneer of Puritan religion was not strong enough to make him prefer the mission field to the warpath. So Thayendanegea, veteran of the campaign of 1755, dropped his hornbook and drew his tomahawk. Smith, perforce, abandoned his mission. Later he became a missionary to the slaves in Virginia.[11]

[8] Johnson to Wheelock, July 21, 1762; *Johnson Papers*, III, 832; Wheelock to Johnson, January 20, 1763, *ibid.*, IV, 323.

[9] Wheelock to Johnson, January 20; Smith to Johnson, January 18, 1763; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 323, 325.

[10] Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Wheelock to Johnson, May 16, 1763; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 211; Chase, *op. cit.*, I, 22.

[11] Smith to Kirkland, January 17, 1770, in Kirkland's papers in the library of Hamilton College, cited below as "Kirkland MSS."

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Wheelock heard that his recent pupil had "joyn'd himself With the Enemy, and put himself at the Head of a large party of Indians to fight against the English." In spite of this rumor, the worthy doctor sent his love to his "dear Joseph" and assured him of a welcome to the advantages of the school "as long as [should] be profitable to him." Johnson and Kirkland were able to assure Wheelock that even though Brant had abandoned the ways of peace, he had taken up the hatchet on the right side. Kirkland said that not only was Joseph "useful in the war," but that "he behaved so much like the Christian and the soldier, that he gained great esteem. He now [1765] lives in a decent manner, and endeavors to teach his poor brethren the things of God, in which his own heart seems much engaged. His house is an asylum for the missionaries in the Wilderness."[12]

The last sentence suggests that Brant was married, which was indeed the case, his bride being the daughter of an Oneida chief. They were living at the Mohawk castle at Canajoharie. Eleazar Wheelock was told by another missionary that Brant had been "exceeding kind" when the missionary arrived at his house, sick and depressed. Three years later Ralph Wheelock reported that he had been entertained at the home of his "old friend Brant," who seemed quite willing to serve the Wheelocks and their fellow-clergymen, not only as host and guide, but on occasion, as interpreter.[13]

Besides these Presbyterian and Congregational missionaries from New England, the Dutch Reformed churches at Albany occasionally sent a clergyman among the Mohawks, and at rare intervals an itinerant Baptist preacher might come

[12] Wheelock to Johnson, March 26, 1764, *Johnson Papers*, IV, 379; E. Wheelock, *A Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School* (London, 1766, Rochester Reprints, No. 3), p. 32; Stone, *op. cit.*, I, 23.

[13] Theophilus Chamberlain to E. Wheelock, July 7, 1765, in Wheelock, *Brief Narrative*, p. 44; Journal of Ralph Wheelock for March 18, 1768, in E. Wheelock, *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Charity School*, etc. (London, 1769, Rochester Reprints, No. 5), p. 45; E. Wheelock to Robert Keen, August 18, 1768, *ibid.* p. 70.

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through the Valley. Queen Anne's chapel had had no resident minister since 1764. Upon the urging of Sir William Johnson and the Rev. Charles Inglis of New York, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts decided to try again to maintain a regular mission among the Mohawks. Their choice fell upon a man of gigantic stature and strength, whose intellect appeared to match his physique. The Rev. John Stuart delivered his first sermon at Queen Anne's on Christmas Day, 1770, and soon "was preaching acceptably to the English, Dutch, and Mohawks" of that part of the Valley.[14] At this time Brant's wife was dying of consumption and this illness no doubt led to Mr. Stuart's visiting the Brant home, Canajoharie being about eighteen miles from Fort Hunter. Thayendanegea means "Bundle of Sticks" which is a figure of speech for "Strength" or "Strong Man." It is easy to understand how these two stalwart men took a strong fancy to each other. Undoubtedly it was Mr. Stuart's influence which caused Brant to unite with the Anglican church. Stuart applied himself to the study of the Mohawk tongue with such success that in three years he was able to conduct marriages, baptisms, and parts of the liturgy in that medium. In this he was, of course, assisted by Brant, who helped him in his translation into Mohawk of the Acts of the Apostles, a Bible history, and a catechism.[15] The effect on the mind of the oratory-loving Indian of the study of the sonorous language of the Acts and of the Anglican liturgy, under such a virile teacher as Stuart, may be readily imagined. This period unquestionably made Brant a devoted—if not devout—Anglican. He was not so devoted, however, as to follow Stuart blindly in all matters. Some eighteen months after the death of his wife, he asked Stuart to marry him to her half-sister. Stuart positively re-

[14] O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 505–20, 1089 *et seq.*; Beauchamp, *History of the New York Iroquois*, pp. 339, 346–47; Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Jones, Pomeroy, *Annals of Oneida County* (Rome, 1851), p. 859 *et seq.*

[15] Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27; Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Stone, *op. cit.*, I, 27; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 508.

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fused, pointing out that the proposed bride came within the forbidden degrees of relationship. To this Brant replied that her relationship to his children would make her all the better stepmother. Stuart remained obdurate, so Brant procured a German cleric to perform the ceremony.[16]

Just as Pontiac's War had diverted Brant from his work as guide and interpreter for Smith, the Revolution separated him from Stuart. Sir William Johnson had perceived this struggle approaching and did all he could in his last years to prepare his Indian wards to be neutral. There is reason to believe that had he lived he would have succeeded. Unfortunately for them and for the Mohawk Valley, he died in July, 1774. His son John succeeded to the title of baronet, and to most of his father's estate. Sir William's son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, became the new superintendent of Indian affairs, and made Joseph Brant his secretary. The task of Guy Johnson and Brant, in the words of a Canadian authority, "laid on them by their king, was to keep the Six Nations true to his cause in the time when the tomahawk should leave the girdle and the war fires should again gleam sullenly in the depths of the forest."[17] To this task Brant and Johnson addressed themselves assiduously. The great obstacle in their way was Brant's former schoolmate, Samuel Kirkland, who, since 1766, had been a missionary to the Oneida nation. Though he circulated freely through the Oneida domain and into those of other nations, Kirkland made his headquarters at the Indian "castle" or village of Canowaroghare (or Kanonwarohale or Ganoalohale), situated on Oneida Creek, not far above Oneida Lake,[18] the site of the present village of Oneida Castle.

[16] Stone, *op. cit.*, I, 27–28.

[17] Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–31; Stone, *op. cit.*, I, 29–34; *Johnson Papers*, I, xxxiii–xxxviii.

[18] W. M. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York* (Bulletin 400, New York State Education Department, New York State Museum 108, Archaeology 12, Albany, 1907), pp. 137–38; A. D. Gridley, *History of the Town of Kirkland* (New York, 1874), p. 69; Nelson Greene, *History of the Mohawk Valley* (Chicago, 1925), I, 149; Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.

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One of Guy Johnson's first steps in his effort to organize the Iroquois as allies of England was to hold conferences with the sachems and chiefs of the Six Nations at Guy Park—now within the city of Amsterdam. At these councils of the winter of 1774–75, Brant was the principal interpreter.[19] He and Johnson were at once aware that Kirkland's influence was being exerted to keep the Indians neutral, so they conspired with some of the chiefs to discredit Kirkland with the Oneidas—just where his influence was greatest. His first intimation of this plot was a letter from Johnson telling him that the superintendent had received complaints against him, "principally regarding modes and ceremonials," but in addition accusations of meddling in politics. "The chiefs also complain," he continued, "that a considerable number of infants have died without baptism, as you refused them this sacrament on account of misconduct of their fathers." Actually, the report of certain chiefs, which Johnson sent to England, alleged that some clergymen in their regions had stores and were more interested in trade and politics than in religion, and that one had refused to baptize the children of Indians who were not of his party. Kirkland was not mentioned by name, but Johnson chose to attribute all these charges to him.[20] The hand that penned the dispatch might be the hand of Esau, but Kirkland at once detected the voice of Jacob dictating it. He replied at once, emphatically denying that he had meddled in politics. He then turned the attack upon his accusers by saying that he had heard that a chief called Kanaghgwacsea (or "Conaghquiesca" in *Colonial Documents,* VIII, 541), pretending falsely to be the agent of the Oneidas, had told Johnson that Kirkland had destroyed their religion, and by his doctrines had rendered their former baptism of no avail, and

[19] E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany, 1857—cited below as *Colonial Documents*), VIII, 518–27, 534–57.

[20] Guy Johnson to Kirkland, February 14, 1775, Kirkland MSS; O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents,* VIII, 535–36; Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, p. 94; W. W. Campbell, *Annals of Tryon County* (New York, 1924), p. 16.

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had meddled in politics by opposing the Indians' methods of civil government. The Oneida chiefs had had no previous knowledge of Kanaghgwacsea's journey or his purpose. "For which reasons," said Kirkland, "some have suspected the said Kanaghgwacsea received his informations that way [*i.e.* at Guy Park]—that it was probably a concerted plan between him and Joseph Brant, as it has been reported (by some of the company) that they two were closeted together some time before the speech was delivered."[21] Kirkland then quoted a letter which the Oneida sachems had already sent Johnson, repudiating and refuting Kanaghgwacsea's charges, both religious and political. Kirkland denied that he attempted to proselyte Indians already converted by a missionary of some other sect. While he was writing this lengthy dispatch the indignant chiefs and sachems held a meeting at which Kanaghgwacsea was present. That one publicly acknowledged that he had been advised by Brant to affirm several things against Kirkland, for the sole reason that this would please Johnson. Kanaghgwacsea further said that Johnson told the assembly that Kirkland was a "descendant of those New Englanders or Boston people who had formerly murdered their king and fled for their lives when they came to this country and that the New England ministers were not true ministers of the gospel."[22] It appeared that Johnson had also told them that they "ought to pray only according to those forms which the king has set forth in the prayer book, and [they] must learn the responses."[23]

As a result of these disclosures, four chiefs from another Oneida village dictated to Kirkland for transmission to Johnson a letter in which they also denied and refuted Johnson's charges. They asserted that Brant had come to them and in-

[21] Kirkland to Johnson, February 21, 1775, Kirkland MSS. For secondary accounts of this episode, cf. Lothrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 233–38; Gridley, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72.

[22] Kirkland to Johnson *ut supra*.

[23] Gridley, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

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sisted that Johnson wanted them to abandon Kirkland's teachings, that they "must leave his manner of worship entirely and follow all ye forms in ye Book [of Common Prayer]" or they would offend both Johnson and the king. Then these red catechumens proceeded to read Colonel Guy Johnson a lesson in religious tolerance—no doubt with a little prompting from the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

> We did not see Bror, that we should offend the King by exerting ourselves in the worship of God;—this we thought would offend him, if we should do mischief or oppose him, for such conduct we apprehend the King would say they are out of the way;—We think that Christ loves all those who worship him in truth. We thought also that the King equally loved those who were obedient and peaceable subjects.

They concluded by politely but firmly announcing their determination of keeping Kirkland with them if he were willing.[24] One of the signers of this document was Chief Adam, the "Adam of Onighquagey" who had testified against the Rev. Aaron Crosby, and resented having his words twisted to discredit Kirkland. Another Indian (Thomas) had said, however, that "the dissenting minister at Canowaroghare" had interfered in worldly matters and had burned a letter addressed to Johnson. To both these chiefs Johnson had given a speciously broadminded and non-sectarian reply, *according to the account he forwarded to England.*[25] Nevertheless he and Brant did not hesitate to use these rumors against Kirkland.

On Johnson's advice, General Gage ordered all Presbyterian missionaries from the territory of the Six Nations until

[24] Chiefs of Onoghgwage to Guy Johnson, March 7, 1775, Kirkland MSS. "Onoghgwage" may have been an Oneida village on Oriskany Creek, or the village on Owahgenah, or Cazenovia Lake; or the Seneca village of Onaghe. Kirkland had been a missionary to the Senecas before settling amongst the Oneidas. The spelling of these Indian names have so many variations in contemporary documents that it is frequently difficult and sometimes impossible to identify a given place. Of course no vestige remains of many of these places. Cf. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York*, pp. 114, 159.

[25] O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 551–54.

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the dispute between Old England and New England should be adjusted. This news disturbed the chiefs of the Oneidas, as did messages from the Committees of Safety at Albany and Schenectady that these committees were uneasy for the lives of the missionaries. Some of the chiefs told Johnson it would be "of bad consequence to remove our Father ye minister [Kirkland]." They expressed surprise at the order, as he had taught them "only religious doctrine."[26] This availed Kirkland little, as Johnson ordered him farther east and forbade his return to Oneida. From Cherry Valley Kirkland wrote the Albany Committee that Johnson appeared "unreasably jealous" of him and forbade his speaking a word to the Indians. "All he has against me," said Kirkland, "I suppose to be this; a suspicion that I have interpreted to the Indians the doings of the Continental Congress which has undeceived and too much opened the eyes of the Indians for Colonel Johnson's purposes." If that were a fault, Kirkland admitted that he had been guilty of it.[27]

While it is clearly impossible to distribute the blame for this religious persecution between Brant and Johnson, one may conjecture that they equally favored it. Johnson, of course, had the more influence with Gage, Brant with the Indians. However, their efforts along this line came to nought, as soon the entire Johnson-Claus-Butler clan had to leave the Mohawk Valley for Canada, taking with them Brant and many other Iroquois. Kirkland returned to his Oneidas, whom he and his friend, Chief Skenandoa, kept loyal to the colonies during the Revolution, while the Tuscaroras were mostly neu-

[26] Copy in Kirkland's handwriting of "Reply of the Chiefs and Warriors at Oneida" to Guy Johnson, May, 1775, Kirkland MSS. Cf. O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents,* VIII, 605–31, for Gage's and Johnson's attitudes, and for "Conference of Commissioners of the Twelve Colonies with the Six Nations at German Flatts," August 15, 1775.

[27] Kirkland to Albany Committee, June 9, 1775, in Peter Force, *American Archives,* Series 4, Vol. II (Washington, 1840), p. 1310.

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tral.[28] The importance of Kirkland's influence can hardly be overestimated. Had Brant succeeded in discrediting him with the Oneidas, that nation would have voted with the other five for war on the side of the British. With the entire Iroquois Confederacy on their side the British could have commanded the Mohawk Valley and St. Leger's expedition could have reached Albany before Burgoyne was conquered, whence the entire outcome of the war might have been different. Since the Iroquois constitution required a unanimous vote of the nations in such a case, to make the decision binding on the Six Nations, the negative vote of the Oneida nation frustrated the Brant-Johnson attempt. So though the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes as units, and some few Oneidas and Tuscaroras fought for the British, the two latter nations and individuals of the other four either remained neutral or aided the Americans.[29]

With Kirkland's further activities during the Revolution we have no concern, and with Brant's only in so far as they have a religious or moral aspect. Commissioned captain in the British service, Brant went to England in the winter of 1775–76. Probably he bore the letter from Guy Johnson to Lord George Germaine in which Johnson said that the failure of the Church of England to maintain missionaries among the Iroquois "had afforded opportunity for introducing New England missionaries who diffuse[d] their evil principles with their religion." The only part of the Six Nations with whom he had "found any difficulty was a village of the Oneidas where a New England missionary resided." Brant personally

[28] M. W. Stryker, "Samuel Kirkland and the Oneida Indians," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*, XIV (Albany, 1915), 101–7; C. Thomas and W. J. McGee, *Indians of North America in Historic Times* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 147; Lothrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 238–49; Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 23–28; II, 195–96; Stone, *op. cit.*, I, chaps. ii–v; Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.

[29] Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 62, 105–6; II, 222–23; William M. Beauchamp, *Civil, Religious and Mourning Councils and Ceremonies of Adoption of the New York Indians* (Bulletin 402, New York State Education Department, New York State Museum, 113, Archaeology 13, Albany, 1903), *passim*.

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told Germaine that "concerning the want of ministers of the Church of England [Colonel Johnson] knew the designs of those bad people 'the Bostonians'." He added: "We have only, therefore, to ask that His Majesty will attend to that matter."[30]

A stray volume of the London *New Wonderful Magazine and Marvelous Chronicle, or New Weekly Entertainer,* for 1776, has found its way to the Hamilton College library. This volume contains a brief notice of the visit of the "wonderful chief of the Mohock Indians," of whom it was said: "He speaks English very well, and is so much a master of the language, that he is engaged in a translation of the New Testament into the Mohock tongue. . . . . He affords a very convincing proof of the tameness which education can produce upon the wildest race."[31] This "tameness" was not very evident to the people of the Mohawk Valley after Brant returned to America.

Some years after that return, when Brant's name evoked panic throughout New York and Pennsylvania, the authorities of the former state received a letter from him, dated "On the Delaware Kriks, April 10, 1780." As translated by Kirkland this remarkable document reads:

> That you Bostonians (alias Americans) may be certified of my conduct towards all those whom I have captured in these parts—know that I have taken off with me but a small number and many have I released—neither were the weak and helpless subjected to death. It is a shame to destroy those who are defenceless—this has been uniformly my conduct during the war. I have always been for saving and releasing—These being my sentiments, you have exceedingly angered me by your threatening and distressing those who may be considered as prisoners—Let there be no more of this conduct—Ye are or once were brave men—I shall certainly destroy without distinction—does the like conduct take place in the future.[32]

[30] Guy Johnson to Lord George Germaine, January 20, 1776; O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents,* VIII, 654; Speech of Brant to Germaine, March 14, 1776, *ibid.,* p. 670.

[31] Vol. III, 448–49. This appears to be the same article which Stone cites in the *London Magazine* for July, 1776, *Life of Brant,* I, 150–51.

[32] Copy in Kirkland MSS.

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Were these pretensions of mercy and chivalry sincere? It seems probable that, when planning such expeditions as those against Cherry Valley and Unadilla[a], Brant intended to restrain his Indian and Tory troops from massacre and torture, only to find them beyond his control. Nor would it have been strange if, in the heat of battle, the Episcopalian Captain Joseph Brant reverted to the pagan Chief Thayendanegea.[33] And if he did, he was less blameworthy than the Crusaders who massacred infidels at Jerusalem in 1099, or than Cromwell at Drogheda in 1649. Certainly Brant did protect some of his prisoners and is credited with having restored an infant to the mother from whom it had been torn. Such stories, true or apocryphal, suggest that Brant, like many other professing Christians, forgot his religion in moments of excitement to remember it with remorse later. The historian of the Mohawk Valley, dwelling in the very regions devastated by Brant, has no faith in Brant's "mercy." He calls Brant "a terrible, desperate and bloodthirsty savage . . . . [who] posed as a merciful foe, but he slaughtered dozens where he spared one for theatrical effect."[34]

Early in the war those Iroquois nations which allied themselves with the British either removed to Canada, or to the vicinity of the British fort at Niagara, Brant and most of his Mohawks being at the latter place. His second wife had died childless—which no doubt Stuart would have told Brant was the penalty for their uncanonical marriage. These two sisters, it will be recalled, were Oneidas. The third Mrs. Joseph Brant was the daughter of the principal sachem of the Tortoise Clan of the Mohawks, her husband being of the Wolf Clan.[35] Their marriage had been only according to Indian rites, but now seeing the splendor and solemnity of the Anglican wedding

[33] On this point cf. Stone, *op. cit.*, I, 155, 379–81; II, 31, 96, 565–67; Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–69; Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–98, 110–11, 208.

[34] Greene, *op. cit.*, I, 678.

[35] Brant's mother was not of sachem stock—perhaps not even of Mohawk—so he could never attain the rank of sachem; but his sons by the third marriage were eligible for this dignity, which at least one attained.

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service, at the marriage of one of the British officers at Fort Niagara, Brant insisted that he and his squaw must have one like it.[36] This may have been due to his religious scruples; more probably, to his love of show; most probably, to a mixture of these two factors.

The final defeat of the British spelled disaster for their red allies. Iroquois, like white Loyalists, found it expedient to migrate. Naturally they sought asylum in Canada. Some settled along the Bay of Quinté on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. Brant and most of the Iroquois settled upon grants along the Grand river, in the present counties of Brant and Haldimand of the province of Ontario. Soon the village of Brantford arose here.[37] Not a sachem, only a war chief, Joseph Brant nevertheless felt a responsibility toward his red brethren, due perhaps to strong racial instincts, but partly the result of his Christian associations. So he exerted himself at Quebec, Montreal, London, and Philadelphia in their behalf. Not only did he seek and secure lands and money for them—traveling at his own expense—but he sought their spiritual welfare also. Largely through his efforts there arose at Brantford an Episcopal church still called "the old Mohawk church." It has the distinction of being "the first Protestant church erected in Canada after the [English] conquest," and the first one in the province of Ontario. "With the erection of this temple of the Mohawks," says a Canadian historian, "begins the history of Protestant churches in one of the fairest sections of Canada."[38] To this church the Mohawks brought the Bible and silver service that Queen Anne had presented to the little chapel at Fort Hunter. The silver had been buried during the Revolution, and was now exhumed

[36] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[37] A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914–17), III, 707–13; XI, 221. Cf. L. J. Burpee, *Historical Atlas of Canada* (Toronto, 1927), Maps 32, 63.

[38] Shortt and Doughty, *op. cit.*, XI, 221; Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–29.

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and taken to Canada, and divided between the churches at Brantford and the Bay of Quinté.[39]

About this time Brant besought Chief Skenandoa to use his influence with the Continental Congress to secure a fair treaty with the exiled Iroquois.[40] This was written from Niagara, whither Joseph had gone to attend a council of the Six Nations, the Shawnees and the Cherokees. Not reaching a satisfactory conclusion an appeal, probably suggested by Brant, was sent asking Congress to appoint delegates for a special conference. Brant urged Congress to comply with this request, as such a conference would tend to produce peace.[41]

After another trip to England Brant divided his efforts for some years into endeavors to adjust Indian relations with Canada and the United States, to the best advantage of the Indians; and attempts to better the material and moral condition of the Grand River Indians. Perhaps he had never heard the Roman motto *divide et impera,* but he saw both the United States and Canada practicing it by making separate treaties with each tribe. So for several years he sought to federate all the Indians in Canada and the United States east of the Mississippi—and some to the west of it—for the purpose of presenting a united front in negotiations with both British and Americans. Thayendanegea naturally preferred a "bundle of sticks" to individual twigs. He wrote Kirkland that it had been his

> constant study . . . . [to] unite the Indians together and make such a peace between them and the states as would remove all prejudices and enable us to set down on our seats free from apprehension and Jealousies, and if not more respectable, at Least not more contemptible.

Speaking of the difficulty of overcoming the indifference and prejudices of the Indians, he remarked:

> Still I cannot condemn when I consider the many reasons which operates [*sic*] upon them. To compute it to defect in nature would be cen-

[39] Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[40] Brant to Skenandoa, August 26, 1785, Kirkland MSS. For Skenandoa cf. Bloomfield, *op. cit., passim;* Lothrop, *op. cit., passim;* Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–25.

[41] James Dean to ————, September 15, 1785; Kirkland MSS.

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tering the blame where we have no right to search—they believe the same supreme power created both them and the white people, but perhaps for different purposes—there originates the first prejudice.[42]

Henry Schoolcraft tells us that Brant brought back from England ten pounds sterling, with instructions from the donor to give it to that Indian or group of Indians doing most in the way of self-help. At the Seneca reservation in New York state he found the Indians completing a church, so gave them the money to buy stoves to heat it.[43]

Both Kirkland and Brant had been interpreters at the Buffalo Creek treaty of 1788, where Kirkland had been instrumental in procuring more favorable terms for the Indians, for their lands confiscated during the Revolution. An interesting souvenir of this meeting of Thayendanegea and the once abhorred "New England missionary" reposes in the library of Hamilton College—which, by the way, is located in the town of Kirkland of the county of Oneida. On the flyleaf of this book is written in a vigorous and legible hand: "A Present from Captain Joseph Brant to the Revd Mr S. Kirkland, Niagara, 15th July, 1788." The volume is the *Book of Common Prayer,* "together with a collection of occasional prayers and choice sentences of Holy Scripture," in the Mohawk tongue. Such a work had been issued by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel some decades before. Brant had now brought out a new and better edition, to which he added certain hymns and his own translation of the Gospel of Mark. This work was published in London in 1787. A few years later he translated and published the Anglican liturgy and a doctrinal primer.[44] The late Dr. William M. Beauchamp, Episcopal clergyman, missionary to the Onondagas, and authority on Iroquois history and philology, pronounces

[42] Brant to Kirkland, March 8, 1792, Kirkland MSS.

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 183.

[44] Copy of the Prayer Book in Hamilton College Library; Stone, *op. cit.*, II, 287, and Appendix No. VI; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 128. For Kirkland's part in the treaty of 1788 cf. "Deposition of S. Kirkland, Philadelphia, May 5, 1792," in Kirkland MSS.

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the Brant edition "superb."[45] But judge for yourself. The following familiar passages will illustrate the nature of the book, which has the English version on one page, the Mohawk on the opposite.

MARK 12:17

And Jesus answering, said unto them, Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. And they marvelled at him.

Neoni Jesus tondahhadàdy waghfakaweahhaghse, Eghlts-hitsyadeweandeghdàs ne Cesar ne Tfinakarihhòdeáse ne raouhha raweanìyouh Cesar, neoni ne Nìyoh ne Tfinakarihhòdeáse nene Nìyoh raweanìyouh. Neoni ronouhha wahhoewaneghràgouh.

FIRST STANZA OF "VENI CREATOR"

Come, Holy Ghost, Creator, Come;
Inspire the souls of Thine,
Till ev'ry heart which thou hast made
Is filled with Grace Divine.

Ka ro Ro ni gough yough stouh,
Ne Sa kwen yat ni yoh,
O ni a gwe gonh tak we yeghs
Sa wea na do geagh ty.

General Henry Knox, Secretary of War, asked Kirkland, during the winter of 1791–92, to invite Brant to visit Philadelphia, with certain other chiefs dwelling on the American side of the Niagara. In extending this invitation, Kirkland told Brant of his plan for civilizing the Indians, especially by means of what we should call agricultural schools. In discussing the plan in his journal Kirkland remarked that most Indians put into white schools "were obliged for the sake of subsistence, to resume the savage mode of life afterward, Captain Joseph Brant excepted." Replying to the invitation Brant expressed cordial approbation of Kirkland's plan and offered his assistance, saying, "If doing good deeds will render a person fit for the kgdm of Heaven, accomplishing this Xian like desirable business of civilization merits and will render his (or their) names famous to posterity."[46] Brant did not go to

[45] *History of the New York Iroquois*, p. 372.

[46] Knox to Kirkland, December 20, 1791; Kirkland to Brant, January 3, January 7, 1792; Kirkland MSS; Kirkland's Journal for January 14, 1789; Brant to Kirkland, February 4, 1792, Ibbotson and North, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–41.

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Philadelphia until the summer, but while Kirkland was assisting federal commissioners in a conference with Iroquois chiefs, on the Genesee River in western New York, Brant attended—perhaps assembled—a conference of others on Buffalo Creek. He then proceeded to invite Kirkland, the commissioners, and the chiefs at Genesee to come to Buffalo for a joint conference. Kirkland was too astute to let Brant put his council in an undignified position, or to sow dissention in it. A polite reply told the Buffalo group, in effect, if they wished to confer with that at Genesee, to come thither. Even so, Chief Hendrick Aupaumut, a Stockbridge Indian, thought Kirkland had "too much charity" for Brant, whom he (Hendrick) did not trust.[47]

Brant was extremely anxious to have a regular rector at his Mohawk church. For a while he was pleased to have occasional visits from his old friend Stuart, but as that divine also had charge of a church at the other end of Lake Ontario, his visits were necessarily few and irregular.[48] After many and vain appeals to Sir John Johnson, to the Chief Justice, and to the Bishop of Canada for a regular pastor, Brant addressed a letter on this subject to Aaron Burr, of all people! He descanted upon the importance of the "establishment and enlargement of civilization and Christianity amongst the natives." "As religion and morality respect mankind at large, without any reference to the boundaries of civil government," he felt sure Burr would approve his plan, which was to secure a missionary from some bishop in the United States. He also corresponded with clergymen of various denominations, in both Canada and the United States—and often entertained itinerant clergy at his home. Evidently he was not so violent

[47] Kirkland to Knox, February 13; to Brant, March 16; Knox to Kirkland, April 21; to Brant, March 16; Brant to Kirkland, February 4; Aupaumut to Timothy Pickering, February 18; Kirkland MSS; Knox to Brant, February 25, April 23; Brant to Knox, March 20, 27; Stone, *op. cit.*, II, 321–26; H. N. Davidson, *Muh-He-Ka-Ne-Ok, a History of the Stockbridge Nation* (Milwaukee, 1893), pp. 19–20.

[48] W. L. Grant, *History of Canada* (Montreal, 1923), pp. 168–69.

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a sectarian as in 1775. His efforts came to nought, for it was not until he had been dead fifteen years that the Grand River Indians secured a resident pastor.[49]

Among the more or less religious duties which Brant took upon himself was that of conducting ceremonies of condolence and delivering the inevitable oration upon such an occasion, opening and closing it with allusions or appeals to the "Great Spirit."[50]

In the last letter from Brant found in Kirkland's papers, Thayendanegea refers to his prayer book and expresses the hope that he may bring out a revision of it. One of his biographers asserts that he had saved Kirkland's life from the fury of the Indians, at the outbreak of the Revolution. This I have been unable to substantiate, but if so, it must have been a source of considerable satisfaction to Brant in this semi-religious and wholly amicable correspondence of his declining years. For both he and Kirkland had forgotten their former politico-religious enmity and addressed each other in the friendliest manner. Brant also renewed his correspondence with the Wheelocks and sent two of his sons to President John Wheelock—Eleazar died in 1779—urging him to educate them in "piety and virtue."[51]

Knowing the ease with which the Indian succumbs to the drink habit, and recalling the innumerable temptations Brant must have had, it speaks well for his strength of character that he not only remained sober, but sought to keep liquor away from his Grand River colony.

To an unknown correspondent he wrote at great length about imprisonment for debt. In part, he expressed himself to this effect:

[49] Brant to Burr, May 7, 1800; Stone, *op. cit.*, II, 436; cf. also pp. 438–41, and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[50] Stone, *op. cit.*, II, 451–52; Beauchamp, *Civil, Religious and Mourning Councils*, etc., pp. 344, 351.

[51] Brant to Kirkland, March 10, 1800, Kirkland MSS; Stone, *op. cit.*, II, 469–79, 490; Chase, *op. cit.*, I, 619.

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I had rather die by the most severe tortures ever inflicted on this continent than to languish in one of your prisons for a single year. Great Spirit of the Universe!—do you call yourselves Christians? Does then the religion of Him whom you call your Saviour, inspire this spirit and lead to these practises? Surely no. It is recorded of him that a bruised reed he never broke. Cease, then, to call yourselves Christians, lest you publish to the world your hypocrisy. Cease, too, to call other nations savage, when you are tenfold more the children of cruelty than they.[52]

Brant died near Burlington Bay, Lake Ontario, on November 24, 1807. His biographers feel that whether or not he had a genuine religious faith, his religion did impel him to work for the moral and religious welfare of his people.[53] So we may fittingly close this study with the words of a Canadian historian: "Altruism is absent from the Indian character. Yet Brant's last words were for his race: 'Have pity upon the poor Indians; if you can get any influence with the great, endeavour to do them all the good you can.' "[54]

[52] Stone, *op. cit.*, II, 482–83.

[53] Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Stone, *op. cit.*, II, 499.

[54] Shortt and Doughty, *op. cit.*, IV, 713.

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AN ADDITIONAL STEP TOWARD THE UNDERSTANDING OF JESUS

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IT IS fast becoming a truism among New Testament critics that it is a hopeless task to attempt to write a life or history of Jesus in any approved sense of these terms. The materials for such a study are totally inadequate. Yet it is equally true that there seems little reason to believe that men will ever forego the attempt. Perhaps the very fact of the insuperable difficulties lends enthusiasm to the task. And so biographies and near-biographies are appearing with bewildering regularity. It cannot be done, so we try to do it. In all of them, with the possible exception of those perpetrated for financial or other reasons and so content to reaffirm the old shibboleths with complete unconcern for the results of a century and a half of study, one desire may be clearly seen: to find the satisfactory key for the questions, What is original in the Gospels? Who, then, was Jesus and what did he do?

During the Middle Ages and down to the time of the Protestant Reformation there was little uncertainty. This key with several others was on the key ring of the church. The fact that Anna and Veronica were not mentioned in the Gospels ensconced in the New Testament was of small concern. Did not the tradition of the church affirm that the one had been the mother of the Virgin, that the other had wiped the face of Jesus as he passed along the *Via Dolorosa?* In the face of such authority what uncertainty was possible?

The Reformation, whatever else it may have done, transferred the seat of authority from the voice of the church to the Scriptures. The sources of information for the earthly life of Jesus were the four canonical Gospels. To repeat a convenient

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and often used phrase, canonicity insured historicity. But settled problems have an embarrassing habit of speedily becoming unsettled. The birth of new ideas, the Copernican theory of the universe, the physical doctrines of Descartes and Newton, the philosophical views of Hobbes and Locke, all contributed to unleash new questions and interests, and soon doubts and denials of the traditional picture of Jesus in the Gospels made perfectly clear that canonicity, whatever it might do, did not insure historicity.

All this necessitated a closer study of the records, and by the middle of the last century a definite advance had taken place. It became increasingly clear that the Synoptic Gospels and John could not be focused in the same picture. To look at Jesus through them simultaneously was like looking through a field glass containing different lenses. Opinions differed as to which was the more valuable historically, but gradually the tide turned in favor of the Synoptists. Jesus had not habitually discoursed on the one great theme, himself, but rather had been content to stress in parable and otherwise the "kingdom," although quite conscious, of course, that he would be its king. During these years detailed and critical comparison of the three Synoptists had gone on apace. Gradually in spite of prolonged debate and decided opposition it became generally recognized that the riddle of the mutual relationship of Matthew, Mark, and Luke could be solved only on the assumption that Matthew and Luke had drawn substantially from Mark, rather than having supplied the materials from which a later epitomizer had drawn. And since much common material remained in Matthew and Luke after the Marcan material had been subtracted, a second source, largely discourse, anterior to them both from which they had drawn was obvious. These conclusions tended automatically to transfer to the Marcan and common discourse material the halo of historicity. The only justification for this résumé of story almost universally known is the desire to emphasize the fact that the quest

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through the years for the part of the story of which we may say, "This at least is certain," has resulted in a very appreciable reduction of the size of the statue of Jesus. In the so-called liberal Jesus the figure once colossal has shrunk not only to heroic but to life-size.

In the course of the quest for a certain answer to the question, "Who was Jesus?" it was but natural that the companion query, "Who did he think he was?" should arise. The explicit answer of the creeds, "Very God of very God," had long since given way to the assurance that he was and had asserted that he was the coming deliverer of Israel. Was not all Israel looking forward to the coming of the Messiah? Must not anyone who felt that he had a message for the nation assume, however unwillingly, this rôle? Renan had deplored the fact that Jesus had yielded to this fatal lure; Bousset had agreed, but had felt that there was no other path open for Jesus if he were to gain a hearing. But now doubts were being expressed. Much of the eschatological material which was considered part of "the Messianic expectation" was extremely distasteful to many advocates of the liberal Jesus. Wrede, by no means a sympathizer with the proponents for the liberal Jesus, had yet concurred that while we could never know who Jesus really was—our sources were far too fragmentary and unreliable for that—we might be very sure that the whole circle of Messianism was alien to him, a garment imposed upon him by the later church. So any quest for him must start by excluding all this material resolutely.

Another voice was now being heard. Schweitzer, the brilliant privat-dozent of Strassburg, found himself in harmony with Wrede's opposition to the reconstructed liberal Jesus as a figment of the nineteenth-century imagination but for antipodal reasons. Far from being alien to Jesus, Messianism with all its apocalypticism and eschatology was his one concern. It might be alien to us, it was not to him. Along these lines and these alone could we rediscover Jesus. And thus the more vo-

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ciferous Schweitzer reaffirmed the earlier views of Johannes Weiss and extended them from the circle of Jesus' teaching to embrace the whole of his career.

These views have never won wide assent. In Germany they had been entirely discounted, while in England and America, though supported by occasional champions, the feeling that such a Jesus as Schweitzer paints—and whom he is serving in equatorial Africa—is a misguided, if not actually insane, enthusiast has tended to make them generally unacceptable. Recent work on the nature of Judaism has lessened confidence in the usual view that all Israel was eagerly awaiting the coming of the deliverer, and has made it extremely probable that we have been most unwise in blending together the various notes of expectation for the future into one composite picture. Rather, many men, many minds; and for very many the Messiah, in any form, appears to have been conspicuous by his absence. The significance of this is very great. If this be the case, the view that Jesus needs must have assumed the position of Messiah even though his conception of it was far different than those of his fellows, for only so could he have gained a hearing, is seen to be based on the decided misconception that there was one Messianic program for the future and that any figure who heralded the future must identify himself herein.

The weakness of the thoroughgoing eschatology of Schweitzer was not that he made the near catastrophic end of the age and the speedy appearance of the supernatural Son of Man the one significant element in Jesus' thought, but that he thought that this demanded that Jesus conceive himself to be this Son of Man. The two key passages usually cited as evidence of Jesus' acceptance of the rôle of Son of Man and consequent claim to authority, namely, that the Son of Man has authority to forgive sins[1] and is lord of the Sabbath[2] are seen more probably to be understood as misunderstandings of the

[1] Mark 2:1–12; Matt. 9:1–8; Luke 5:17–26.

[2] Mark 2:27–28; Matt. 12:8; Luke 6:5.

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Aramaic word of Jesus, and consequently rendered into Greek with such faithfulness as to destroy the original meaning. Other instances occur in which the evangelists, confident that Jesus habitually referred to himself in this enigmatic way, apparently substituted Son of Man for the original "I."[3] Because of this some have argued that the phrase Son of Man was never found on Jesus' lips, but that it is everywhere due to the later christological speculations. A more probable explanation would seem to be that while Jesus constantly spoke of the near approach of this supernatural figure there seems little or no reason to feel that he meant his hearers to think he was referring to himself. One example may suffice. Jesus is represented by Mark to have said, "For whosoever shall be ashamed of *me* and of *my* words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the *Son of Man* also shall be ashamed of him, when *he* cometh in the glory of *his* Father with the holy angels."[4] Aside from traditional interpretation there seems little reason for identifying the first and third persons. And so another large block of building material when tapped with the hammer gives forth a warning sound, and another support for the authority of Jesus is removed.

In the now classic article, "Gospels," in the *Encyclopedia Biblica,* Professor Schmiedel urged as the criterion of genuineness those passages which from their nature and implications could not possibly be conceived as having been produced by Jesus' later worshipers. Many have spoken of these nine "pillar passages"[5] as if Schmiedel had declared that they alone were genuine—a position, of course, which he expressly denied. Although confessedly this criterion is based on the principle that a passage must be considered guilty until it proves itself innocent, on the whole it has proved the most trust-

[3] A particularly glaring example is found in the Matthean form of the question at Caesarea Philippi (16:13) where the substitution of *Son of Man* for Mark's "I" renders the question senseless.

[4] Mark 8:38.

[5] For the list see *Encyclopedia Biblica,* pp. 1881–83.

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worthy and is, in one form or another, the basis of most recent critical studies.

This underlying principle to which Schmiedel appealed has lately made its appearance in quite different dress, *Formgeschichte*, or as it is known in America, form-history or form-criticism. By an analysis of the Gospels and a classification of the sayings and narratives as paradigms, exhortations, legends, its sponsors have sought to account for the rise of the material in accord with the needs and desires of the early groups in the situation which confronted them. Accordingly the significant question for the form-historian is: What is the relation of this incident or saying to the life of the community that framed it?[6]

This phase of investigation is highly important and has already led to real results, but because of its value it is extremely liable to become one-sided. It may easily tend to mean, whatever is seen to have been of value to the early church they produced. It is not only conceivable but demonstrable that the framers of our Gospels—and their sources as well—selected the material which they felt would be of value for the purposes in hand and often freely revamped and altered it to make it more acceptable. As a recent writer has phrased it,

> . . . . It was especially in point to recall controversies between Jesus and his adversaries, and to note that he had virtually eliminated the distinction between clean and unclean meats [Mark 7:1–23]. Or, again, wearied by the struggle to save a world that responded none too eagerly to the Christian message, a discouraged congregation revived its drooping spirits by reciting a parable of Jesus likening the Kingdom of God to a diminutive mustard seed growing from small beginnings into a plant with great branches [Mark 4:30–32].[7]

The introduction of the dialogue between Jesus and John at the time of the baptism (Matt. 3:14, 15) and the suppression of the inconvenient words of Mark "unto remission of sins" are palpably later Christian touches, obvious in their purpose;

[6] Cf. Easton, *The Gospel before the Gospels*, p. 32. This volume provides the most thorough discussion of *Formgeschichte* in English.

[7] Case, *Jesus: A New Biography*, pp. 107 f.

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but recognition of this should not blind us to the fact that an inconvenient story such as that of the baptism of Jesus can hardly be seen as framed for purposes however practical by a group of worshippers who reckoned him as sinless and standing in no need of repentance. One would hardly err in classing this incident along with the other "pillars." Similarly many of the parables have been touched up and placed in quite artificial contexts, but their unity is a strong deterrent to composite authorship, while their quality is quite different from those preserved in the works of other paradigm-makers. Considerable material on the other hand is quite evidently the production of the church. The two Matthean references[8] to the church are usually cited as examples. Rash, indeed, would one be to deny that these reflect the attitude of the early church, and that the latter at least is a primitive bit of church polity. Yet it is not without interest to observe that the former of the two is a simple revamping and tacit correction of the Marcan parallel, while the latter may well be a "churchly" application of the word to Peter that a brother was to forgive until seventy times seven.[9] The significant thing is not that the evangelist altered the primitive demand into a form better adapted to church use, but that he utilized it at all and, more than that, that he appended it in its earlier dress to negate his own admonition.

All this should warn against the hasty assumption that because the evangelists and their sources exercised considerable freedom in their choice and use of material accordingly all that is seen to be of value they produced. The nine "difficult" passages isolated by Schmiedel, and as has been suggested the list is not complete, make perfectly evident that the church did preserve at least some genuine incidents and sayings. It would certainly be fantastic to assume that they saved only what they did not like!

The quest for the unimpeachably original data has resulted in such a constant whittling down of the figure of Jesus that

[8] Matt. 16:17–19; 18:15–18. [9] Matt. 18:21, 22; cf. Luke 17:3, 4.

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it would almost seem as if he had been the one insignificant element in the thinking of the earliest groups, and that it was not until men had nearly forgotten him that for some reason they decided to restore him to the picture, and having no reliable information constructed him *de novo*.

Yet after all was not Jesus the start of the new adventure in religion? Was he not the initial fact in the new enterprise? This is by no means intended to mean that Christianity *could* not have got under way without a historical founder. The contemporary oriental religions and syncretistic cults do not seem to have been hampered by the fact that Isis or Mithras had not actually trod the earth. Nor is the oft-repeated argument that the triumph of Christianity over her rivals and her continued increase in strength and numbers prove the historic fact of Jesus' existence valid. To argue that Christianity triumphed over Mithraism because Jesus was a historic individual and Mithras was not is no more tenable than to assert that the Roman empire fell because of her moral collapse. Not that Christianity *could* not, but that as a matter of fact it *did* not.

Although efforts to prove the historical fact of Jesus' existence usually fail, for clear external (non-partisan) evidence of unquestionable integrity is entirely wanting, the character and nature of the Gospels themselves have made it unthinkable to scholars acquainted with the nature of this evidence and its implications that this fact may be explained away. Matthew's oft-repeated formula, "It has been said of old, but I say unto you," is probably due to his view that Christianity is a new law and that the Kingdom of Heaven is synonymous with the Christian church rather than to a verbal fidelity to the teaching of Jesus. Nevertheless there seems little reason to question the judgment of Mark that his hearers were astonished "for he taught them as having authority."[10] When we are tempted to reduce Jesus to a voice crying in the wilderness, "The Kingdom of God is at hand," we are confronted with the stubborn

[10] Mark 1:22.

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fact of the postcrucifixion history. For some reason the despair of his followers yielded. Surely not because he had prophesied his death and resurrection, for then in place of dismay must have been joy. Hardly on the basis of supernatural appearances. Is not the most reasonable explanation concealed in the mystery of personality? The power of his personality was such that they became convinced that even death itself could be more easily defeated than he. In the endless discussions of Jesus this one most promising clue is the one consistently disregarded.

A recognition of this contact between Jesus and his followers tends to correct an overemphasis. The ignorance and unreceptiveness of Jesus' immediate disciples has been decidedly overplayed.[11] Too often they have been represented as completely misunderstanding the nature of Jesus' message and so garbling it beyond recognition. And this has often been most convenient. Each age with its own interests and problems has seen in Jesus the champion and advocate of its own views. Jesus' adherence had not been recognized because his disciples had failed to comprehend him. All the schemes and experiments that proved abortive in the early church, the ideas and expectations that flourished at first but which proved unworkable—these we have been wont to consider "early modifications or corruptions of the simple message of Jesus." Not only does this reduce the intelligence of his followers to near the vanishing point but brings into decided question the ability of Jesus to express himself in intelligible speech. Certainly the parables convey no such impression. Is it not more probable that instead of failing to understand him his hearers understood him all too well, and that as the years went by and later worshipers developed a more advanced christology the latter substituted their notions about him for what he himself had said or implied?

[11] Of course this is a deliberate literary device of the Fourth Gospel, and also of later Christian writings, as the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of the Apostles.

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Is it not at least inherently probable that the early followers of Jesus when confronted by their self-imposed task of carrying on his work after his death should have been decidedly influenced in their course of action not only by what he had done but by what he had taught? It is customary to examine the Gospels for the purpose of isolating material which reflects church use and which seems more appropriate to the day of the evangelists than to that of Jesus. Is it not worth while considering whether we may not examine Acts with equal propriety for evidence which will throw light on passages in the Gospels and aid in the determination of what is "suitable to the distinctive environment of Jesus"? In the present study there is opportunity only for sinking a few trial shafts.

One point on which there seems to be tolerable agreement among students of the New Testament is that we find in Acts an early experiment in communism. This has been challenged, but mostly on sentimental grounds. The question arises: Why did the Church try this experiment? In this connection is not Jesus' word to the rich young man to sell his goods and give his proceeds to the poor of significance? His concern is apparently not for the poor but for the young man himself. Riches were an insuperable bar to an attempt to gain the great boon of life—entrance into the Kingdom. Since all things were possible for God, it was possible that there might be an exception, but his teaching is explicit that as a general thing riches were a sore handicap. We have been wont to tone down this clear word and to make it a special diagnosis for this man, but surely the evangelists give little support to this attempt to side-step an unpleasant truth. Matthew recognizes the severity of the teaching and as often tones down the clear word, "One thing thou lackest," into "If thou wouldest be perfect." Have we not here an early attempt to adapt the uncompromising teaching of Jesus, which was not intended as a social panacea in a society long to continue, but as a means of gaining admittance to the fast-approaching Kingdom, to be a dictum of morality in

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the early church? We have attempted to get away from the clear teaching by emphasizing the evil of "trust in riches," but does that do justice to Jesus' view? We recognize that were men to follow the instructions not alone to the rich ruler, but as recorded in the Sermon on the Mount—"And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also . . . . give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away"—it would be the collapse of society. But does that justify us in making Jesus sponsor our ideas? If life were to continue but a short time, it might be an admirable procedure.[12]

Is it not more probable that the experiment recounted in Acts is to be seen as a consistent attempt to put this teaching into practice rather than that *de novo* the church decided on this policy and that different writers later deftly inserted such teaching into Jesus' mouth? This probability is heightened by the fact that at the time the Gospels were framed this Jerusalem experiment had apparently long since collapsed,[13] never to be repeated. It would appear that the record of this experience would serve as confirmatory evidence for the accuracy of the Gospels regarding Jesus' attitude toward wealth. Distrust of the rich and greater confidence in the poor may well have been forced upon him by the hostility of the former, who not unnaturally looked askance at the teaching of an impending change, even though it was to be brought about by an act of God. Is it not natural that among those who had nothing to lose and everything to gain such a teaching should have been most acceptable?

Another apparent characteristic of the early group was the expectation of a speedy and spectacular end of the present age and the dawn of a new age. This would be coincident with if

[12] For a fuller discussion of this point see an article by the present writer, "The Essential Principles of Christian Morality as gathered from the New Testament," *Crozer Quarterly*, V, No. 3 (July, 1928), esp. 280–89.

[13] Cf. also Shepherd of Hermas, *Sim.* 2, 1–10, for the very different attitude toward wealth held by a practical pastor of the second century.

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not actually brought about by the return or second coming of Christ. That this was the view of the earliest group is so clear not alone from Acts but from the letters of Paul that argument would appear unnecessary. How, then, did this view arise so speedily in the newly founded group? When we turn to the Gospels we find a perfectly reasonable explanation. In the various strata of the tradition is found the clear intimation that Jesus had heralded the near approach of the end of the age and the appearance of the Son of Man in the lifetime of his hearers. It is extremely difficult to conceive of later generations putting such statements into the mouth of Jesus at a time when his generation had passed away and the expected coming was constantly receding into the future. On the other hand, that Jesus had prophesied his own death and resurrection, as suggested in the foregoing, seems hardly probable. Is it not rather that his followers, after the first despair caused by the disastrous events of the fatal Passover, in the flush of their new confidence make the daring identification of their leader with the supernatural figure of whom he had been so wont to speak as coming in the immediate future? Had he not triumphed over death? Was he not now in heaven? Would not the spectacular advent of the Son of Man be in reality then his return to them? Some such explanation would account for the preservation in the Gospels of these references, extremely embarrassing, if considered arising at a time when they could never be fulfilled; and would account for the immediate rise of the expectation of the second advent in the early church.

It has long been recognized that the decisive objection to considering Matthew's "Great Commission" as spoken by Jesus is the attitude of the early Jerusalem group, attested not alone by Acts but by Paul. Does not this attitude further authenticate the picture in the Gospels of Jesus concerning himself exclusively with his Jewish hearers? The author of the Third Gospel might read back to Jesus the view of the later church after it had discovered the need of a broader field of

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endeavor,[14] yet does not the story he himself tells in the first fifteen chapters of Acts reveal that this is a result of his endeavor to give a logically connected[15] account of the rise and development of the new movement?

One more illustration of the use of Acts as a criterion for the genuineness of the gospel accounts of Jesus may be cited. It is reasonably clear that one of the characteristics of the early followers of Jesus was their belief that from time to time they were especially endowed with the Holy Spirit and thus enabled to do wonderful deeds. It is often asserted that their conception was that this power was a permanent endowment which had come to them from Jesus. Yet one receives the impression from reading Acts that while the author meant that the Spirit had first come upon them at Pentecost, yet in crises they received a special endowment of it. "Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said unto them . . . ."[16] "And when they had prayed, the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together; and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they spake the word of God with boldness."[17] "But Saul . . . . filled with the Holy Spirit, fastened his eyes on him, and said . . . ." (then follows the miraculous blinding of Elymas).[18]

But whether this be the case or not it is apparent that the author represents the Holy Spirit as being principally if not entirely concerned in enabling its recipients to undergo emotional excitement, such as glossolalia, to perform miracles, and to do other wonderful deeds. And it is also clear that it was

[14] And thus his form of the "great commission," Luke 24:46–49

[15] I.e., καθεξῆς Luke 1:3.

[16] Acts 4:8. Is it hypercriticism to suggest that πλησθείς is not to be considered as the equivalent of the perfect participle but is used to express action antecedent to the action of the main verb? Of course if Professor Torrey be right in his view of an Aramaic original, the point of this grammatical nicety would disappear.

[17] Acts 4:31. Observe the use of tenses, ἐπλήσθησαν . . . . ἐλάλουν . . . . and contrast ἐπληροῦντο (Acts 13:52).

[18] Acts 13:9.

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conceived to have come from Jesus. In fact once it is expressly called "the Spirit of Jesus."[19] He had sent it to them from heaven whither he had gone. John 20:22 gives a different version of the way it had come, but agrees that Jesus was the source of it.

Are we to assume that this belief that the Spirit had been present in the early church was the product of later Christian imagination and that accordingly it was arbitrarily traced back to Jesus, or that it was due to the belief of the immediate followers of Jesus that he had possessed the Spirit, and as Elijah's spirit had passed to Elisha so their Master's spirit had come upon them? In the Synoptists we find a puzzling situation. Apparently direct reference to Jesus' contact with the Holy Spirit was rare in the primary tradition, and the few cases that do occur may with fair probability, as a recent writer has pointed out,[20] be explained as a later modification. Yet it is equally clear that aside from direct mention of "Spirit" there is a decided undercurrent of such material and that the confidence which Jesus seems to have had and which he aroused in his followers is most naturally explained along these lines.

The Beelzebub[21] incident affords a possible clue. Jesus' opponents charge him with casting out demons through the power of Beelzebub, prince of the demons. Jesus retorts that such a charge is blasphemy. Not apparently because they are speaking disparagingly of him, but because they are ascribing to the power of Satan what has actually been performed by the Spirit of God. Matthew appends to Mark's, "Verily I say unto you, All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme," the Q tradition, "And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him."[22] Is not this refer-

[19] Acts 16:7.

[20] Windisch, "Jesus und der Geist," *Studies in Early Christianity*, edited by S. J. Case (1928), pp. 207–36.

[21] Mark 3:19–30.

[22] Matt. 12:32.

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ence to the Son of Man to be explained as an early change of "me" into the Christian equivalent, "Son of Man"? As Schmiedel pointed out, it is hardly to be conceived that the Church originated a saying that blasphemy against Jesus, the Lord, was a venial sin. It may be frankly confessed that greater confidence in this interpretation would be felt if the direct reference to "Son of Man" or "me" were also preserved in Mark, but since it seems to be a quite correct interpretation of Jesus' meaning as given in Mark, Matthew's combination of Mark and Q would appear to be a tolerably faithful report of what Jesus meant to express.[23]

As suggested in an earlier paragraph, the course of historical criticism has resulted in raising serious doubts that Jesus either asserted that he was or even thought that he was either the expected scion of David or supernatural Son of Man; yet in spite of this remains the impression that he had implicit confidence in the truth of his message and proclaimed it uncompromisingly as the plan of God for the future. Is not the most natural explanation of this the one preserved in the Gospels themselves, namely, that he was a prophet? This was apparently the impression he made on his hearers. Is it not probable that this impression was due to his own belief? If this be admitted, it would appear to follow that he must have believed himself to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, for in the thinking of Judaism the Holy Spirit is specifically the spirit of prophecy. "All the prophets spoke by the holy spirit. The holy spirit is so specifically prophetic inspiration that when Haggai, Zecha-

[23] Mark's "sons of men" (τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων) 3:28 altered by Matthew into "men" (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις) 12:31 is intriguing as perhaps suggesting a possible clue. If we are to accept the view championed by some scholars including Easton *(The Gospel according to St. Luke)* that Mark used Q might we not wonder if Mark's τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων did not stand in Q and in turn give rise to the precanonical alteration of ἐμοῦ (ἐμέ) into the conventional periphrasis? While this is at best highly speculative, it is yet worth noting that in the passage concerning the forgiveness of sin, already discussed, Matthew (9:8) has the tantalizing "such authority unto men" (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις) which apparently preserves a trace of the original significance.

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riah, and Malachi, the last prophets, died, the holy spirit departed from Israel."[24]

Once more God was speaking to his people in the old and accredited way. The prophet like unto Moses long expected had now appeared. As the mouthpiece of God he uttered his clarion call, confident that it was not he but God who was calling men to repent and to watch for the appearance of the final Judge who would baptize the nation with a baptism of fire.[25] This passionate confidence may well have caused him to appear "beside himself." To his opponents it would be the frenzy of a man possessed by an evil spirit; to his followers the mark of that divine madness that proclaimed the presence of God. To folk accustomed to explain everything out of the ordinary as the result of the presence of a daimon, good or bad, Jesus with his scathing denunciations and his impossible demands, his quieting power over the insane, his genial and kindly attitude to children and those in distress may well have seemed a most unusual and amazing figure, one from the past sent by God to herald a new age. In the light of this perhaps the enigma of the restored hope and confidence may not be so baffling.

Then what more natural than the conviction after his departure that as they carried on his work the Spirit that had inspired him was guiding them, and hence the growing tradition, aided perhaps by the similar incident of Elijah and Elisha, that he had promised it to them? This might well cast more light on the perplexing story of the sending out of the twelve. The latter story would then be a simple reflection of the later

[24] G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, 237.

[25] That John the Baptist was transformed by Christianity from an independent preacher to the forerunner of Jesus can hardly be doubted. Nor is it improbable that his message has been made an essentially Christian message. For example, Matthew makes him utter precisely the same clarion call as did Jesus, "Repent ye; for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" (Matt. 3:2; 4:17). The special teaching preserved in Luke 3:10–14 is surprisingly like to that of Jesus (cf. especially, "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath food, let him do likewise"). The question arises whether after all the picture of John heralding the advent of the greater one who will baptize in fire is not actually that of Jesus heralding the advent of the Son of Man, the final Judge. The baptism in the Holy Spirit would thus be a Christian touch after the view had arisen that the spirit had come from Jesus.

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belief that Jesus had promised his Spirit to his followers, and that as they were now doing so had their predecessors done in the days of his flesh.

Then the difficulty that although there is not more frequent reference to the Spirit and Jesus in the Synoptists yet more subtle intimations of this connection abound might well be explained with Windisch,[26] that while in fact Jesus had been what might rightly be styled a *Pneumatiker* this quality was later obscured out of repugnance on the part of his worshipers, as a definite christology developed, to explain his power on the basis of any external agency, even the Spirit of God. He did what he did and said what he said in his own right.[27] Later, however, now that the view was well established that the church too possessed the Spirit, it was but natural to reintroduce this element into the record, and to assert that the endowment had first been Jesus' and that he had promised it to his followers. This process of elimination and restoration would all be seen in the interim between the crucifixion and the appearance of the canonical Gospels. This would well account not only for the influence Jesus exerted upon his followers but also for the emergence of the belief among them that he had not left them destitute. Accordingly, once again Acts would appear to give us aid in detecting genuine historic tradition in the gospel accounts.

[26] *Op. cit.*

[27] This tendency is illustrated by a passage in the curious *Epistle of the Apostles* which may be dated about 160 A. D. with a fair degree of probability:

"For ye know that the angel Gabriel brought the message unto Mary. And we answered: Yea, Lord. He answered and said unto us: Remember ye not, then, that I said unto you a little while ago: I became an angel among the angels, and I became all things in all? We said unto him: Yea, Lord. Then answered he and said unto us: On that day whereon I took the form of the angel Gabriel, I appeared unto Mary and spoke with her. Her heart accepted me, and she believed (*or* She believed and laughed, *Eth.*), and I formed myself and entered into her body. I became flesh, for I alone was a minister unto myself in that which concerned Mary (*or* I was mine own messenger, *Eth.*) in the appearance of the shape of an angel. *For* so must I needs (*or*, was I wont to) do" (chap. xiv).

The only English translation of this work, which is preserved only in Coptic and Ethiopic, is that by M. R. James in his volume, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 485–503. The above quotation is, of course, James's rendering.

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RELIGION IN THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM

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SO MANY colleges have been introducing courses of one sort or another in the field of religion, so many others are contemplating such a step, and so much is involved in it, that we may well pause and consider very thoughtfully the reasons for and against such an innovation. Of the making of new courses and departments there seems to be no end, though the students would agree unanimously that much study is a weariness of the flesh. Like the traffic problem of the cities, the situation with respect to the curriculum in our colleges has come to such a pass that it seems impossible to go farther without some kind of radical readjustment. Our present curriculums have come into being very much as Topsy did. Forces of which we were hardly aware have led to the addition of one subject after another, until what used to be considered the principal elements in a liberal education have been almost snowed under, and the list of courses offered presents an amazing and bewildering embarrassment of riches. The chaos of the elective system has been the inevitable consequence, and as yet no plan of concentration has quite succeeded in bringing order out of it. Under such circumstances we should know what we are about before we bring in still another whole field of study, especially one involving such delicate issues as religion.

The arguments for making religion a college subject are of three kinds, reflecting three different conceptions of the nature and purpose of the curriculum. The first may be called, for convenience, the scientific argument, because it grows out of the scientific attitude toward truth. Religion is a complex of historical, sociological, psychological, and cultural phenomena

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which, like any other facts, call for investigation and explanation. As a field for exploration and discovery, the pursuit of truth for truth's sake, religion appeals to that intellectual curiosity which is, or should be, the primary motive of all scholarly research. Modern study of the history, psychology, and philosophy of religion has arisen exactly as all the physical and social sciences arose, and claims admission to the college curriculum for the same reason that they sought and gained admission. All this represents, so to speak, the university idea, the conception of education epitomized in Ezra Cornell's famous declaration, "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study."

From this point of view nothing can be said against the inclusion of religion which would not apply with equal force to any subject. In fact this conception obviously gives no ground for excluding any subject with which the human intellect can be concerned. And for the graduate school and the large university the ideal is both valid and inescapable. Facilities for exploring any subject about which any mind may feel any curiosity should certainly be made available by the university. In this regard religion stands on the same plane as chemistry or history or philology.

But the advocates of religion as a subject of undergraduate instruction are not content that courses should be added to the stock of wares exhibited in the university catalogue in order that the few students who are sufficiently interested may make a place for them in some corner of their overcrowded schedule. It is felt that religion must have a more integral part in the program of studies, and this feeling is based on what we may call (with apologies to the old philosophical arguments for theism) the moral argument. The college curriculum is not merely a mass of available courses. Its purpose is not primarily to satisfy curiosity but to provide an education, and education has come to be conceived, in the minds of those who are seriously concerned with it, in very comprehensive and am-

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bitious terms. The fullest possible development and adjustment of personality for the sake of the most effective and satisfying participation in the life of society—nothing short of this is regarded as the true aim of school and college. Not only knowledge, therefore, but health and character are held to be essential. Character-building, indeed, has become something of a slogan, and it is certain that education without character is a curse, both to the individual and to society. College administrators and teachers are coming more and more to feel responsible for the moral health and growth of their students. Thus religion, as a generator of moral power and idealism, comes to be considered an indispensable factor in the educational process, and college courses in religion are thought of, not as supplying a body of information, but as giving direction and power to the conduct of life.

This difference in purpose, of course, carries with it a difference in the content and method of teaching. It also raises certain difficulties which are not involved in the purely scientific approach. If moral power and guidance are to be derived from religion, it must not only be investigated; it must be appropriated. But religion is not something simple and isolated, which one either has or has not, and on the meaning of which all who have it are agreed. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as religion; there are religions, and there are many varieties of each religion. How can religion be imparted except by imparting a particular religion, and how can that be done without discriminating against other religions? Must we add to our faculties representatives of all the religions with which our students or their families are affiliated? Many institutions have attempted to proceed on some such basis as this, with more or less success, but would it not be better to let the churches attend to what is after all distinctively their function? All things considered, the best way for the college to do its part in promoting the personal religious life of the students is probably, in most cases, to afford hearty and sympa-

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thetic co-operation to the churches and other established religious organizations rather than to assume the task of religious education directly in its own classrooms.

There is still another reason, however, for giving religion a place in the curriculum somewhat more prominent than that of a minor elective. This we may call the cultural argument. Doubtless we shall never again be able, as in the good old days, to specify definitely the subjects with which every gentleman must be familiar. There are so many subjects with equal claims to a place on the list that it would be far too extended for compression within the limits of a college course. Yet there is another and more practical way of considering the essential elements of a liberal education. Ignoring for the present all questions of subjects and departments and courses, we may say that the college ought to give its graduates the best possible equipment and training for living intelligently. Now whatever else this may involve (such as ability to think clearly and independently, power of self-expression, and some knowledge of our physical environment in so far as its laws determine our lives), certainly intelligent living requires an appreciative understanding of the major interests of mankind at large, the primary activities in which the human spirit finds expression and satisfaction, the things for which and by which men live and die gladly.

No person, for example, can properly be said to have a liberal education in these days, no matter how much he may know of this or that, if he does not really understand the spirit of scientific research. He may not care to be a scientist himself; the life devoted to scientific investigation may not particularly appeal to him personally. But he should realize the enthusiasm for truth, the zest of discovery, the abnegation and discipline, the patience and perseverance which have made the achievements of modern science possible. He should know something of what these achievements are, beyond the obvious fact that we can move faster and see and hear farther than our

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forefathers could. He should have some realization of the ways in which science has affected our whole conception of the universe in which we live and our relation to it. Without some such understanding of science as one of the major enterprises of man, a liberal education is decidedly incomplete.

No person can be said to have acquired culture, in any significant sense of that much abused term, unless he has learned to appreciate in some measure the outstanding results of man's attempts to express his sense of the meaning of life through art and literature. He may not be an artist or an author himself. He may not even find his own chief satisfaction in the enjoyment of books or pictures or concerts. But he should at least be able, without too much condescension, to sympathize with those who do find satisfaction in these things. So long as he thinks that all people who go to art museums and symphony concerts are either hypocrites or hopeless and incomprehensible "nuts," he falls short of the highest ideal of a cultured gentleman: he is not an *ideal* college alumnus.

To these major interests of mankind must be added philosophy, government, economics, marriage and parenthood, and a few others, but the list is not long. Whatever else should be included, however, certainly religion has always been one of the foremost objects of human aspiration and devotion, one of the principal factors in the life of individuals and nations in all ages and climes. One who knows nothing of religion, or has false notions concerning it, cannot understand his fellow-men or the social order of which he is himself a part. He is as far from being able to conduct his life intelligently as one who has no knowledge of government or of literature. A prominent scientist in one of our largest universities, discussing recently the section on religion in his course in the history of science, said, "I am as anxious to stop the production of second-rate scientists who do not understand religion as I am to stop the production of second-rate religionists who do not understand science."

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A course designed to give an understanding of religion as one of the major interests of mankind will be as free from prejudice and partiality as any piece of research from the purely scientific standpoint. Yet it will not be detached and impersonal, for appreciation will be emphasized as much as knowledge. And while it will not have the immediate moral purpose of religious education, it will help to promote that purpose by removing the prejudices which frequently arise from false conceptions of religion or from unfortunate personal experiences with narrow and dogmatic forms of religion. The primary aim of the course, however, will be to present the truth regarding religion so that its place in the life of individuals and groups will be accurately perceived, its values and its dangers will be clearly seen, and even the student who has no personal interest in religion will be able to understand what it means to religious people. Through this course the college will endeavor to make sure that none of its students shall go out into the world with distorted ideas of religion or without being aware of its importance to the race.

It may be said, of course, that this can be accomplished without special courses in religion. In history, sociology, philosophy, and literature the student is constantly encountering religious ideas and institutions. If these subjects are adequately presented he can hardly fail to realize the importance of the part which religion plays in the life of mankind. Against this it is not pertinent to argue that professors of sociology and literature are sometimes prejudiced against religion, for if that be so the remedy is to be sought in the departments of sociology and literature, not in an agency of counter-propaganda set up to offset their influence. Incidentally courses in religion itself may be so taught as to produce negative and destructive impressions: even biblical literature has sometimes been held responsible for the shipwreck of a student's faith. Undoubtedly religion does appear in various aspects within many of the other subjects of instruction, and it might be possible, if all

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the departments concerned definitely adopted this as their purpose, to convey through the existing courses a fairly adequate conception of the nature and significance of religion.

But at best the ideas produced in this way will be partial and unconnected. Where will the student get any synthesis of the various aspects under which religion appears in his courses? The religion of which he hears in his philosophy class may be quite a different thing from what passes by that name in the class in sociology. Still other forms and conceptions may emerge in literature and history. Only by courses definitely planned with this end in view can a comprehensive and unified understanding of religion be secured.

Religion is not the only subject which has intimate relations with other subjects. History must give some attention to art and literature, but we do not expect the department of history to teach these subjects so fully that special courses in them will be unnecessary. Literature and philosophy are often closely connected, but we find it worth while to study them separately. Even government cannot be satisfactorily treated in the history courses; we must have political science also. Religion, too, requires separate and special treatment if it is to be rightly understood.

Indeed it would seem to follow from our argument that at least one course in religion should be required for graduation, but that would probably be a mistake. In view of the prevalent student complex with regard to compulsory chapel, the very fact that such a course was required might strengthen the prejudice many students have against religion itself and everything connected with it. To be sure the same objection applies with almost equal force to other subjects, and if carried out consistently would lead to the abandonment of all required courses. Students have unquestionably been alienated from the study of history by courses required in their Freshman or Sophomore year at college, and some have lost whatever taste they had for literature as a result of Freshman English. We do not conclude from this that the requirements should be

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changed or removed, but that the courses or teachers should be changed. A required course in religion, rightly conducted by the right man, need not give occasion for a charge of alienation of affection. Yet the situation is more delicate in the case of religion, and a prejudice against religion is a more serious misfortune than a prejudice against history or literature. Furthermore, the student body and the public at large cannot always be expected to grasp the difference between a cultural course and one designed to inculcate religious feelings and beliefs; consequently any required course in religion will be more or less subject to the suspicion that some sort of insidious and invidious propaganda—for some particular religion or denomination or for modernism or atheism—is the real objective. Rather than encourage such an attitude it would be better to have the courses purely elective, even at the cost of letting the majority of the students go through college without taking any of them.

At the same time we must not allow ourselves to suppose that the situation has been met by offering a few elective courses. Something, of course, will be accomplished by the mere fact that such courses are described in the catalogue and actually taken by some students. If every undergraduate knows, even by hearsay, that there is such a thing as a study of religion involving something more than lesson leaflets and golden texts, he is at least that much nearer the understanding we should like him to have. If every college had a general course for all students comparable to the course in contemporary civilization at Columbia, and including, as that course does, a well-planned section on religion as a factor in our civilization, we should be much nearer the goal. The subject is of such paramount importance, however, from the point of view of equipping young men and women to live intelligently in the social order, that every reasonable encouragement should be given to the student to take at least one full course devoted to the study of religion.

What sort of course should it be? At first thought we may

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be inclined to say that any course in the field of religion will accomplish the end in view; the student may be allowed to choose for himself between the philosophy of religion, the psychology or history of religion, or biblical literature. Now any one of these, it is true, ought to show a student that religion offers a wealth of material for scholarly investigation and may be studied objectively and without prejudice. But for the understanding of religion as a major interest in human life and a factor in our civilization we need a course explicitly devoted to this aim. A course in biblical literature may, to be sure, make this its chief objective; the emphasis will then be put upon the religious experience of the writers and characters and the evolution of religious beliefs and practices in relation to the life of the people, and sufficient material from other religions will be introduced by way of comparison to give the biblical material its setting and secure a due perspective. This can hardly be done within the limits of a single course, however, without sacrificing something of the more distinctly literary element which properly belongs to a course in biblical literature. In the same way each of the other subjects within the general field of religion has its own distinct emphasis which cannot very well be maintained if all these courses are directed to the same end, the orientation of the student with regard to the significance of religion as one of the great interests which dominate the life of mankind.

A much more effective procedure would be to provide a special course to meet the needs of those students who can take only one course in religion and to serve as an introduction to the more specialized courses for those who can take them. Such an introduction to the study of religion should be a survey, but not a concentrated, predigested compendium of the results of all the other courses. It should be a real introduction, revealing the magnitude of the subject, opening up the major problems, showing what special disciplines are included in the field and what ground each covers. It should exhibit clearly the nature of religion as a complex of many elements

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and diverse manifestations, involving group activities and individual experiences, rites and institutions, mystic contemplation and social idealism, crude emotionalism and stern repression, metaphysical subtlety and crass superstition. No phase of the subject should be entirely ignored: no student should remain content with a definition of religion in terms of belief, or experience, or institutional affiliation alone. The intricate and intertwining relationships between religion and other interests—philosophy and science, art and literature, government, social institutions, and morality—should receive some attention. Of course no attempt should be made to exhaust any of these questions. Like the first visit to a great museum, the course should give a sense of the wealth of interesting things to be seen if one had the time. Glimpses into many rooms or down long corridors which cannot be entered will prevent premature generalizations and limited conceptions of the subject. Yet the total impression should not be one of dizzy bewilderment. Certain broad generalizations—regarding, for example, the relative importance of religion among the other concerns of life, the roots of religious experience in human nature, the intellectual aspects of religious belief in the light of modern knowledge, and the value of religion in relation to moral and social progress—might well emerge from such a preliminary survey of the field as a permanent possession of the student, equipping him with that essential understanding of religion without which one cannot live intelligently.

Just what procedure is to be followed, however, can be determined only by free and varied experiments. The ideal program for one college might not be suitable for another. Standardization would be a calamity. The primary desideratum, underlying all questions of detailed application, is that religion should have its true place in the picture of life presented by the curriculum as a whole. He who has a blind spot where religion is concerned may have difficulty in seeing life steadily; he will certainly be unable to see it whole.

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EMIL BRUNNER AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE THEOLOGY OF CRISIS

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THE "theology of crisis," or "theology of dialectic," as it is sometimes called, is attracting much attention in Europe. Its permanent value is, however, open to question. Of the earnestness and ability of the men who defend it there can be no doubt. Nor can their plea for a distinctively religious emphasis in religion fail to arouse sympathy. Religion is not merely ethics or merely philosophy, in spite of the attempts that have been made to merge it with one or the other. Yet the best testimony available is unanimous on the score that its connections with both are essential connections, internal or constitutive relations, to use the philosophical phrase. And this decisive fact the defenders of the theology of crisis do not make sufficiently prominent. For while they develop ethical systems which they assert are based on their religious views, and while they make much use of philosophical exposition in the statement of their ideas, yet it remains true that the central point of their doctrine occupies so different a plane, is so far beyond good or evil, truth or falsity, that morality and intellectual consistency appear to be admitted to the system at all only as an afterthought. Because of this and because the conceptions which they hold to be most important are so alien to modern ways of thinking it is difficult to believe that after the first flutter of interest is over this new theology can make much headway. At the same time, as a serious attempt to bring once more to the surface of our modern life the distinctive values of religion, it deserves all the attention it has received.

One of the most prolific and at the same time systematic

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writers of this movement is Professor Emil Brunner, of Zürich. Two of his most recent books, *Der Mittler*[1] and *Die Mystik und das Wort*,[2] furnish a good résumé of the main emphases of this group as they stand out in the mind of one of its ablest thinkers. Of the two books, *Der Mittler* gives a constructive statement of Brunner's position, while *Die Mystik und Das Wort* is occupied chiefly with an exposure of the inconsistencies of Schleiermacher.

The argument of *Der Mittler (The Mediator)* rests back upon the fundamental opposition which all the writers of this group find between eternity and time, Creator and creature, salvation and sin, with the consequent need for completely self-effacing humility on man's part before the wrath of God, the need for revelation and salvation, and the fulfilment of this need in the person of Christ. Following Kierkegaard these theologians claim that theirs is the only philosophy which takes the problems of religion seriously, and which makes man a participant in the eternal drama instead of a spectator. Asserting that his doctrine is not new but is as old as the earliest Christian community, Brunner maintains that there is only one serious question and that is the God-question. But the God-question is the Christ-question since only in Christ does God appear to men.

Religion is either grounded in revelation from God or it is phantasy. Christianity is the reaction of the early community to the revelation and salvation achieved in Christ, or it is nonsense. We cannot agree with Fichte that truth is found in metaphysics rather than in history. Christianity is rooted in one historical occurrence which differs qualitatively from all other occurrences. The Christian revelation is a single, unique event which by its nature could come only once or never. The uniqueness *(Einmaligkeit)* of Christ's coming arises out of the infinite cleft between God and man which other religious and

[1] Tübingen: Mohr, 1927.

[2] Second edition; Tübingen: Mohr, 1928.

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philosophies fail to recognize. God is different and man cannot from his side approach God or bridge the gap between them. The mediating office must be performed by God himself through his Word, the Son. There are surely many respectable, pious, good people, says Brunner, who do not believe in a Mediator. Let us ascribe all possible good to them. But call them Christians we cannot.

The modern mind, Brunner asserts, through its pride in reason resists the idea that there can be a truth to which reason cannot attain. But faith is the limitation rather than the negation of reason. Reason is too confident. It does not see the chasm between God and man. Indeed not only reason and speculative philosophy, but also both ethical idealism and mysticism show their own inadequacy as guides to life by their failure to recognize the break in nature. Mysticism asserts that man can become one with God in religious experience, whereas actually man can only approach God through the revealed Word and can never be one with Him in the mystical sense. Ethical idealism sets up human standards which are poles apart from the divine. Philosophy tends to treat God as an intellectual presupposition, or a general principle of reason, instead of as a revealed fact. In each case the trouble lies in the failure to recognize the incommensurability of the divine and human spheres. This failure is perhaps natural. It arises out of the ethical optimism and the confidence in human progress which characterized the enlightenment. But it is not Christian. It is not the view of the Reformation, nor of the early Christian community. Sin is a more real fact than progress. And sin is something with which man can not deal alone.

Brunner's criticisms of other theologians help to make clear his own position. For Schleiermacher and his inconsistencies, such as the modifications in the *Glaubenslehre* of the position taken in the *Reden,* he has no mercy. Schleiermacher's apparent revolt against the rationalism of the enlightenment has, in Brunner's opinion, made people blind to his es-

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sential affinity with it. Like the rationalists he has unbounded confidence in humanity. Like them he sees a series of steps by which man may mount to God. Schleiermacher makes Christ himself different only in degree from other religious leaders. Here is a fundamental fallacy which definitely marks his thinking as non-Christian. The break between human and divine is decisive. Only one divine Being has appeared on earth. There cannot be a "universal" religion, for Christianity is based on a single historical event whose uniqueness the other religions do not take into account. And as to Schleiermacher's pantheistic tendencies, they leave out entirely the fact that the created world is tainted with sin and needs redemption.

Even Ritschl, says Brunner, with his apparent deference to historical fact, built his religious system on rationalistic grounds. But here the rationalistic wolf appears in sheep's, i.e., biblical, clothing. Students have thought that Ritschl's historical positivism freed him from suspicion. But Ritschl's God is not a God of mystery. He is a God of ethical purpose, that is, a God of human ideas. And Ritschl's *Erstmaligkeit* is not the same as *Einmaligkeit*. To say that Christ was the first to proclaim the truths of salvation, or to make him the Founder of the Christian community is not to recognize him as the Word of God, the Person through whom God's message to man is revealed. Ritschl also stresses God's love to the exclusion of his justice or anger. Ritschlianism, in fact, is a compromise between rationalism and a historical relativism. It is not Christianity.

For Harnack the criterion is not novelty, but purity and power; the chief figure of the Gospel is not the Son but the Father. Christ is an example to us. But the acceptance of Christ as an example, says Brunner, has nothing to do with strict faith, which is the acceptance of revelation. One misses the heart of Christianity here just as one does in Otto's view that religion is an a priori category, or in Troeltsch's idea of religion as experience of God's presence. In fact it is a mistake

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to speak of "religion" in a generic sense and to think that in so doing we are describing Christianity. There is no essence (Wesen) of religion which can be used for Christianity's definition. Christianity is unique.

Brunner contends that the real barrier between Christianity and the modern mind is moral rather than intellectual. Modern man simply does not face the fact of evil—that is the nub of the matter. No philosophical system has done justice to the existence of evil. Because he has not seen what evil means, modern man has dared to assert the principle of the continuity of human and divine and to build his ethical, philosophical, and religious systems with it as a cornerstone. Ethics asserts man's continuity with the highest good, philosophy with the principle of reason, mysticism with the All-God. And the idea of revelation comes with such a shock to the modern mind because by it this notion of continuity is broken up. It really destroys man's confidence in himself. But such confidence is misplaced. In the heart of human nature is the contradiction caused by sin. Modern thought is Pelagian. It sees only individual sins. But the teaching of the Old Testament with regard to the Creator and of the New Testament with regard to the Savior points to sin as an entity by which all human nature as human is infected. It is absurd to say, with the ethical idealists, "I ought, therefore I can." For if you really *can*, of your own volition, you do not understand the meaning of "ought." Nor is it possible, with some of the historians, to make history itself serve as a mediator. History is the Absolute thinned out in time. In it each individual point is justified by reference to the whole. But for Christian faith there is only one historical event that has real religious importance.

But if there is a moral defect which taints our philosophical thinking, so is there also, according to Brunner, a serious limitation in all our historical research. Here especially does the intellect need supplementing. The fundamental datum of

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Christianity is that the Word became flesh, the Eternal entered into the sphere of history. But the total significance of this fact is revealed only to the eye of faith. If one comes to the study of history with certain presuppositions such as that of the uniformity of the causal law, of course one cannot understand an event like this. It becomes easier, perhaps, when one realizes that even human personality breaks into the causal chain. When one thinks of this he can perhaps go on to see that more possibilities are open to the view of the believer than to that of the unbelieving historian. To say that there is only one road, that of historical research, which leads to historical fact, is as mistaken as to say that the only road to the reality of nature lies through the domain of physics. Articles of belief are won from faith and not from research. To be sure, so far as they deal with historical fact, they may not contradict research. But their relation to fact is different from that of research. The cross, for example, has only relative certainty for the historian, but absolute certainty for the believer.

This, pleads Brunner, does not open the way to belief as an expression of wishful phantasies. Subjective persuasion does not determine objective truth. But objective truth does make its presence felt through other channels than those of rational proof. And reason has its own contradictions. Faith cannot affirm what historical criticism denies, but at the same time it does not depend on historical criticism for what it does affirm. Faith sees criticism's inability to deal with the truths of revelation. The historian who is not a believer is concerned only with the Jesus of history, never with the Christ of faith. Faith is consonant with criticism, on this Brunner insists, yet he goes on to admit that it is not consonant with that criticism which denies the existence of Christ or makes him a deluded revolutionary. Faith is consonant with every kind of criticism except that which distorts the picture of Christ in such a way as to make the apostolic witness to him incomprehensible.

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Faith, we must judge then from Brunner's statements, is partly dependent on the ability of the believer to see Christ as the Word of God, whatever criticism may say of the Jesus of history, also partly dependent on scriptural evidence, since it is scripture which gives us the fact of revelation, including the prophecies which led up to it and the later testimony of the apostles. Yet faith does not accept the entire Bible as inspired. Whatever conforms to the picture of Christ as Son of God is true and acceptable. Whatever tends to contradict it is untrue. When pressed for an answer as to why he adopts this view, since he does not take it on scriptural authority, Brunner replies that the description of life, of God, man, and the universe, which this view gives seems to him by all standards the most satisfactory. It has an inner consistency which is unimpeachable, it does justice to the facts of God's anger and man's sin, it makes man a participant in the religious drama.

Brunner's views on the Trinity, the nature of God, the work of reconciliation, the Word as personality, the teaching of Christ in relation to his Person, and other topics are set forth in detail in these books, particularly in *Der Mittler,* but within the limits of a brief article only his main points can receive our attention. Ever and again in his books he returns to attack the viciousness of the principle of continuity in either its ethical or intellectual form. Philosophy because of its interest in continuity takes account only of content. Faith, however, sees in the unique manner in which revealed truth has come, itself a stumbling-block for philosophy, decisive evidence as to its divine origin. And on the ethical side the disparity is as great. A man may be as ethically religious *(sittlich-religiös)* as he wishes—he is still only a man and incapable by himself of attaining salvation. We suffer from the "religious egoism" of the later Lutheranism. In the Bible God's honor occupies the first place, and man's welfare only the second. Because we are all sinners we cannot do God's will. One must become as a little child. The call to "duty" on a hu-

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man basis is meaningless and useless. The question how a revelation could occur pales into insignificance beside the fact of its occurrence. The assurances of perception, of proof, of consistency, are forms of self-assurance. All truth is finally Christ-truth. What is true is true through the Logos which was in the beginning and which is not an eternal principle of reason but the eternal Son. To raise the metaphysical question as to how an individual can be both God and man is to do something which religiously is meaningless. The New Testament gives no answer because it does not notice the question. It was enough for the apostles that Christ was actually both. This fact must dominate our theories instead of conforming to them.

From all this it will be seen that Brunner's whole position develops out of his original assumption of an infinite chasm between God and man and the need for an act of God before reconciliation can be made. Like the other members of this group of theologians, Brunner is a complete pessimist regarding human nature. The belief in the ultimate goodness and eventual progress of man which characterized the eighteenth century has, in his opinion, played itself out. In these books he does not make the explicit statement but implies, as do others of the group, that a great mistake has been made by treating religion as one among many cultural values, with the corresponding tendency to regard it as an offshoot of cultural development. Yet he is not, so he emphasized in conversation with me, turning his back on culture or washing his hands of it. He professes to find it difficult to understand how the charge of being anticultural can be thrown at him and his associates. For him this religious belief is the fulfilment of culture. It shows a greater and more inclusive consistency than rational consistency itself. It introduces a new dimension. It takes life more seriously than is possible in a culture without religion. Yet in claiming primacy for an event which lies so completely outside the sphere of ethics and reason the theolo-

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gy of crisis surely is breaking with culture, no matter how often the opposite is asserted. If its defenders could show that this event lay on an entirely different plane and in no way conflicted with the findings of man's reason and his conscience, the claim that this theology was the fulfilment rather than the denial of culture might be allowed. But it is impossible for them to show this. The difficulty comes out clearly when the problem of the relation of faith to historical research is taken up. And the phrase about the meaninglessness of the call to duty emanating from the moral ideal alone exposes it from another angle.

The peculiar approach which these men use to the whole problem of the value of human achievement is evident again in Brunner's repeated attacks on the principle of continuity, the belief that the best in human endeavor leads to God, as an expression of human optimism and self-confidence. If one starts with the assumption that human life and effort have no significance it is of course easy to go on and call the desire for consistency an example of foolish pride. But if one does begin with such an assumption, so literally overwhelming in its implications, one must go on to show how the facts of the argument tend through their own inner plausibility to bear out the assumption instead of depending on it entirely for their own standing. And this is not accomplished by tagging the attempt for consistency of thought and action with such a word as "pride." There is no immediately perceivable connection between reason and duty on the one hand and "pride" on the other. In fact the greatest leaders have taught us that the relationship was quite different. Brunner's charge that no demand can come with authority unless from a transcendent realm is absurd. If anyone believes that the law of consistency with objective fact is trivial, let him follow Emerson's suggestion and try breaking it once. Science achieves what it does achieve not through pride but humility. It must sit down before Truth as a little child, Huxley has told us. Kant's cate-

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gorical imperative, rooted in the nature of reason itself, carries absolute conviction to the one who has humbled himself before the great moral and reasonable ideal.

As a matter of fact the principle of "continuity" in the sense of an explicit or implicit assertion of a graded path from man to God plays a much less important rôle than Brunner gives it. Its influence is much clearer in mysticism than in philosophy or ethics. Not any particular arrogant desire to assert the oneness of God and man makes the philosopher eager to weave his ideas into a rational system, but a very humble wish to be loyal to the truth by the most rigid means known. Is it egoism to say that the world, so far as it can be intelligible to us, must conform to those conditions by which knowledge is possible? If a higher kind of truth comes, by revelation or otherwise, it must justify its claims, or it will require not humility but dishonesty for its acceptance.

All the difficulties which this system of thought raises go back, sooner or later, to this question of revelation. It is a pity that this is so, for the issue of revelation, in the form in which this school believes in it, should have been settled some time ago, and the field left clear for other discussions. One feels like turning Brunner's own method back against his argument here. To put the matter in the sharply alternative way of which he is so fond—either Christ's coming was revelation, meaning by that something which transcends the ordinary laws of thought, or it was not. If it was revelation we cannot discuss it, or at least we cannot so confidently say what must and what must not have happened, for we have only our ordinary thought forms to use. If it was not revelation it cannot be so decisively separate from ethics and reason. But Brunner himself asserts that it was revelation and still goes on trying to convince his readers by logic and argument. In spite of his own statement one is thus forced to believe that the transcendence of God and of his revelation is coupled with at least a sufficient degree of immanent qualities to enable it to be dis-

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cussed and to enable the assertion to be made that it cannot conflict with that which operates on a purely human plane, as for example the findings of historical research.

Brunner's view seems to be that the attitude of faith combines consistency with an acceptance of certain standards of satisfactoriness allied to the pragmatic. Brunner does not accept Christianity because it has worked well in history; on that point he was emphatic in discussing the matter with me. But it seems to him to be consistent and to do justice to such facts as sin and the need for man's active participation in life's battles. One cannot say that it is accepted on the basis of "experience" because that suggests "religious experience," in which the members of this group do not believe. It is apparently an inner vision that one must have, a kind of deeper realization of the meaning of the cosmic process than comes through philosophy or ethics. A special act of revelation has occurred. Take it at its face value and see how well it meets the problems—theoretical and practical—of human life. This, if I understand it rightly, is the attitude of these men, an attitude which certainly has pragmatic elements, though the word pragmatism is one which they shun as they would the plague.

The essential problem is the same as that which has disturbed many a religious debate. If you admit the existence of one event which transcends ordinary laws you leave open the possibility of others. And of the many supernatural events for which claims are entered, which shall we accept? The good Buddhist claims with all sincerity that the Bodhisattvas in Mahayana Buddhism perform the same atoning office that Christ performs for Christianity. With the eye of faith the Sunni Moslem sees historical events in a different light from that in which the Shi'a Moslem sees them. Brunner would say of course that all supposed revelations fail to measure up to the standards that are fulfilled by the one real revelation. Yet it is difficult to know how one can apply standards at all where

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a revelation is concerned. Perhaps we shall be left with one of the conclusions of William James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience,* that in matters of religious vision each individual stands on unassailable ground which others have no right to question. But then we should also remember James's other conclusion, that no individual should try to force his view on another. I do not mean to accuse these crisis theologians of forcing their views on the rest of the world, but I do believe that one result of their work has been the individualizing and scattering of religious opinion on questions on which it is well to have as much universality and agreement as is possible in the nature of the case.

The claim of special revelation can so easily be used for bad purposes as well as for good, it opens the door so wide to superstition, that one is always distrustful when it is made. And along with it the stress laid by these men on the particularity of Christianity seems very unfortunate. Every attempt to make religion a universal matter Brunner views as if it had criminal intent. To the instinctive feeling of travestied justice at the idea of a revelation made to a particular group and particular nation and denied to the rest of the world, he seems to be completely indifferent. The fact that all the universalizing attempts which he attacks have grown out of the desire to define the Christian God as essentially just, he seems not to take into account. It is again an echo of the view that all man's righteousnesses are as filthy rags. The ordinary values fade into insignificance when revelation comes on the scene.

It would of course be absurd to claim that religion is entirely free from non-rational elements. Religion will always be non-rational in the sense that it will be as much interested in richness of vision as in consistency of judgments, and also in the sense that its fudamental postulates are likely always to remain unproved. It would be difficult to prove now to the satisfaction of most people that the game of life is worth the playing. But this is a very different matter from calling upon

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a special act of revelation which, as Brunner explicitly says, must be made a standard of truth. And it is certainly the business of theology and the philosophy of religion to see that the unproved postulates are as few in number as possible, and that their conflict with philosophical principles and with the results of historical research is reduced to zero. The crisis theologians have aggravated the situation by defying history to disprove the propositions of faith and by introducing such conceptions as original sin, an angry God, and the qualitative difference between time and eternity, which the modern mind has difficulty in grasping. They are too free, also, with such expressions as "new dimension" and "new category of thought." Arbitrariness appears again in the acceptance of those parts of the Bible which fit in with their conception of what happened in the act of revelation, and the rejection of other parts. On the question of the resurrection, which is a case in point, Brunner says that the attempt to explain the disciples' visions psychologically is without the least historical foundation and that no psychology or history has been able to account with any probability on natural grounds for the change of heart after the vision. It is again a case of mistaken initial assumptions. If one cited Holtzmann or Lake, Brunner would undoubtedly say that their view was limited by the presuppositions on which they worked. But the presuppositions of a natural causal order will probably continue to attract most students in preference to the presupposition of a single unique act of revelation.

On minor points also these books bristle with issues. To devote almost an entire volume to showing the inconsistencies of Schleiermacher seems of doubtful value. Schleiermacher's tolerance and his pantheistic leanings make him especially objectionable to this group. But it remains true that Schleiermacher's great service was that of showing the religious qualities of the Romantic movement and of pointing out how religion could use the imaginative richness of Romanticism to

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achieve a deeper vision. That is the side of Schleiermacher which in our day needs to be stressed, and not any failure on his part to observe the theological or even logical properties.

And what is meant by the statement that no philosophy has taken account of evil? What of the many pluralisms that have used the fact of evil as a starting-point? In making evil both a problem and a task they have taken account of it in the only way that a philosophy can. The many assertions as to what must be true of God, a transcendent God, are also often confusing, as is the alternating appeal to Scripture, to logic, and to faith. And the application of the "either-or" situation is not always convincing, especially its chief use for the definition of the right kind of Christianity. Christianity is either the religion of the early Church or it is nonsense, is the claim. But the claim itself is meaningless.

This theology, starting with a conception so alien to the modern mind as that of an infinite break in nature, must appear to many readers as a queer mixture of genuine piety, real imaginative insight, dialectical skill, and beliefs drawn from a primitive stratum of religious experience. In our acceptance or rejection of any such system we are guided in the last analysis by our sense for the inherently probable. That the ideas as to what is probable held by these men differ so greatly from those of most present-day students of religion is nothing short of a calamity. They are men of real power. For their energy, ability, and genuine piety one can have only the greatest respect, and their aim, to make religion more vigorous in a materialistic age, awakens only approval. The pity of it is that the ideas which seem most important to them are those in which the modern man is least able to find meaning. Perhaps the fault is with the modern age and not with these theologians. That is their claim, but they have not as yet made it convincing.

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CRITICAL REVIEWS

BUDDHA REINTERPRETED

Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Gotama the Man*[1] is a remarkable book, a book that every student of Buddhism should read. It is the product of a lifetime of study and reflection, of ripe scholarship and earnest thought upon the problem: What was the real teaching of the Buddha? To be sure, one may say, many books have been written in answer to this question, and there is the whole Pali Tripitaka to tell us. Yet the matter is not so simple as it seems. The Tripitaka as we have it was compiled several centuries after Buddha's death, and all Western scholars agree that the oral traditions and the scattered notes on which it was based suffered many changes during these centuries. It is plain, moreover, that the changes wrought in the tradition were all under the influence, whether conscious or not, of the monkish mind. A careful study of the Tripitaka, moreover, makes it abundantly clear that the teaching attributed by it to Gotama cannot all be the teaching of one man, for it contains diverse elements and tendencies which cannot have lived together in one sane mind. It is perfectly plain to any unprejudiced student that we have here the message of an earnest teacher and a profound thinker, in part twisted by unintelligent interpretation and overlaid by a great mass of later tradition, the natural product of centuries of thought in a community of monks. The task is to clear up this palimpsest: to get back to the original teaching of the founder.

Mrs. Rhys Davids has done as much as anyone at this problem in the way of scholarly investigation and interpretation of our actual texts. But she feels that the texts have so greatly altered the original message of Gotama that it is really impossible to state what he probably taught without frankly throwing over the literal content of the Tripitaka. Hence she gives us, not a scholarly analysis of the texts, but a somewhat imaginative hypothesis in her own words, as to what the founder's teaching really was. For the accomplishment of this end she has hit upon a rather original and striking literary device. She puts what she has to say into the mouth of Gotama, not of the dead Gotama but of Gotama as living today somewhere in the superior worlds, and as speaking direct to her.

[1] *Gotama the Man.* By C. A. F. Rhys Davids. London: Luzac, 1928. 302 pages.

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The necessary limits of this review do not permit a detailed exposition of Gotama's real teaching as given in this new message from him. He is depicted as insisting at length upon the falsification of his doctrine by the texts of the Pali canon, while the more positive side of his message centers upon the questions of the self, the will, the eternal life, the importance of human helpfulness. The Buddha is represented as repudiating with fervor the *anatta* or no-self doctrine (and one does not have to go outside of the actual Nikayas to see that Mrs. Rhys Davids is pretty surely justified in attributing this attitude to Gotama). Connected with his belief in a real self is emphasis upon the importance of will, which is perhaps the central thing in its teaching. The author paints with admirable vividness and persuasion the picture of the Buddha feeling about for a way to express the idea of *will* for which the language of his time had no word, and finally expressing it by *Magga,* or the way. This way, moreover, is for Mrs. Rhys Davids' Gotama essentially a way of human helpfulness. Nor is it a way through this world only but a way through the worlds in the endless life of spiritual growth which Mrs. Rhys Davids believes in.

Toward the close of the volume the author draws a memorable and rather sad picture of the last years of Gotama, as she surmises them to have been: the real leadership of the order taken over by zealously monkish-minded men, such as Kassapa, while the efforts of the founder, now infirm with his eighty years, to preserve the real meaning of his message were disregarded by nearly all the younger monks. It is a melancholy tale she tells.

While *Gotama the Man* contains discussions of Pali wording, and arguments based on analyses of specific passages—discussions which will interest chiefly the student—the book will be of value not only to the student but to anyone who really cares to know what was the message of one of the greatest men of history. The style is always striking, though sometimes a little slow to read because of the author's coining of new words from old, and also from her great fondness for alliteration and her peculiar love of the letter "W." ("I was the Wayfarer, the worder of the Way." "I was not the worth-worder of a word held as worthless," etc.)

Gotama the Man is a serious challenge to the present dominant view of the Buddha as a monkish world-fleer, as a denier of a real self, as a teacher of negations. It is true that Mrs. Rhys Davids has put into Gotama's mouth various dear beliefs of her own. But in every case she has reason for so doing and can quote chapter and verse from the Nikayas that bring *indirect* support of her contention. Her hypothesis is probably

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incapable of absolute proof: but it is one that cannot be put lightly aside and that deserves the earnest consideration of every student of Buddhism.

JAMES BISSETT PRATT

WILLIAMS COLLEGE

AN ANGLICAN COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE

Living as we do in a time the most permanent characteristic of which appears to be change and transition, it is entirely natural that much of current writing should address itself to the rethinking and restating of important questions. Examples of this tendency from contemporary secular literature are too numerous to mention. In the field of religious literature it expresses itself in one way by the active re-writing of biblical interpretation. Thus the present volume[1] follows upon the heels, although not very closely it is true, of Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, both of these being one volume commentaries, and appears at the same time with the first volumes of the Moffatt *New Testament Commentary*.

The volume under review, compiled under the general editorship of Bishop Gore, has many merits not least among which is the manner in which the publishers have made a volume of 1,600 pages and a million and a quarter words both attractive in appearance and convenient to handle. Among features of content attention is drawn especially to the inclusion of the Apocrypha, in which respect this commentary represents a clear gain over that of Peake. The pages are numbered according to the three parts of the book, dealing respectively with the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament, this peculiarity being ascribed to the future though remote possibility that the different parts of the book may be published separately. Among interesting contributions apart from commentaries upon the separate books are, "The Geography of the Holy Land," by W. J. Phythian Adams; "A Comparative Study of the Old Testament in the Light of Recent Anthropological and Archaeological Research," by E. O. James; "The Prophets of Israel," by F. C. Burkitt; "The Religious Background of the New Testament in Jewish Thought," by W. O. E. Oesterley; "Textual Criticism of the New Testament," by C. H. Turner, and an article on "The Sacred Sites of the Gospels," by P. Usher, which appears to include consideration of the most recent archaeological discoveries, such as that of the Third Wall of Jerusalem, uncovered in 1924–26. One objective of the editors, we are in-

[1] *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, Including the Apocrypha.* Edited by Charles Gore, Henry Leighton Goudge, and Alfred Guillaume. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. xv+697+158+743 pages. $5.00.

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formed, was that this commentary should be written with the needs of the "ordinary reader" or "elementary student" in view. An example of this editorial interest may be seen in the article entitled, "Advice to the Ordinary Reader of the Historical Books."

It is natural to turn with especial interest to the section on the apocryphal books. Here we find an interesting article by E. Bevan on the "Environment of Israel from Maccabees to our Lord," as well as commentaries by W. O. E. Oesterley on II (IV) Esdras and by H. St. J. Thackeray who writes on Tobit, Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremy. In this section of the book as elsewhere, of course, disagreement will no doubt be found in connection with critical points, yet the value of a commentary upon the Apocrypha in such accessible form can hardly be overestimated.

The reviewer would criticize certain statements regarding the Wisdom of Solomon, when we read that since the time of Grimm in 1860 "a clear majority of critics . . . . have acknowledged the unity of authorship." It may be true that a "clear majority" of critics who have not made any original study of the book have been willing to accept Grimm's findings of nearly three-quarters of a century ago. Nevertheless, this hardly represents the present status of the discussion. Numerous scholars do still cling to the idea of unity, among them Siegfried, Goodrick, and Feldmann, yet an even longer list of names may be adduced for the opposite opinion, including Weber, Kohler, Holmes, Focke, and Speiser. The two last mentioned and most recent critical students of the Wisdom of Solomon have proposed an hypothesis regarding the original language of the book of which the commentator appears to be totally unaware. This is the translator-author theory, reviving an early but insufficiently supported suggestion of Houbigant. On this basis the superficial similarity of the present Greek text in both parts of the book is disposed of, including the occurrence of the erroneous "metalleuo" of 4^{12} and 16^{25}, characterized by the commentator as "almost incontrovertible proof of unity." The present Greek text, according to this most recent critical hypothesis, is from the hand of a single author. This writer, or editor, has in the first part of the book used a Hebrew original, while composing the second half in Greek. In this way certain similarities of the present Greek text in both parts of the book are accounted for, and at the same time an explanation is offered for the long noted disharmony between the earlier and later chapters.

All of the contributors to this volume are Anglican scholars and many of them adhere to the Anglo-Catholic persuasion, outstanding among the latter being the general editor, Bishop Gore. This will provide illumination for the remark in the Preface that "it will perhaps hardly be

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doubted that a Commentary on the whole Bible, written from this particular point of view, has been for many years both wanted and lacking. . . . ." Thus it may be fair to expect to find here a defense of the ("Catholic") faith. Among other essentials of the faith, strong emphasis is laid upon the importance of a belief in both the virgin birth and the bodily resurrection of Jesus. Bishop Gore writes the article entitled, "The Virgin Birth of Our Lord," and also an "Appended Note" to "The Evidence of the Resurrection." His remarks no doubt are representative of the point of view of the editors and contributors, when he states, "I cannot find anything which can justify the belief that the Catholic faith in Jesus . . . . could be maintained apart from the belief in His corporal resurrection, or that the belief in His corporal resurrection is in the least likely to be maintained where the belief in His Virgin Birth is denied."

Contrast this position with the declaration of T. H. Robinson in the new Moffatt Commentary on Matthew that Matthew 1:17 is "meaningless if it does not contemplate Joseph as the actual father of Jesus." In the present volume the commentator on Matthew omits any discussion of this part of the genealogy, referring the reader to Luke 3:23–28. Comment on the Lukan passage is confined to the statement that "Matthew intends to give the throne succession, St. Luke the actual descent," and a further cross-reference directs us to the article of Bishop Gore devoted specifically to the question of the virgin birth. Here we learn that "the point of the genealogies is, then, that Jesus was, though not physically, yet really by Jewish reckoning, 'the son of Joseph.'" This is due to the fact that Joseph married Mary before she brought forth her first born son and was thus considered by Jewish custom the legal father of Jesus. "Thus frequently in all the three Gospels, which either explicitly narrate or imply (St. John) our Lord's birth of a virgin, Joseph is still spoken of as His 'father.'"

The discussion of miracles is tinged by the fear lest the value of the Gospels as historical records be weakened by too great admissions. Thus "we cannot dispute the nature-miracles of our Lord generally without making the Gospel narratives untrustworthy."

A similar apologetic interest appears in the article on the "Gentile Background of Early Christianity," in which Paul and early Christianity in general are acquitted of the charge of contamination by their gentile environment, at least to any serious extent! "Christianity was planted in the Gentile soil of the Empire. The stock was Jewish and the plant remained true to type. As it grew it took up many Gentile elements from the soil, *but they did not affect its nature*" (reviewer's italics).

In conclusion it may be sufficient merely to accept the statement of

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the editors in the Preface to this volume that "they have not found the results of legitimate criticism to conflict with the Catholic faith."

CARL EVERETT PURINTON

ADELPHI COLLEGE

HEBREW HEROES[1]

This new book from Professor Kittel, of the University of Leipzig, Germany, is put forth in defense of the proposition that great men determine the course of history. This has long been an open question. To what extent are great men themselves the product of their times? Do heroes make history or does history make heroes? The truth is that these two elements act and interact in such a way that it is practically impossible to say which of them is the dominant factor at any particular time. Great times make great men and great men help to make great times. Dr. Kittel's Epilogue sets forth his personal conclusion to the effect that "in the essentials of life itself, in the growth of the spirit, in the purifying and ennobling of moral life, humanity has advanced but little, if at all." This is a sad situation, if true. Perhaps the great tragedy of the World War and its after-effects have beaten this conclusion into the mind of the great German scholar. But one can hardly familiarize himself thoroughly with the thoughts and deeds of humanity four thousand years ago and fail to note great improvement in the moral and spiritual standards of civilized mankind.

But what about Professor Kittel's portrayal of ancient Hebrew characters and situations? The book constitutes a brief history of Israelitish life with attention focused upon the leading personalities. Moses is made the subject of a chapter, but the man himself plays little part in it. Professor Kittel is too good a historian to make something out of nothing; hence he confines himself to a few broad inferences as to the formative influence of Moses upon Hebrew religion and history. David is given too generous a eulogy; his faults are minimized and his virtues extolled. Professor Kittel clings to the interpretation of Deutero-Isaiah's Servant of Yahweh as an individual, though he does not, like some scholars, identify the individual with any historical character. The treatment of this problem can hardly be called complete, for no notice is taken of some important facts. The Servant is actually identified with Israel itself in 49:3, i.e., in one of the Songs; and outside of the Songs the Servant is identified

[1] *Great Men and Movements in Israel.* By Rudolf Kittel. Authorized translation by Charlotte A. Knoch and C. D. Wright. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. xviii+466 pages. $5.00.

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as Israel in several passages. That this fact should be ignored in the discussion is strange, especially in view of the further fact that Dr. Kittel regards the Songs as the work of Deutero-Isaiah himself, though not originally incorporated in the present context. Notwithstanding such defects, the book as a whole is a valuable contribution to English literature upon the Old Testament. Professor Kittel represents a cautious and conservative branch of the critical school and it is well that we have the views of such a master in such accessible form.

The translation is very well done, but it is marred by a large number of odd spellings and errors, due to the translators' apparent lack of familiarity with Old Testament names. On page 58, line 26, "not" is omitted. On page 71, the second and third lines from the bottom should be transposed. On page 87, line 27, read "Tammuz" for "Tamiz." On page 90, line 8, read "Ezer" for "Eser." On page 91, line 14, read "Shiloh" for "Shiloah." On page 157, line 4, read "Ahijah of Shiloh" for "Ahiah of Siloh"; line 6, read "Ahijah." On page 181, lines 4 and 7, read "Hazor" for "Hagor." On page 183, line 13, read "Taanach" for "Tanach," and line 7, read "inscriptions" for "inscription." On page 191, line 26, read "Duhm" for "Duhn." On page 208, line 10, read "Nadab" for "Nabad." On page 209, lines 17 and 18, read "Zimri" for "Zemri"; line 34, read "Nimshi" for "Nimisas." On page 210, line 27, read "Nimshi" for "Nimsis." On page 231, line 25, read "Shalmaneser" for "Salmansar"; so also on page 274, line 7. On page 232, the opinion is expressed that the appearance of Amos as a prophet was due to the menace of the Assyrian empire. The fact is, however, that at this particular time, the middle of the eighth century B.C., the Assyrian was in no condition to menace anybody, and the call of Amos must be sought along other lines. On page 236, line 11, read "Micah" for "Micha." The older view of Hosea as a deluded husband is here restated, though no new facts are forthcoming in support of this position. On page 270, the view is maintained that the mother of Immanuel was "a virgin, a wonder woman." Why, then, was not the word בתולה used to denote this fact, rather than the ambiguous word עלמה? On page 271, line 28, read "Jehoash" for "Jeoash." On page 276, line 24, read "Syro-Ephraimite" for "Assyrian Ephraimite." On page 277, lines 10 and 11, read "Siloam" for "Shiloh" (twice). On page 294, line 24, read "Tyrian" for "Tyrean." On page 296, line 24, read "Ophrah" for "ophrah." On page 300, lines 24 and 29, read "Esarhaddon" for "Ashurhaddon." On page 302, line 30, read "Cyaxares" for "Cyazares." On page 310, line 6, read "mishpatim" for "mischapatim" and "hukkim" for "chakkum." On page 314, line 16, read "hereb" for "chireb." On page 315, line 19, read "Sumer" for "Sumaria"; so also

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page 316, line 9; and lines 21 and 26, read "Sumerian" for "Sumarian." On page 320, line 34, read "De Wette" for "de Witt." On page 354, lines 9 and 34, read "Jehoiakim" for "Jehoiak." On page 361, lines 25, 26, and 28, read "Hophra" for "Hofra"; so also page 362, line 32. On page 367, line 11, read "Golah" for "Golan"; so also page 369, line 20, and page 370, line 21, and page 371, lines 18 and 20. On page 378, lines 22 and 35, read "Nabonidos" for "Naboned"; so also on page 379, lines 2, 6, 11, and 28, and on page 382, line 28, and one page 407, line 25. On page 427, line 32, read "Joshua" for "Jeshua." It is a pity that so many errors of this type should have been inserted into the work of a scholar so noted for his care and accuracy as is Professor Kittel.

J. M. Powis Smith

University of Chicago

JESUS AND PACIFISM

This book is made up of eleven chapters,[1] in which the author discusses the manifold evils of war and pleads for a fuller reliance, in national as in personal relations, on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The tenor of the argument may be gathered from the titles of some of the chapters: "Did Christ Teach War?" "Doing Evil That Good May Come," "Some Basic Human Motives," "National Insanity," "The Open Road to Peace." Dr. Brewster writes as a convinced pacifist. He believes that war is always inexcusable, and that it is due to nothing else than the resurgence of those brutal impulses which it is the one aim of all man's higher development to repress. He demonstrates the evil of war from the motives that provoke it, the atmosphere of falsehood and hypocrisy in which it is carried on, the horrors of the actual bloodshed, the futility of almost all victories when they are won. The teaching of Christ, as he interprets it, requires that all aggression should be met by non-resistance. This attitude alone is justified not only by the principles of our religion but by all the lessons of history. The book is written in clear and vigorous style, and is full of illustrations from recent and current history which make it interesting but too often supply the place of reasoned argument. While we recognize the sincerity and earnest Christian spirit of the author, we cannot but feel that he has not fully grappled with the difficulties of a highly complicated subject. We are doubtful, too, whether he has adequately interpreted the attitude of

[1] *The Madness of War*. By Harold S. Brewster. New York: Harper, 1928. 261 pages. $2.00.

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Jesus, who certainly regarded the maintenance of justice as a primary duty. Would he have prohibited the use of force when the interests of justice, as sometimes happens, can be asserted in no other way? A great deal is said throughout the book of the misrepresentations and distorted views which accompany the war spirit. If one may judge from much of the recent literature it is the apostles of peace who are chiefly guilty of these perversions of evidence. Dr. Brewster professes a quite impartial attitude with regard to the late war, but this quality is hardly apparent in his tracing it to "the French spirit of revenge," in his references to "the frightful collapse of Versailles," the folly of Lord Bryce in admitting that there were atrocities in Belgium, the hoodwinking of the people of France and England by their diplomatists. This sort of thing does not make for that Christian frame of mind which Dr. Brewster wishes to create in his readers. At times he seems to lose his judgment altogether, as when he couples the very agreeable rest-cure imposed on Mr. Gandhi with the Crucifixion. To some readers his criticism of General Lee for taking the wrong side in the Civil War will seem rather to beg the question, while others will be left wondering whether the whole action of Lincoln in opposing Lee was not, on the principles of non-resistance, a terrible mistake. We admire the spirit of the book and the power with which some of the chapters are written, but few of the historical allusions have impressed us as altogether happy. For the most part they only serve to remind us of vital considerations which the author has left out of account.

E. F. Scott

Union Theological Seminary

RECENT NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES IN EUROPE

Some recent publications in Europe have achieved that rare height, freshness of investigation and interpretation. Of these first place must be awarded Lohmeyer's edition of Philippians,[1] in the "Meyer Series."

The chief value of this new commentary is that it sets forth the message of the Pauline letter by putting it against a living background of sufficient importance to account for its rise, and shows the teaching of Paul to have been an example of "paranese," urgent exhortation to a norm of life which became Christian when its standards were organized.

[1] *Der Brief an die Philipper.* By Ernst Lohmeyer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1928. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, begrundet von Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, 9te Abteilung, 1 Halfte, 8. Auflage. 192 pages. M. 9.

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Philippians is thought to have been produced by the necessity of the martyr's witness to Christ, not Paul's merely, although Paul's imprisonment accounts for the immediacy of the martyrological strain, but the community's also; Lohmeyer infers that a persecution preceded the despatch of the letter. It is witness in the martyrological sense which is the unifying thread of the letter and which makes its message understandable.

Paul was imprisoned in Caesarea. He wrote in the late summer of 58 A.D. He perceived the fate which impended, but recognized likewise the necessity for others to become witnesses like himself. This accounts for the particular references to death in the letter; there is no developed "eschatology" in Philippians. Nor does the letter exhibit significant development in the Pauline thought about Jesus; the supposed high Christology of 2:5–11 is differently treated. Lohmeyer finds this section to be a primitive hymn of which Paul made use. Thus Lohmeyer is able to meet the doctrinal arguments for late date and un-Pauline character; Philippians is not far from Galatians-Corinthians-Romans. No, it is not doctrinal development which gives the letter its character. It is the practical need of heartening the community so that martyrs shall be ready as occasion demands. This purpose is so evident, Lohmeyer thinks, that it binds the entire letter together: there is here one letter, not several.

Certainly Lohmeyer's *Philippians* is deserving of wide study, whatever may be the fate of its detailed suggestions. A fresh point of view, especially one which drives attention past the text itself to the life of the Philippian community, merits sympathetic consideration.

Likewise the major characteristic of the French study of Philippians, Thessalonians, the Pastorals, and Hebrews[2] obtains in a point of view. The author, writing under the pseudonym of Henri Delafosse, has already produced several volumes on Paul in the series "Christianisme," of which this is one. All these proceed on the basis of a distinctive point of view.

Briefly, each letter is found to contain a basic letter (or letters) of Paul. This is thought to have been rewritten by a Marcionite, to secure ends desirable in the light of second century needs. The Marcionite revision was still later corrected in a Catholic edition. One immediately wonders why a Marcionite revision of a Pauline letter should be merely corrected by addition. However, each source is analyzed on the basis of this theory, and the several strata are exhibited by different sorts of type. The introduction contains nearly all the critical processes; the letters are

[2] *Les Ecrits de Saint Paul, IV, l'Epitre aux Philippiens.* By Henri Delafosse. (Christianisme, Cahiers publiés sous la direction de P. L. Couchoud.) Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1928. 248 pages. Fr. 12.

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allowed to speak for themselves. The introduction is highly compressed; results are cited without the processes basic to them, and few references are made to other studies. This gives an air of dogmatism which perhaps would not obtain were the book large enough to include details.

Philippians is thought to contain two or perhaps three Pauline letters reworked as outlined above. The anti-Jewish polemic is Marcionite, while the so-called Christological passages are a combination of Marcionite and Catholic. In 2:5–11, for example, verses 9–11 are the Catholic correction of Marcionite anti-Judaism. The Thessalonian letters have enough Pauline material to make them of equal importance with Romans and Corinthians. However, this statement has meaning only as it is remembered that Delafosse's analysis of these letters in earlier volumes subtracts from them much of their traditional significance. The Pastorals have only a slight Pauline basis; the sectarian element is the greater. Hebrews, written 72–75 A.D., and used later by I Clement, has a brief Pauline note imbedded in chapter 13.

Doubtless the details of Delafosse's treatment will not meet with general acceptance. There is one important consideration, however. If it is allowed that the Pauline and pseudo-Pauline materials were still in evolution in the second century, the significance of the fact is profound. Delafosse's citation of matters concerning Hadrian's war with the Jews deserves careful study.

But of two other volumes which have appeared, it cannot be said that they possess freshness in point of view or results. What must be thought, for example, of a competent patrologist like Bardenhewer,[3] who well knows the problem of the late and localized currency of the Epistle of James, but coolly disregards the evidence and states that the work was written by the Jerusalem bishop 40–50 A.D.? What must be thought, though the quality of its Greek is recognized, of the letter being treated as Jewish-Christian teaching current in the Jerusalem community? Of an exposition of its faith-works teaching which finds this in perfect agreement with Paul's? The book is in constant polemic with Dibelius', which is much to be preferred. One can understand these phenomena only as it is observed that the volume carries the ecclesiastical imprimatur.

Much the same is to be said of Schmid's book on Ephesians.[4] This is a statistical study of special topics, such as the textually impossible address to Ephesus, the theory of an encyclical letter, details of style and

[3] *Der Brief des heiligen Jakobus.* By Otto Bardenhewer. St. Louis: Herder, 1928. 160 pages. $1.60.

[4] *Der Epheserbrief des Apostels Paulus.* By Josef Schmid. St. Louis: Herder, 1928. xxiii+466 pages. $4.30.

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vocabulary, and Ephesians' relation to other Christian literature. The work is minutely documented, with remarkable knowledge of other investigations. But its total result is the conclusion that Ephesians is a genuine letter of Paul, originally an encyclical, mistakenly addressed to Ephesus, whose relations to Colossians and I Peter prove its genuineness. One cannot help but think of Guignebert's amusement (*Le Christianisme antique* [Paris, 1922], p. 28) at the clericals who exercise themselves with scientific processes, but always arrive at the traditional conclusions. So it must be, presumably, with any study which, like this, carries the imprimatur.

DONALD W. RIDDLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EXTRA-CANONICAL SPIRITUAL LITERATURE

In the subtitle this book[1] is called "An anthology of the greatest literature of the Christian era reflecting the spirit of the Bible and restating its immortal truths." The contents is made up of relatively short selections, varying from a single line to several columns. There are a great many prose extracts, but the greater bulk of the material is verse. Most, but not all, of the selections are such as are usually found in religious anthologies. The book has 610 large double-column pages, with type and spacing such as to allow a maximum of printed matter to the page. There is therefore room for a vast number of selections, and, as good indexes of authors, titles, first lines, and familiar quotations are provided, the volume should prove very useful.

The Declaration of Independence is included; also Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address," Demosthenes on "Athenian Public Spirit," Victor Hugo on "The United States of Europe," characterizations of Napoleon by William Ellery Channing and Charles Philipps, Daniel Webster's "Apostrophe to Washington," Fitz-Green Halleck's "Marco Bozzaris," a column of pithy sayings from *Poor Richard's Almanac,* the "Dialogue between Benjamin Franklin and the Gout," Francis Bacon on "Books," T. B. Macaulay on "Limiting the Hours of Labor," Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe," Shelley's "Love's Philosophy," Mrs. Browning's "How Do I Love Thee?" Eugene Field's "Little Boy Blue," Burns's "The Cotter's Saturday Night," Rufus Choate on "The Barbarity of National Hatreds," Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie," Tennyson's "The

[1] *The Supplementary Bible.* Edited by William Barrett Millard, with co-operation of a board of associate editors. Chicago: Buxton-Westerman Company, 1928. 610 pages.

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Charge of the Light Brigade," Alexander Pope on "Happiness," Kipling's "L'Envoi," Renan's "Apostrophe to Jesus," Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," John Fiske's argument on "Immortality the Logical Outcome of Evolution," etc. A tolerably successful attempt is made to arrange and classify this miscellaneous material.

The author whose name appears most frequently is William Shakespeare. There are many selections from Tennyson, Wordsworth, Cowper, Dryden, Byron (whose inclusion the editor is at pains to justify in his Preface), Longfellow, Thomas Moore, Milton, Pope, Whittier, Lowell, Bulwer-Lytton, James Montgomery, Isaac Watts, and Edward Young. Somewhat less space is given to the Brownings, Addison, Coleridge, Emerson, Burns, Goldsmith, Edmund Spenser, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Robert Southey, Ben Jonson, Horatius Bonar, Charles Wesley, Benjamin Franklin, Ella Wheeler Wilcox. Names of contemporary writers are not numerous but such as there are offer wide variety. They include Adolph Harnack, Henry van Dyke, A. S. M. Hutchinson, Edgar A. Guest, Thomas Curtis Clark. Contemporary philosophers, psychologists, and biologists seem not to be represented.

Naturally there are many hymns, familiar and unfamiliar, edifying and unedifying. In cases where only a few verses of a poem are usually given in the hymnals, it is of interest to have these familiar lines in their larger context. This applies, for example, to Keble's "Evening Hymn," beginning "Sun of my soul, thou Savior dear," which has twelve verses, and to Whittier's poem of thirty-seven verses, "Our Master," which begins, "Immortal love, forever full, Forever flowing free."

It is a pity that the book could not have been made more attractive in appearance. The narrow margins and compressed spacings were probably unavoidable if so much matter were to be put into a volume that could be readily handled and would not be too expensive. The thirty-two highly colored reproductions of paintings on biblical themes do not fit very well either into the color scheme of the book—which otherwise is severely black and white—or into its subject matter. One gets the impression that the pictures certainly would not be there but for the effort to present the materials of the book as a "Supplementary Bible." Possibly the book owes its severe and somber make-up to imitation of the familiar editions of the King James Version.

As to whether the title has been well chosen there will be different opinions. The term "Bible," in its historical use, carries with it the notion of a more or less rigidly bounded canon and also the notion of unique authority. As the editor and his associates would not attach either of these notions to this anthology the aptness of the title may be questioned.

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However, there need be no serious objection to calling a collection of more or less worthy and inspiring verse and prose matter a "Supplementary Bible," even though it cannot claim any monopoly in "reflecting the spirit of the Bible and restating its immortal truths."

In such a collection the line between admissions and omissions is necessarily somewhat arbitrary. It would be easy to make a list of selections which might have been here but are not, particularly selections from modern writers. It is a satisfaction to find Harry Kemp's "God the Architect," George Santayana's "Faith," and William Herbert Carruth's "Each in His Own Tongue," but it is a disappointment not to find John Drinkwater's "A Prayer," Alan Seeger's "The Rendezvous," or Joyce Kilmer's "Poets" and "Trees." The complete omission of the name of Emily Dickinson is surely unfortunate. And if a "Supplementary Bible" for twentieth-century America is to include selections from contemporary prose writers, one might venture to suggest that search for materials be made in the writings of John Dewey, George A. Coe, Francis G. Peabody, George Herbert Palmer, Robert A. Millikan, Edward Scribner Ames, Havelock Ellis, G. B. Shaw. But this undoubtedly would be a different kind of "Bible."

FRANK EAKIN

VINELAND, NEW JERSEY

ROME AND THE CELTIC CHURCHES

In this study[1] a Presbyterian minister takes up anew the oft-debated question of the relations of the early British and Irish churches to the See of Rome. In the beginning of his interest in the subject he was, he tells us, strongly biased in favor of the view that these churches were independent of Rome, but this judgment has been reversed in the course of his investigations. The book will do service in leading away from popular antiquated notions regarding the status of Celtic Christianity; but as a scholarly study it is marked by serious defects. Apparently no well-equipped library has been accessible to the writer. The "list of works quoted or consulted" is entirely inadequate, omitting, as it does, some of the most acute studies of the subject, such as the old but substantial works of W. Reeves, W. Bright, W. D. Killen, and J. W. W. Bund, and the later studies of H. Williams and A. R. MacEwen. H. Zimmer's work is represented only by his defective essay on "The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland," while K. Meyer is quite overlooked. Hefele's *Concil-*

[1] *The Celtic Church and the See of Peter.* By John Campbell MacNaught. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1928. xv+118 pages. 7*s.* 6*d.*

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iengeschichte is referred to only in the incomplete English translation. Many sources, too, are entirely neglected. The omissions, for example, of the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* edited by C. Plummer, and that of the *Vita Columbani* of Jonas are scarcely pardonable in a work attempting to adjudicate this question.

Mr. MacNaught brings to light no facts not already familiar to students of Celtic church history. The book is written with sincerity and in an admirably friendly spirit toward all. But the construction which is placed upon certain situations is open to serious question. The argument that the British bishops who repulsed Augustine nevertheless regarded the pope as "Primate and Visible Head of the Catholic Church," is very inconclusive, especially when we remember that Augustine was the pope's official emissary to secure their allegiance. To employ the question addressed, in the familiar legend, by St. Patrick to the daughters of Loegaire: "Do you believe in the unity of the Church?" as evidence of papal supremacy, is surely unsatisfactory. Almost equally fragile is the argument alleging Roman authority for Patrick's mission. And in respect to the letters of Columban, who accuses popes of harboring heresy and distinctly places Rome below Jerusalem, it is misleading to repeat *simpliciter,* the statement of Dr. Rock that the Irishman "gives the fullest recognition of the Pope's *auctoritas* in the Western Church." The author does not always bear in mind the distinction between "primacy" and "supremacy." A primacy of honor in the West was vaguely accorded by the Celts to Rome, though the literature shows that Rome was seldom present in their thoughts. A jurisdictional supremacy was not so recognized until it was imposed by a series of acts which belong mainly to the Anglo-Norman period. It is probably true that the Celtic divergences from Rome were due to Celtic isolation—an isolation which Mr. MacNaught fully recognizes; but if so, the same isolation also made impossible the psychology of subjection to the papacy. It is true, too, that the Celts, like other Christians, held to the doctrine of Catholic unity. But their church was not monarchical; and when they thought of Catholic unity, they did so in terms, not of obedience, but of communion. Even a historical veneration of Rome did not necessarily mean submission to the pope. Mr. MacNaught has reacted so strongly against the Protestant bias with which Celtic church history was at one time treated by many writers that he has followed the opposite tendency to an almost equal extreme.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO JOHN T. MCNEILL

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AN INTERPRETATION OF CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA

"My chief desire in connection with this book,"[1] writes Dr. Winfred Garrison, "is to make its exposition of Catholic faith and practice so accurate and so fair that a well-informed Catholic, reading my statement of what Catholics believe and do, will say: Yes, that is exactly what we believe and do." This enlightened standard of historical justice has, in the opinion of the present reviewer, himself a Catholic, been reached by the author. Nay more, it has been surpassed. We have here not only a fair and accurate account of Catholicism but also an understanding and sympathetic one.

"Understanding," writes Dr. Garrison, "requires not only that one should know what the other man thinks but how he feels about what he thinks." Catholics reading this volume, unless they belong to the class who regard (with Pius X) all criticism of the church as "consummate audacity," will recognize in the author a rare quality, that of understanding combined with perfect independence of judgment. The pages devoted to Lourdes, for example, might have been written by a French abbé.

> The effect of these (the Lourdes) processions is immensely impressive. Even more so is the spirit of devotion and good-will among the people. Strangely—and it is strange to one who knows Rome—the priests seem as humble as the people. There has been no accumulation of ecclesiastical wealth at Lourdes. There is dignity but no magnificence. There is no profiteering. There are no catch-penny devices. . . . . It gives a sense of the international character of the Catholic Church and of its undiminished hold upon the imaginations and loyalties of its adherents. Are the cures genuine? I have no doubt but that many of them are. . . . .

The sections dealing with papal infallibility and the Catholic attitude toward public schools are exceedingly well documented and developed. Dr. Garrison very clearly and ably explains his thesis that "the Catholic Church is both a religion and a form of government." Lourdes reveals the religious character of the church, Rome the governmental character. Both as a religion and as a government Catholicism is today in the crucible in America, and what seems to the reviewer the "high spot" of Dr. Garrison's discussion is reached in the pages which deal with American Catholic citizenship. These pages are all the more interesting and important at the present moment in consequence of the recent conclusion of the Lateran peace.

Dr. Garrison analyzes the mentality of the American Catholic and emphatically indorses his patriotism. "Only the most gullible and fanati-

[1] *Catholicism and the American Mind.* By Winfred Ernest Garrison. Chicago: Willett, Clark, & Colby, 1928. 267 pages. $2.50.

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cal can suppose that (American) Catholics are plotting against their country or that they do not love it." So far, so good. Catholics are true and sincere Americans. But what of the claims of Rome to override civil laws and interfere in politics, and quite possibly in American politics? "It requires the most absurd ignorance of history or the most reckless disregard of it to assert the impossibility of . . . . an overlapping of the areas of control claimed by the church and state, and the (Catholic) church has always asserted its right to define the frontiers between the two." Having led up to the question as to what would happen if American Catholics were ordered by Rome to undermine in some way the American Constitution, there follows this valuable diagnosis.

> I would trust Catholic voters, Catholic legislators, and a Catholic president to refuse point-blank to put into effect the extreme doctrines which are embodied in papal declarations as to church and state. Why so? Because throughout history Catholic laymen have been rising in revolt against the efforts of the church to dominate the state. . . . . Will Catholics who have lived their lives under American institutions meekly vote to make the United States a dependent province of Rome? Never!

This opinion will come as a shock to many non-Catholics who are less "understanding" of American Catholicism than Dr. Garrison. But he is fully *au courant* with the "away from Rome" trend of Catholic thought in this country. He knows that the average American Catholic would like to see the dogma of "papal supremacy" transmuted into one of "papal domesticity." He knows that the American Catholic's attachment to Rome is rather superficial, insecure, and liable to devolve into unstable equilibrium. Leo XIII, who noticed and detested what he called the "Americanism" of Catholics of this country, made a futile effort to crush it. That it is a living force is amply illustrated by Dr. Garrison. Brilliantly the curious situation is thus summarized by the author. "The dictum of an infallible Pope is no match for the forces of good-will, neighborliness, and the habit of friendly and tolerant co-operation. Few people are as bad as their theology, though fewer still are as good as their religion."

Catholicism and the American Mind is a fair, far-seeing, and fearless discussion of vital things in the Catholic church which astonish or irritate or delight or confuse American citizens of today. Had Cardinal Gibbons read it he would have called the author "friend"; Cardinal Mercier, in like case, would have murmured "brother"; Pius IX would have sourly cried, "Enemy!"

NEW YORK CITY E. BOYD BARRETT

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EARLY MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN AMERICA

The increasing number of studies in American history, such as the one under review,[1] written under the direction of history faculties in several of our great university graduate schools, bears testimony to the fact that a new emphasis in American history is in process of development. *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815* is a Columbia University Doctor's dissertation and the professor under whose direction this study was made is one of the editors of the new *History of American Life,* in twelve volumes, four volumes of which have already appeared.

We are just beginning to realize fully that far too little stress has been placed upon religious ideas, and the activities of the churches, in our attempts to understand American life, nor have we yet learned how to link up religious life and thought with the other influences and activities which go to make up the total life story of the American people. It was the realization of this fact which led Mr. Elsbree to undertake the investigation of the rise of the missionary spirit during the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The study indicates clearly what a great mass of material there is, still to be studied and assimilated by the American historian. The author lists twenty-five periodicals and fifty-nine sermons in his bibliography, besides five closely printed pages of biographical and autobiographical sources. But while much new and interesting material has been assembled I fear the author has not succeeded in relating it to the other several influences, political and economic, of the time. The assumption that religion and religious interests are something entirely apart from the ordinary things of life makes this linking-up process particularly difficult.

The study is divided into seven chapters, the first two dealing with the background of American missions. Missionary activities in the colonies may be divided into two periods. The earliest activities are those of John Eliot and his associates, whose zeal in the cause represents one of the several motives in colonization. This first missionary interest had died down by the end of the seventeenth century and the death of Eliot. The second phase of Indian missions came as one of the results and influences of the great Colonial revival, causing the establishment of numerous missions in central New York, and includes the activities of David Brainerd, and the several Congregational and Presbyterian missionaries, as well as the work of the Moravians and others.

Chapter iii is a dull catalogue of the early local missionary societies and the missionary magazines which sprang up in connection with the re-

[1] *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815.* By Oliver Wendell Elsbree. Williamsport, Pa.: Privately printed, 1928. Pp. 187.

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vival of missionary interest at the end of the century. The beginning of the aggressive missionary activities in America coincided with the rise of Unitarianism and other liberal movements, and the missionary propaganda of the time was a part of a world-wide crusade against the foes of orthodox religion. This the author sets forth in chapter iv, which is entitled "The Crusade against the Enemies of the Gospel."

The remainder of the study is devoted to an account of the formation of the several American Boards of Missions, which were forming from 1810 to 1820, and to the kind of contemporary propaganda which was carried on to advance the cause.

As a whole the study is suggestive and is a fair example of what might be expected from such materials, but its reading requires patience, for there is an overplus of facts and a minimum of interpretation.

WILLIAM WARREN SWEET

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HOW SHALL WE RELATE CHRISTIANITY TO OTHER RELIGIONS?

"As in the Graeco-Oriental world in which it won its first conspicuous victories, Christianity is once more confronted with other religions and the problem of its relation to them can no longer be evaded." There are two distinct problems here which have not been clearly differentiated; both of which are awaiting solution. The first is the *discovery* of the genetic relationship of Christianity and other religions; the other is the *comparing or evaluating* of different religions. The first is pre-eminently a scientific and historical problem, namely, to what extent can Christianity and all other religions be traced back to similar origins and explained by the same general processes of development? The second is an effort to appraise the relative merits of the world's great religions. The book under review[1] makes no pretense to deal with the first problem, which to our mind is by far the more crucial of the two, and is restricted to the consideration of the second. At best, the effort to compare religion with religion is such a delicate and treacherous task that it can be undertaken with profit and fairness only when three conditions are rigidly adhered to: first, intimate acquaintance with all the religions involved; second, a fair and sympathetic interpretation of each; and third, the employment of some neutral and unbiased standard of judgment. To what extent does the author comply with these three conditions?

[1] *Christianity and Some Living Religions of the East*. By Sidney Cave. New York: Scribners, 1929. 221 pages. $2.00.

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The five main themes of comparison are: the nature of the divine; the manifestation of the divine; the divine and human needs; the moral ideal and its realization; and the meaning and permanence of life. The position of each of the non-Christian religions concerning these several topics is given in a fair and sympathetic manner, and then each chapter is drawn to a conclusion with an exposition of the author's interpretation of the teaching of Christianity concerning that topic, in such a way as to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian religion.

This general method of treatment merits attention, for it characterizes a large number of books emerging from the press during recent years and constituting the best sellers in Christian circles. And little wonder. Everyone likes to hear his wife and family highly spoken of, and to be reminded of how they excel the ordinary run of mortals. It is not otherwise with our religion. We revel in such sentiments concerning the superiority of Christianity; "we roll them as a sweet morsel under our tongue"; and because they are so sweet a morsel, we are not liable to be very exacting as to the methods by which these verdicts were reached. The peculiar danger in such books lies in the fact that they are so fair and so sympathetic, up to a given point. They give evidence of a close acquaintance with other religions; they are written in a sympathetic spirit; but then they pass on to assume—what most Christians will readily grant —that the only criterion by which to judge the religions of the world is the Christians' criterion. They fail to fulfil the third condition. This is our criticism of the present work. "To one who judges by Christian values, the solution of Christianity (to life's problems) seems to have a unity and simplicity lacking in other religions" (p. 209). Precisely! What other verdict could be expected of the Christian? But by the same manner of reasoning the Hindu will conclude with equal justice that his religion is superior, and the Mohammedan will do likewise. This comparative method always leads to a foregone conclusion. It is simply an elaborate elaboration of the obvious. In each case, some one religion assumes the triple rôle of statute-maker, judge, and defendant, for the time being, along with the other religions. It then proceeds solemnly to pass judgment upon itself and all others in the light of its own principles and laws, which are taken to be final either because (as the conservative thinks) they are of divine origin or because (as the liberal is more likely to maintain) they are inherently universal.

Our author, it is true, recognizes the limitations of the comparative method, and places his ultimate confidence elsewhere: "If we believe in the destined universality of Christianity, it is not because of a comparison of religions. It is a judgement of faith, an expression of our experience of

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the adequacy of the Christian Gospel." All that comparison accomplishes for the Christian is to confirm his "judgement of faith." The devout Hindu or Buddhist would take the same stand, and arrive at the confirmation of his own religion; showing how relative and subjective this "judgement of faith" may be.

No, this method of comparison or this "judgement of faith" does not get us anywhere in the consideration of the universality or the finality of any religion. It bears striking resemblance to the vehement disputations of a group of school boys in the back yard as to whose family came over in the Mayflower or whose father is the richest, the most intelligent, or the best looking. Such disputations are evidences of the loyalty of the boys—which is to be expected in every well-regulated family—but the final evaluation of both father and family rests in other hands.

So likewise, the real relating and comparison of religions—and relate them we must—is going on continually in a more profound and subtle manner. Any satisfactory answer must involve the solution of both the major problems mentioned above, and not of the second alone. The special claims of each and all are being swept aside for the time being, and each in turn is being subjected to the same general type of scrutiny, with respect to the following matters: First, to what extent can the origins and history of each religion be adequately explained in terms of the same general process of cultural development that has been going on the world over? Second, what contributions has each religion made to the welfare of its own constituency during its long history? Third, to what extent are the fundamental teachings and assumptions of each concerning God, nature, and man either confirmed or refuted by the accepted findings of modern science? Fourth, how successfully do the ideals and the ethics of each measure up to the requirements of that newer idealism and world-conscience which is actually in process of formation as an inevitable result of the intercultural relationships of the modern world? No doubt, advocates of one religion or of another will continue to compare religion with religion, each to the enhancing of his own particular faith; but the judgment of the ages will be more impartial and searching.

ARCHIBALD G. BAKER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RECENT DEFENSES OF RELIGION

The nine chapters of Dr. Gilkey's book,[1] *The Certainty of God*, are so many bulwarks thrown up in defense of convictions already won,

[1] *The Certainty of God.* By James Gordon Gilkey. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 220 pages. $1.75.

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either by inheritance or by reflection of a not-too-philosophical sort; they hardly march out to conquer terrain now being fought over. If you believe in God, this book will help ratify that belief and aid you in your diligence to make it meaningful. It is one of those useful books we continue to need for the enterprise of daily living, just as we need dollar bills and baker's bread.

But why do our apologetic writers feel that we must be promised good gifts as a reward for our faith? Is it because Jesus said something about "how much more the Father will give good gifts to him that ask Him"? But does not Jesus' own experience qualify his teaching? It seems dangerously precarious to give way to guileless optimism when engaged in the stern business of apologetics. There are grim aspects to reality. Calvary stands out stark against a lowering sky. Surely, until faith learns to say convincingly, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him," it must remain somewhat superficial for all its lovely logic and limpid sentences. When we get plots without happy endings, we may get worse rhetoric but we will also have deeper insight. It may be that there is a place for Karl Barth after all.

This is not to condemn Gilkey's book, but only to say that it lends itself far better to the use of the preacher who speaks to an audience more than half convinced than to the Hyde Park Corner orator. What a fund of apt poetry Gilkey has at his disposal! It helps make of his book a lovely and helpful hymn of personal belief.

Whatever Dr. Garrison writes always reads well.[2] Like French strawberries, it leaves a most delightful after-taste. *Affirmative Religion* is no exception. It may not be a great book, but has not Garrison himself said somewhere, "The art of successful churchgoing is to be able to get good out of sermons you can criticize"?

The title, *Affirmative Religion,* tells the whole story. It is a series of positive beliefs and attitudes the writer holds on such phases of experience as "Authority," "Christ," "The Scriptures," "Sin," "Salvation," "Religion and Health" (an unusually good chapter), "The Attainment and Use of Liberty," "The Mystical Mind," "The Life Everlasting," etc. Here is liberalism that does not content itself with denial and negation. It affirms. It reminds one of Phillips Brooks's description of the truly broad-minded man as one whose mind is broad enough to encompass many beliefs as against the man who insists on paring down his beliefs by a process of negation only to beg thereby to be known as "broad-minded."

[2] *Affirmative Religion.* By Winfred Ernest Garrison. New York: Harper, 1928. viii+292 pages. $2.00.

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A book of essays one cannot criticize, only commend. I commend this book because it is the flowering of a mind that has been liberal long enough to grow flowers. These essays are one way of cultivating a theological flower garden.

MILES H. KRUMBINE

PARKSIDE LUTHERAN CHURCH
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

FAITH AND CONSCIENCE

To the future historian, the religious thought of the nineteenth century will appear to be one almost self-consistent system, dominated by the pervasive influence of one thinker, Immanuel Kant. In the presence of that dominating trend, all the party differences of the period will look like quibbling distinctions.

Here[1] for example are two nineteenth-century thinkers quite remote from one another in background and point of view: Cardinal Newman, whose Catholicism pushed to its logical outcome the reactionary Oxford Movement of the first half of the century, and Gaston Frommel, a Franco-Swiss Protestant of the end of the century. Yet when one compares their views upon the psychology of Christian faith, one is struck immediately with their similarity. Both deny flatly that there is any adequate psychological stimulus for Christian faith in those rational arguments whereby the eighteenth-century divines had sought to rise through nature to nature's God, and both find the average man's real "motive of credibility" in the sense of moral obligation. Says Newman, "Were it not for this voice speaking so clearly in my conscience and my heart, I should be an atheist, or a pantheist, or a polytheist when I looked into the world."[2] Says Frommel, "The substance of the world and the central meaning of the universe are not to be found in her (Nature). . . . . A voice whispers in my ear: You will find it when simple duty, loyally accepted, makes your heart submissive to the love of the Good."[3]

Both Newman and Frommel agree that in conscience we immediately apprehend the presence of a personal and righteous God; that this apprehension is dim and confused, and of itself leads to despair; that the ap-

[1] *Newman on the Psychology of Faith*. By Sylvester P. Juergens. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. xvii+288 pages. $2.75.

The Psychology of Christian Faith. Selections from the writings of the late Gaston Frommel, translated by J. Macartney Wilson, D.D., edited with introduction by J. Vernon Bartlet, D.D. London: Student Christian Movement, 1928. xxii +194 pages.

[2] Juergens, p. 174.

[3] Bartlet, p. 5.

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peal which the Christian revelation makes to our faith comes not from its intellectual cogency but from its perfect correspondence with that which conscience has already told us, and its perfect fulfilment of that longing after reconciliation which conscience by itself has left unsatisfied. For Newman, the Christian revelation means the teachings of the Church, with all their supernatural mysteries; for Frommel, it is embodied in the figure of the historic Jesus, with all its baffling anomalies and superhuman claims. Both begin by accepting what appeals directly to conscience and end by accepting all the rest—miracle, mystery, and anomaly included—because, they insist, it all hangs together, without "breach or fissure," in organic unity.[4] Thus Newman proves his Catholicism and Frommel his Protestantism by appealing to the same criterion.

The parallel—which could be carried out in much greater detail— is too complete to be accidental. Clearly, both thinkers are moved by the same current of thought; both can be accurately dated in the Kantian era. I say this in despite of Father Juergens, whose book is written to prove that Newman was not a Kantian, hence not "the father of Modernism," hence not a dangerous thinker. Good evidence is adduced to show that Newman was not, as is commonly asserted, a conscious disciple of the "Kantian Coleridge."[5] For this historical correction, and for his painstaking and scholarly correlation of all that Newman wrote concerning the psychology of Christian faith, Father Juergens is to be warmly thanked; but his main thesis remains unproved. Newman *was* a Kantian, in the same sense and for the same reason that St. Paul was a Platonist; no one could breathe the air of nineteenth-century Europe without imbibing Kantianism, as no one could breathe the air of first-century Asia Minor without imbibing Platonism.

Dr. Bartlet and Dr. Wilson have rendered a real service to the English-speaking world in making Frommel's essential teachings available in such an attractive form. Frommel reminds one of Amiel in his power of self-analysis and psychological insight, but the self revealed in his monologue, *Alone on the Heights*, and in his *Frank Explanation* is of sterner and nobler fiber than Amiel's. There is spiritual tonic here as well as food for thought. Theologically, Frommel belongs with Sabatier, Ménégoz, and other French Ritschlians—a school whose influence is now slowly beginning to pass, as the Kantian dualism between the world of nature and the world of moral-religious values begins to disappear before the attacks of thinkers like Whitehead and Wieman. Yet if the philosophy of

[4] Bartlet, p. 113; cf. Juergens, pp. 190–93.
[5] P. 257.

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the future is to find it easier to discover God in nature, it cannot well dispense with the painfully won insight which men like Newman and Frommel defend so passionately: that the God of religion is first of all, as Pascal insisted, "not the God of the philosophers," but the God of the human heart and conscience.

WALTER M. HORTON

OBERLIN GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CHURCH SCHOOL

Directors of religious education looking for courses in the Old Testament can save themselves many wearisome hours by consulting the work of the Horace Bushnell Professor of Christian Nurture in the Yale Divinity School.[1] He has thoroughly examined the use of Old Testament materials in the "International Graded Series," the "Constructive Studies in Religion," the "Completely Graded Series," the "Beacon Course in Religious Education," the "Christian Nurture Series," and the "Abingdon Week-Day Religious Education Texts." The aims of all these courses are listed and classified. The most common type of aim, the author finds, combines knowledge, appreciation, character development, and social conduct. The amount of Old Testament material in each course in computed, and a "steadily diminishing use of the Old Testament" is discovered. This is due, however, to the abandonment of unsuitable incidents: books and passages of educational value "are either holding their own or gaining ground."

Five criteria are adopted to measure the effectiveness of the use made of the Old Testament: (*a*) It should be in harmony with the prevailing standards of critical scholarship. This requirement is fairly well met in the courses examined. (*b*) The material used should contribute to the understanding and realization of the ideals of Jesus. On the whole the courses conform to this criterion also, though they often resort to idealization or a misleading imaginative elaboration which Professor Smith justly condemns. In connection with this criterion he discusses the use of miracle stories, pointing out that they tend to make faith in God's goodness and greatness dependent upon the miraculous. (*c*) The material should serve the social objectives of religious education. The courses do not measure up so well to this criterion. Social aims, though recognized, often constitute a mere addendum to an essentially subject-centered course. (*d*) The material used should be suited to the comprehension and

[1] *The Use of the Old Testament in Current Curricula.* By Robert Seneca Smith. New York: Century Co., 1929. xi+337 pages. $2.25.

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appreciation of the pupils. This criterion, too, is often violated, though the principle is accepted and much Old Testament material is either ruled out or postponed to later grades. (*e*) The curriculum should provide graded conduct activities, and the Old Testament materials should stimulate or suggest such activities. Naturally this criterion is the least observed of all. While allowing a place for courses designed primarily for knowledge and appreciation, Professor Smith insists that provision must be made for expression in conduct. His final conclusion is that we need a new type of Old Testament course based on these criteria.

In showing how the Old Testament should be used in the church school, Professor Smith has done a competent and useful piece of work. He has not been quite so successful in showing *why* it should be used. Remembering that for several years he occupied a chair of biblical literature, one feels on reading his book that the professor of religious education and the professor of biblical literature have not quite come to terms with each other. Condemning as he does a subject-centered procedure, he nevertheless assumes throughout that because the Bible is worth knowing it ought to be taught in the church school. He recognizes the difficulty of integrating the experiences of ancient Oriental adults with the life of modern American children but does not conclude that we should therefore abandon the Old Testament in favor of material from nearer home. He deplores the prevailing tendency to abandon either social objectives or the Old Testament and argues that the two can be combined. The Old Testament is "a guide to the understanding of the ways and motives of men." The fundamental question, whether it provides the *best* material for this purpose, is not raised. Again, the Old Testament discloses the divine nature in the story of man's spiritual evolution. It was the Bible of Jesus, and apart from it the religion of Jesus cannot be understood. With this all will agree, though some may question whether the study of the Old Testament from this point of view can be effectively combined in the same course with its application to immediate social objectives. The author even advocates a cultural as well as a social objective and recommends for about the tenth grade a course specifically devoted to the literary appreciation of the Bible. Is this religious education? Theoretically education is all one, but in practice some line must be drawn between the function of the church school and the day school.

Although so much space has been devoted here to the author's theoretical position and general conclusions, they do not form the major portion of the book. In the light of his five criteria each course is analyzed and evaluated as regards the portions of the Old Testament used, their value for the particular grade and the aims of the course, and the effec-

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tiveness with which they are employed. This detailed examination occupies about three-fourths of the book and will doubtless prove the most useful part of it. The discussions are frank, clear, and fair.

Professor Smith is to be congratulated not only on having written a useful book, but also on having done it without indulging in the barbarous technical jargon which make much recent writing on religious education almost unreadable.

MILLAR BURROWS

BROWN UNIVERSITY

MISSIONARY EDUCATION FOR THE YOUNG

Three books come from the Friendship Press that deserve careful attention. The first, *The Call Drum*,[1] is a course on Africa for primary children which has been carried out experimentally with both Sunday and week-day groups. The stories of native children in Africa are well told but require, of course, the explanation of names and customs that is carefully provided in the method of presentation. Fine opportunities for hand work, dramatization, and visual education in relation to the project are suggested. The authors are careful in every sense to raise the teaching to a high social and religious level—a real broadening experience for a primary group.

The second book is *Under the North Star*,[2] written for junior children. These stories of Alaska, selected for junior boys and girls, were tried out on two junior groups and the plans suggested are based on experience. The course was used during the second hour on Sunday mornings during the adult church service in each case. The first part of the book consists of a series of vivid stories of Alaskan life, the main characters being an Alaskan boy and girl. Then some folk tales follow and a series of brief sketches of life in Alaska. The second part of the book consists of outlined programs for the course. An interesting feature of the first section is a true-false test to discover what the class may know about Alaska. It is to be given again later, to give some idea of what facts are learned during the course. The programs may be used by the junior Christian Endeavor Society, by a missionary organization, or for a Sunday or week-day series of studies in a junior class. Worship arises naturally out of the situations created, and the sessions should be definitely

[1] *The Call Drum*. By Mary Entwistle and Elizabeth Harris. New York: Friendship Press, 1928. 138 pages. $0.75.

[2] *Under the North Star*. By Katharine E. Gladfelter. New York: Friendship Press, 1928. 135 pages. $0.75.

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social and religious. Plenty of supplementary material and a good bibliography are provided for the leader.

The third book, *Meet Your United States*,[1] is for intermediate groups. It will serve not only as a stimulating course in home missions but also ought to suggest to leaders some fruitful methods in missionary education. Two types of leaders have been kept in mind: (1) those who are trained in modern pedagogy and prefer freedom to develop their own programs for their group, and (2) those who prefer a more definite outline for a series of meetings. The two approaches have abundant reference material and variety of activities.

Part II on "How We Did It" is an excellent description of the problems and possibilities in intermediate group projects. Any worker with junior high school boys and girls would do well to study this section carefully. There is far more than mere sentiment in this kind of missionary education. The emotional response of these young adolescents will be skilfully enlisted and a good, sane socialization experience should result with a new appreciation of the meaning of Christianity in America.

ERNEST J. CHAVE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A FIGHTING CHANCE FOR THE CITY CHURCH

H. Paul Douglass presents in this volume[2] an interpretation of the relationships existing between the church and that bewildering modern phenomenon, the American city. All the rich background of experience provided in the city surveys of the Institute of Social and Religious Research is drawn upon. Indeed, the book is, to a large degree, a summary in non-technical and popular form of the findings of those surveys made by the Institute under the direction of Dr. Douglass. In the brief case studies presented as illustrations of the behavior of churches under environmental pressure, one readily recognizes churches more exhaustively studied in *The Church in the Changing City*. A classification of churches developed in *1,000 City Churches* reappears somewhat vaguely in this volume. There are echoes of the St. Louis Church Survey and the Springfield Church Survey. With all this material at his command, Dr. Douglass has drawn an admirable and very useful picture of "the city's church."

The author not only knows the city church inside and out; he also

[1] *Meet Your United States*. By Mary Jenness. New York: Friendship Press, 1928. viii+168 pages. $1.00.

[2] *The City's Church*. By H. Paul Douglass. New York: Friendship Press, 1929. xi+244 pages. Cloth $1.50; paper, $0.75.

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knows the city, this monstrous creation of the industrial age. His own extensive studies are supplemented by a thorough knowledge of the literature on the subject and of the results of investigations by other sociologists. In this new, strange environment, the author's investigations convince him the church has no absolute assurance of success. "The church is deeply rooted in the city, and shows persistence and versatility in keeping up with the city's changes. But it has no assurance of a walk-away; at most it has but a fighting chance" (p. 170).

Success in this fight, the author asserts, will depend mainly upon two factors: first, the degree to which the church learns to understand the city and to adjust itself to modern urban conditions, not merely in the interest of its own survival, but also to serve the city's needs; and second, the ability of Protestantism to devise more adequate programs of co-operative effort. Indeed, one chapter is entitled "Co-operation the Hope of Protestantism." Here the author reviews actual achievements in co-operation, denominational, international, interorganizational, interconfessional, and nation-wide, and finds cause for encouragement. But co-operation needs to be developed on a much larger scale than anything yet achieved. Even then, "co-operation . . . . does not guarantee the success of Protestantism, but simply affords it a new opportunity" (p. 196).

One who is familiar with Dr. Douglass' work will find very little here that is new, but he will find an admirable and very readable summary of facts and conclusions recorded in previous volumes. The book ought to be of great service in aiding secretaries of church federations and city mission societies, pastors, officers, and members of city churches to an understanding of the difficult and complex problems which must be solved if the city church is to survive, prosper, and carry on an effective ministry.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A STUDY IN HEBREW RITUAL[1]

This is a thoroughly competent study of a problem in Hebrew and Semitic ritual by a professor of Greek. We wonder how the author ever found the time for a piece of work like this, in a field which lies so far away from his own immediate field of interest, viz., Greek civilization and literature. At any rate, he shows himself master of the technique and methodology of this subject. The choice of the title for the book is a bit

[1] *The Day of Yahweh: A Study of Sacred Days and Ritual Forms in the Ancient Near East.* By William Arthur Heidel. New York: Printed by the Century Company for the American Historical Association, 1929. xv+565 pages. $5.00.

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misleading. The term "Day of Yahweh" is usually applied to the great day inaugurating the coming Golden Age when Yahweh will appear on earth and lead his forces to victory over the pagan world.[1] But that Day of Yahweh receives relatively slight treatment here. The eight main chapters of the book deal with (1) "The Pilgrimage," (2) "Passover," (3) "The Feast of Tabernacles," (4) "Pentecost," (5) "The Day of Atonement," (6) "The Calendar of Israel," (7) "The Day of Yahweh and the Sabbath," (8) "Affiliations of the Cultus of Yahweh."

The discussion as a whole concerns itself largely with the details, chronological and technical, of the cult of the feasts, fasts, and holy days of Judaism. One of its results is to make quite clear the large amount of such material that was common property in the rituals of Israel, Babylon, Egypt, Canaan, and Greece. The book is thus a valuable contribution to the study of the history of religion and the comparison of religions.

On pages 123 and 124 Heidel discusses the fact that the Assuan papyri mention the Feast of Unleavened Bread but do not speak of the Passover, and he finds much significance in that fact. But the fact is very much open to question. The text and translation of Hananiah's letter as given by Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923) show the strong probability that the letter in question did contain an order for the celebration of the Passover. Hence conclusions drawn from a broken text are not very trustworthy. Again on page 174, Heidel speaks of "butter and honey" and argues that the age of the child in Isa. 7:15 f. must have been twelve or thirteen. Such an age would have been far too old to have afforded much comfort to Judah under the circumstances. Let me call attention to my note, "Butter and Honey," in *AJSL.*[2]

J. M. Powis Smith

University of Chicago

[1] Cf. my discussion, "The Day of Yahweh," *Amer. Jour. Theol.*, V (1901), 505 ff.

[2] XL (1924), 292–94.

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RECENT BOOKS

RELIGIONS IN GENERAL

GUNKEL, HERMANN, and ZSCHARNACK, LEOPOLD (editors). *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* 2. Aufl. Band II, Bogen 60–65; Band III, Bogen 1–6, 7–12, 13–18, 19–24. Tübingen: Mohr, 1928–29. Each Lieferung, M. 3.60.

Promptly each new section of this extensively revised edition comes to hand. The completion of the second volume (sheets 6–65) carries the alphabet through the letter *h*, and the third volume now extends to column 768. Already the work is sufficiently far along to be of great service to individuals and libraries that are fortunate enough to have ordered it in advance. The instalments listed above contain several especially significant entries. For the student of religions in general there are comprehensive treatments of Hinduism, India, Japan, and Islam. The interest of Old Testament students will be attracted especially by a number of titles. Among biblical persons and books discussed at greater length are Hosea, Job, Jeremiah, and Isaiah. Other articles of much historical and geographical value are Israel, Canaan, and Jerusalem. The New Testament field is represented by substantial discussions of John the Baptist, the various Johannine books, James, the Catholic Epistles, and, most important of all, Jesus Christ. This is by Professor K. L. Schmidt, of Jena, and is followed by a summary of modern opinion about Jesus written by Professor Weinel of Jena.

Modern orientation in historical interpretation is presented under the title "Historicism," and there are several articles dealing with phases of Christianity's history. Professor Krüger, of Giessen, writes an outline history of the Roman Empire, "Imperium Romanum," to exhibit the background against which Christianity arose. Catholicism, both past and present, receives extended treatment, while kindred themes like the social program of Catholicism and its *Jugendbände* are given independent expositions. There are brief articles on Hus, Ireland, and the Celtic Church, the High Church movement, the Jesuits, Jansenism, and other subjects of especial concern to the church historian. Judaism and Jewish philosophy have also been treated at proportionate length and in scientific fashion.

The doctrinal and practical aspects of religion receive their share of attention. "Hell" and the "Descent to Hell," once themes of great interest to the theologian, have not been neglected. There is a comparatively lengthy entry on "Inspiration," and a shorter one on "Virgin Birth." More practical matters, such as the Youth movement, the psychology of youth, care of children and their manner of worship, and catechetical instruction are properly emphasized. Articles on capitalism, industry, individualism, individual and social ethics touch a wider range of morals and religious problems.

Each new *Lieferung* of this admirable work bears additional testimony to the very thorough and praiseworthy manner in which the new edition is being prepared. It is in all essential respects an entirely new work.

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KEES, HERMANN. *Aegypten.* "Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch." Herausgegeben von Alfred Bertholet, 2. Aufl., Heft 10. Tübingen; Mohr, 1928. viii+57 pages. M. 2.80.

Egyptian documents are here allowed to present in their own words Egyptian theologies of the various culture-centers, myths and rituals, the relations of royalty and of mankind in general to the gods, and beliefs concerning the future life. Magic, the right of which to a place in religion depends on our definitions, is excluded except as it appears incidentally. In culling significant passages from widely scattered sources, preference has been given to little-known, comparatively inaccessible documents which well deserve this introduction to a wider circle. For example, the selection from the "Instruction for King Merikere" (p. 44), dating around the twenty-fourth century B.C., already speaks of man as made in the image of God (cf. Gen. 1:27) and puts the worthiness of the righteous above the sacrificial ox of the unjust (cf. Prov. 15:8 and 21:3). Dr. Kees has provided excellent translations, with needed explanatory notes short and to the point; and, as a final convenience, an Index has been added. The book should prove exceedingly useful to all students of religion.

HEBREW LITERATURE AND RELIGION

ADAMS, JOHN. *The Hebrew Prophets and Their Message for Today.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1928. 218 pages. $2.00.

This is a homiletical presentation of the prophetic books of the Old Testament. Homiletic skill takes the place of critical insight and methods. It is good preaching, but not always good exegesis.

KITTEL, RUDOLF. *Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt.* 5th and 6th ed. "Kommentar zum Alten Testament," Band XIII. Leipzig: Deichert, 1929. lvii+471 pages. M. 15.

This is a reprint of the fourth edition of this commentary with a postscript of nine pages, in which are evaluated the more important contributions to the study of the Psalter made since 1921 A.D., when the fourth edition of Kittel's work appeared. The works reviewed are the commentaries of Gunkel, König, and Wutz; Stummer's study on Sumerian and Akkadian parallels to the Psalter; Quell's essay on the element of ritual *(Kultus)* in the Psalter; and Mowinckel's work on the annual enthronement of Yahweh in the Temple as reflected in the Psalms.

PALLIÈRE, AIMÉ. *The Unknown Sanctuary, A Pilgrimage from Rome to Israel.* Translated from the French by Louise Waterman Wise. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1928. xv+243 pages. $2.00.

This specimen of modern apologetic is an interesting putting, in the form of an autobiographical sketch, of a sensitive person's reactions to the formalism of the Roman faith. It exhibits how, after experiment in extra-ecclesiastical religious patterns, the basic requirement for and conception of religion as theology led the seeker into Reformed Judaism. Unfortunately nothing is said of the features which are the usual bars to this result, such as the dietary and other restrictive social customs. The Judaism in which satisfaction was found is liberal and theological.

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SILVER, ABBA HILLEL. *The Democratic Impulse in Jewish History.* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1928. 43 pages. $0.75.

This is an interesting and persuasive discussion whose aim is to show the continuum in Reform Judaism of the democratic ideal. The modern social ideal is of course read into ancient religion, so that it obtains justification by appeal to antiquity.

WIENER, H. M. *The Composition of Judges II:11 to I Kings II:46.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929. 40 pages. M. 5.

A very interesting documentary analysis of the material indicated by the title which ascribes to "Nathan, or somebody in sympathy with him" the writing of a history "which extended from the period of the Judges to the death of David." Mr. Wiener believes this to be "the main source" of that section of the text under discussion and argues ably and cogently in support of his view.

It is a pleasure to find Mr. Wiener adopting the technique of the critics, which in the past he has been prone to regard somewhat lightly. His introductory assurance that he essays his task in the spirit expressed by a long quotation from H. H. Milman will deter no one from reading his work with care. Milman's skepticism about the accuracy of the "critical microscope" in the minute analysis of source is shared by many, especially where the user of the microscope tends to be subjective. Only careful study which one has not yet been able to give to Mr. Wiener's work will show whether he has been able to resist the temptations to which all microscopists are prone. But however that may be, it is a pleasure to see that Mr. Wiener has definitely transferred his skepticism from the instrument itself to the users of it. One trusts that he will never fail to number himself among the suspect and so become a really valuable critic.

NEW TESTAMENT

BARNIKOL, ERNST. *Die vorchristliche und frühchristliche Zeit des Paulus, nach seinem geschichtlichen und geographischen Selbstzeugnissen im Galaterbrief.* Kiel: Walter G. Mühlau Verlag, 1929. 94 pages. M. 3.50.

This brochure initiates a new series called "Forschungen zur Entstehung des Urchristentums des Neuen Testaments und der Kirche" edited by Ernst Barnikol, who is professor of church history and history of early Christianity at Kiel. In the present study the author sets himself a very specific task. On the data of the epistle to the Galatians he attempts to depict what may be known or inferred about Paul previous to his conversion. The investigation is an important one, even though the subject is old and the possibility of any large accretions to previous knowledge is not great. Often it is easier to ask questions than to answer them. Can we ever know, regarding Arabia for example, whether it was the land of Paul's birth, whether it had been the field of his missionary labors as a Jewish preacher, and whether he later labored there as a Christian missionary? But there is a healthful stimulus to research in the mere statement of these problems. The question of where Paul's conversion occurred is answered by a process of elimination. The author thinks we must rule out Arabia, Damascus, the "regions of Syria and Cilicia," and Jerusalem, and locate the event "in the territory north of Jerusalem and Judea, south of the regions of Syria, and west of Damascus and Arabia, on that borderland between Syria and Judea where Hellenism and Judaism of the Dispersion were in conflict"

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(p. 90). There were Christians already in this territory whom Paul was persecuting, perhaps from Damascus as his base.

The scanty evidence with which one must work leaves large room for hypothetical reconstructions in such a study, but it deserves very serious consideration, and readers will eagerly await the announced second brochure, which is to treat of Paul's three journeys to Jerusalem and the relation of the Pauline letters to the We-source of Acts.

BUNDY, WALTER E. *Our Recovery of Jesus.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929. xi+350 pages. $2.50.

Professor Bundy has followed his *The Religion of Jesus* by a supplementary volume. Emphasis upon the distinction between Jesus as a religious subject and as a religious object leads to the exposition of the volume, with chapters on the recovery of Jesus in the New Testament (practically a rejection of the Fourth Gospel in favor of the Synoptics), the method of the recovery, the author's restatement of Jesus' social message, a study of the personal problems of Jesus (which supplements Bundy's former volume), a study of the abnormal phenomena involved in visions and voices, and more about the praying of Jesus.

Such a study is timely, but it must be confessed that this study is not adequate. It is, like so many "recovery" books, to a large extent a projection of the author's and today's estimates of Jesus. Unfortunately the author, whose competence is not questioned, abandons thorough methods of scholarship, and, biased by exclusive reading in German, contents himself with the popularization of the theologies which, however influential they may once have been, do not meet many of the problems which have arisen recently. It is the reviewer's impression that this is a better book than the author's former volume, but both, however timely they may be, ought to be better than they are.

CROMPTON, R. H. *The Synoptic Problem and a New Solution.* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner's, 1928. x+139 pages and 5 Appendixes. $2.75.

Although the title would lead one to expect an exposition of the synoptic problem, this study dismisses almost without reference the work done in this field which is based upon comparative study. It offers, instead, a theory to explain the relations of the Synoptic Gospels on the basis of series of similar relations of incidents or sayings. It is claimed that this method permits the rearrangement of materials into the "pre-Synoptic Gospel," and the form of this is shown in the accompanying tables. A close reading discovers that the hypothesis is based upon wholesale assumption, and requires the conclusion that no confidence may be placed in the results affirmed.

HOSKIER, H. C. *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1928. x+260 pages. $4.00.

This is the first printing of Oecumenius' commentary on the Apocalypse. One's first reaction is thus congratulation that the University of Michigan is doing such work. Its "Humanistic Series" is one of which any institution might well be proud. The present number is worked out on the basis of the relation of a series of MSS as a family, the generalized text being printed with an apparatus of variants. The editor thinks that the text which is recoverable from numerous quotations is one which goes behind the MSS readings of Aleph, C, and A. It does not establish the ultimate critical text but is useful with the total of all witnesses.

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HURST, GEORGE L. *The Literary Background of the New Testament.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. 163 pages. $1.50.

Unfortunately this title is a misnomer. It deals not with the literary background of the Greek New Testament but specifically with the Jewish literary background of Jesus and his disciples. Even this Jewish background is not completely sketched. The important rabbinic materials are neglected on the plea that they were not written until well into the Christian era. It is well to remember that the New Testament is a collection of writings done in Hellenistic Greek, and that it contains diatribes as well as midrash, and pseudophilosophic dialogues as well as wisdom, and informal letters as well as formal epistles, and martyrology as well as apocalypse. One of the most-needed books at the present time is one that shall interpret the New Testament from the point of view of contemporary Graeco-Roman literature.

KOETS, PETER JOHN. *Δεισιδαιμονία. A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Religious Terminology in Greek.* Purmerend, Holland: J. Muusses, 1929. xi+114 pages. $1.00.

This is a doctoral dissertation of the University of Utrecht. The Greek word here studied is commonly rendered "superstition" in English, and is the term used by Paul in Acts 17:22 in its adjectival form, which is translated "religious" in the American Revised Version. The present study concludes that the original meaning carried no intimation of cowardly or ridiculous fear, such as attaches to our notion of superstition, but that it connoted piety, awe, and reverence toward the gods. In later antiquity and in Christian writers it took on the more sinister meaning. This is a useful piece of lexicographical work.

SCHNEIDER, JOHANNES. *Die Passionsmystik des Paulus.* "Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament," Heft 15. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929. viii+192 pages. M. 15.

A new book on the Pauline mysticism seems always to be in order. The present study differs from many of its predecessors in its emphasis upon Paul's activity as a key to the understanding of his experience. The sphere in which he felt most keenly aware of union with Christ was that of suffering. Paul's mysticism was, above all else, a sense of fellowship with the afflictions of Christ. This is the type of mysticism that goes with the elated feeling of the martyr and is not that of the passive recluse. In the opening chapter different types of mysticism are specified, and attention is drawn to the need of distinguishing between the active and the passive, as preliminary to an understanding of Paul. The author has indicated his specific interest by discarding the more usual term "Christ-mysticism" and using instead the expression "Passion-mysticism."

First the Pauline literature is studied from this point of view. The apostle's notion that he suffered as a member of the body of Christ is found to have been fundamental and decisive for his experience. A second element in it was the lack of perspective in time and space; past and future fused in the present. All that had happened in the past or would happen in the future were felt by him to be an objective fact of his present experience. Furthermore, Paul's mysticism is found to have been not of the subjective sort; he did not think of it as something belonging to his inner life only but as an objective phenomenon for which God and Christ were responsible.

Having thus determined the distinctive character of the Pauline mysticism, the

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writer turns to a consideration of the mystical features in Hellenistic Judaism and the contemporary gentile cults. He finds a likeness between Paul's thinking and the Jewish imagery of the sufferings endured by righteous Israel, but this experience cannot be called strictly mystical. Paul's type of religion cannot be adequately explained by reference to the Greek Bible. The question of how far Philo may have influenced Paul is not discussed. A closer parallel to Pauline imagery is found in the Hellenistic cults of dying and reviving divinities like Tammuz, Osiris, Adonis, Attis, and Dionysus, popular in the world where Paul lived. Yet here one finds only an analogous phenomenon and not a strict parallel, much less the source from which Paul's mysticism had been derived, thinks our author. In the last analysis the passion-mysticism of Paul is found to have been his own original creation and to have its ground in the distinctive character of his personal religious experience. "It was a genuine Pauline creation" (p. 114).

AINSLIE, PETER. *The Scandal of Christianity.* Chicago: Willett, Clark & Colby, 1929. xi+212 pages. $2.00.

This is a stinging arraignment of denominationalism and a plea for union of the churches, marked by unusual intensity and wide information on the practical problems of Christianity.

ANSELMI, S. *Cur Deus Homo.* Edited by Franciscus Salesius Schmitt. Florilegium Patristicum Fasciculus XVIII. Bonn: Hanstein, 1928. x+65 pages. M. 2.80.

The text of *Cur Deus Homo,* with a prolegomena and short bibliography of German studies of this theological classic.

BILL, AUGUSTE. *La Morale et la Loi dans la Philosophie Antique.* Paris: Alcan, 1928. xv+301 pages. Fr. 35.

This book, although not strictly in the field of religion, is important for the historian of early Christianity. It is the first volume of a study in the Greek and Roman philosophers' conceptions of the origin and authority of ethical and legal concepts. The materials are gathered in chronological order covering the period down to about the end of the second century A.D. There is also a bibliographical appendix and a selection of the more important Greek and Latin texts on which the author has based his exposition. In general he finds that Greek and Roman philosophers did regard law, either civil or moral, as based on religious authority, as did Jews and Christians. On the contrary, for gentile thinkers the positive justification of law rested on a more pragmatic and natural basis. It safeguarded the well-being of society and was thought an inherent necessity of existence. The influence of this heritage on early Christianity and the manner in which Christian thinkers solved similar problems are questions suggested at the close of the book without any attempt at their solution. But the author's earlier discussion furnishes an admirable background for further study along this line, which is of prime importance for a correct understanding of Christianity's place in ancient culture.

DIEHL, ERNEST (editor). *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres.* Vol. III, fasc. 2. Berlin: Weidmann, 1928. 81+160 pages. M. 5.

This *fasciculus* contains a complete index of the names of Christian men and women mentioned in the inscriptions contained in the previous volumes of this important collection of ancient Christian inscriptions in Latin.

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GOLLANCZ, SIR HERMANN. *Julian the Apostate.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. 264 pages. $5.00.

This is an English rendering of a Syriac account of Julian. Its content is summarized thus in the translator's Preface: "The first portion tells of the youth of Julian, from about the death of Constantine the Great to his accession to the throne; and adds as an instance of the persecutions directed against the Christians by the new Emperor a story of the Confession of Faith by Eusebius, Bishop of Rome. The second part treats of the history of Julian from the time of his expedition to Persia until his death, as well as of the attempt of the Emperor Jovian to end the Persian War, and to make good to the Christians the losses which the Apostate had inflicted upon them." The legendary character of the narrative is apparent. The Syriac original was edited many years ago by Hoffman of Kiel (Leiden, 1880).

HETZENAUER, MICHAEL (editor). *Biblia Sacra.* Vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pont. Max. jussi recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita. Ratisbon, Germany: Frederic Pustet, 1929. xx+1288 pages. $5.00.

This is an attractively printed single-volume edition of the standard Latin Bible. No attempt is made to restore any older Vulgate text than that authorized by Pope Clement VIII in 1592, which officially superseded the Sixtine Version of 1590. The editor, who is a member of the Biblical Commission established by the pope in 1902, has had a long experience in preparing official issues of the Latin Bible, and this one is his third edition brought out by the official publisher for the diocese of Ratisbon (Regensburg). Although he seeks only to give the correct text of 1592, his task has not always been easy. He employs five "critical principles" for determining truly official readings. He accepts: (1) corrections authorized by the pope, (2) readings attested by three, or (3) by two, public editions, unless manifestly typographical errors, (4) readings of one such edition, if the variants are manifestly erroneous, and (5) readings that are necessary to correct evident typographical errors although not attested by any earlier Clementine edition.

In the meantime scholars await with patience the new critical edition of Jerome's version which is being prepared with great labor and care by the Benedictine Order, at the request of the Biblical Commission with papal approval, and begun in 1907.

HOYLAND, JOHN S. *The Great Forerunner. Studies in the Interrelation of Platonism and Christianity.* London: Constable & Co., 1928. viii+184 pages. 5*s*.

Two principal strands of thinking compose the material of this volume. It is a blend of Platonic idealism and the traditional Christian dogma of the Incarnation. The aspect of Platonism selected for emphasis is the dualistic world-view in which God can be pictured as the source of perfect goodness shining through from above into the material world. This Platonic hypothesis is made the basal fact of knowledge, and is rendered Christian by regarding the incarnation of Christ as the climactic manifestation of Plato's God. Such, in brief, is the theme of Part I. The much more lengthy Part II consists of an exposition of selected texts from Plato expounded to show how truly Christian they are. The likenesses are striking—if, when making the comparison, one is successful in forgetting a host of unnoticed items in both Platonism and early Christianity.

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KOHLER, KAUFMANN. *The Origins of Synagogue and Church.* New York: Macmillan, 1929. xxxix+297 pages. $3.00.

Works published posthumously are often disappointing, and perhaps not always just to the memory of an author. The late President Kaufmann Kohler of Hebrew Union College was unquestionably a notable Jewish scholar, and this book contains much that has abiding value. But probably were he still alive today he would want to re-write Book II, dealing with the rise of Christianity, and take fuller account of the more recent researches in this field made by both Jewish and Christian scholars.

OSTLENDER, HENRY. *Sententiae Florianenses.* "Florilegium Patristicum," Fasc. XIX. Bonn: Hanstein, 1929. vii+48 pages. M. 2.50.

A critical edition of the *Sentences of Abelard* and of a letter to him by Walter of Mauritania, with a full Index of the former.

QUINT, JOSEPH (compiler). *Deutsche Mystikertexte des Mittelalters.* Vol. I. Bonn: Hanstein, 1929. ix+63 pages. M. 2.80.

This is the first number of what promises to be a valuable series of sources of medieval German mysticism. The texts contained are Mechthild of Magdeburg's *Das Fliessende Licht der Gottheit,* the *Vision* of Hadewych, and six sermons of Eckhart. In each of these documents previous critical texts have been amended with the help of fresh manuscript studies.

SANDERS, E. K. *S. Francois de Sales.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. x+304 pages. $3.75.

Part I, which occupies about half of the volume, is devoted to a life of the saint, written on the basis of his works and correspondence, and with the legendary and miraculous elements excluded. The other two parts treat respectively of his *Introduction to Devout Life* and his *Treatise on the Love of God,* but include also many biographical details. The work is a scholarly contribution to the subject.

SCHEPELERN, WILHELM. *Der Montanismus und die Phyrigischen Kulte. Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung.* Translated by W. Baur. Tübingen: Mohr, 1929. iv+225 pages. M. 12.60.

This is a good book on a somewhat neglected subject. Different judgments have been pronounced upon the question of the genesis of the Montanist movement. Some interpreters have considered it to be essentially heathen in origin, a recrudescence of religious ideas current among the Phrygian populace slightly colored by features taken over from Christianity. Others have taken it to be a genuine revival of primitive Christian prophetism. The available data for a knowledge of the movement are carefully re-examined, and its various characteristics are briefly described. Then a detailed study is made of its relation to the Phrygian cults. The result of the research is twofold. In its earlier stages Montanism was an ecstatic movement within the church and derived nothing from contemporary heathen cults of Asia Minor. Both its rites and its theology were derived from Christian sources, and the ecstasy of its prophets was of the strictly normal Christian type. Prophecy, asceticism, and martyrdom were its distinctive characteristics in this early period of its

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history. But after about the year 230 heathen features began to appear in the cultus of the sect, as evidenced, for example, by its adoption of the custom of tattooing, which seems to be identical with the stigmata of the Phrygian initiations.

This monograph is by a *Privatdocent* in the University of Copenhagen. It has been translated into German by W. Baur.

SCHMIDT, CARL. *Studien zu den Pseudo-Clementinen. Nebst einem Anhange. Die älteste römische Bischofsliste und die Pseudo-Clementinen.* "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," Band XLVI, Part I. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929. vii+397 pages. M. 25.

This is a very important study in the far too little worked field of early Christian apocryphal literature. It is by far the most thoroughgoing investigation of the pseudo-Clementine writings that has ever been attempted. Schmidt accepts the view of Witze, put forth in 1904, to the effect that the Homilies and the Recognitions represent two reworkings of a common original, and proceeds to a more intensive study of the genetic relations of these writings to the ancient Acts of Peter. This is followed by an examination of the picture of Simon and of Peter in the Clementines and in the Acts, which leads to the opinion that the author of the Clementines was acquainted with the Acts. On further investigation of the conclusion of the present Clementines, Homilies 20:11–23; Recognitions 10:52:72, Schmidt decides that in the original edition of the latter the conclusion had been lacking and was later added from the Homilies but apparently from a text different than that known to us. Next the author takes up the problem of the letter of Clement to James which stands in the Homilies in connection with the letter of Peter to James, but is lacking today in manuscripts of the Recognitions. The letter of Peter is found to have been the prototype of the letter of Clement. Pursuing this line of investigation still farther into the documents, the conclusion is reached that the Homilies represent the earlier redaction of the *Grundschrift* and that the Recognitions are a later reworking by an author who knew the work of his predecessor and who composed "a mosaic from the *Grundschrift* and the Homilies." Two further chapters deal with the determination and dating of the different source documents, and the community organization reflected in the pseudo-Clementines; to which an appendix is added giving an extended criticism of Erich Caspar's *Die älteste römische Bischofsliste* (Berlin, 1926).

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND ETHICS

BARTH, KARL. *The Word of God and the Word of Man.* Translated from the German by Douglas Horton. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1928. vii+327 pages. $2.25.

This book is a translation from the German *Das Wort Gottes und die Theologie* published four years ago. It will enable readers unacquainted with German to make themselves familiar with the much talked-of "crisis-theology," of which Barth is one of the best-known spokesmen. Whether he is "the foremost religious thinker on the Continent," as the blurb on the jacket of the book announces, will have to be left to the reader himself to decide. And if he is a reader who is in quest of a reasoned faith and refuses to be impressed by brilliant or extravagant paradoxes, he may remain skeptical.

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SCHELLER, WALTHER. *Die Absolutheit des Christentums. Ihr Sinn und ihre Berechtigung.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1929. ix+221 pages. M. 9.50.

This is an open-minded discussion of the problem of the absoluteness of Christianity. It presents an instructive survey of the various attempts to define the essence of religion in general and of Christianity in particular. It criticizes them from the point of view of normative idealistic personalism. The author's concluson is that Christianity can claim to be *an* absolute religion as far as it is founded upon the transcendental authority of a religio-ethical norm, but that it cannot claim on solid grounds *the* religious absolute. The author is philosophically well informed but seems to lack a thorough acquaintance with the theological literature dealing with the problems touched by his study, e.g., he ought to know a little more about New Testament criticism.

MISSIONS

ENTWISTLE, MARY. *Children of the Chief.* New York: Friendship Press, 1928. 76 pages. $0.40.

OXNAM, G. BROMLEY. *Youth and the New America.* New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1928. viii+167 pages. $1.00.

President Oxnam of De Pauw University has in this book presented a number of challenging problems for young Americans to solve. He helps youth to see the necessity for abolishing wars and establishing a healthy world-order; of permeating industry with a democratic spirit; of establishing friendly relations between white and colored people. In the Introduction he asks the question, "Is it possible for man, through the process of education, to create a moral will determined to use our marvelous scientific advance for the development and enrichment of personality?"

The book is not organized for study classes but will provide material for a series of discussions on international, industrial, and racial problems. The issues are presented in burning pictures of real living persons in critical situations. The logic of Christianity is made plain, and the program for a modern missionary crusade is suggested.

PATTON, CORNELIUS HOWARD. *Foreign Missions under Fire. Straight Talks with the Critics of Missions.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1928. 180 pages. $1.00.

These are dialogues with a lawyer, a business man, a pastor, chairman of the missionary committee of the local church, a college student, and the editor of a religious journal, in which the author seeks to answer such current questions as the following: Why should we send money to foreign lands when it is needed at home? Are missionaries international meddlers? What right have missionaries to impose their teachings upon other peoples? The cause of missions wins an easy victory.

PHILLIPS, GRACE DARLING. *Far Peoples.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. $2.00.

This book is an open window to the life of the people of other lands. From the people of India, China, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Brazil, Africa, and Russia the

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author has gleaned stories, songs, poetry, games, and many interesting facts about food and dress. Many songs and stories appear here in English for the first time; music for the songs is included in the text. A more expressive title would be: *Far Peoples Brought Near.*

STOOKER, WILHELMINA. *The Missionary Education of Primary Children.* New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1929. 182 pages. $1.00.

For years we have been familiar with the missionary textbooks dealing with conditions in foreign lands and published under the supervision of the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. Under the same supervision, another series of four books is now being given to the public, dealing with the principles and methods of missionary education according to the age of the pupils: *The Missionary Education of Beginners,* by Jesse E. Moore; *The Missionary Education of Primary Children,* by Wilhelmina Stooker; *The Missionary Education of Juniors,* by Jean G. Hutton; and *The Missionary Education of Intermediates,* by Mabel G. Kershner. The book under review constitutes the second of this series. It is the record of actual experiences with this age group. The reader is invited to sit down with a number of parents and teachers and to consider with them the principles and methods by which primary children may be made acquainted with other peoples and our relationship to them.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

BAKER, EDNA DEAN, and CLARA BELLE. *The Bible in Graded Story.* Vol. IV. *The Silent Builders.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 352 pages. $2.00.

This is the fourth volume of *The Bible in Graded Story* and completes the series. It is called *The Silent Builders* and is intended for children ten to twelve years of age. The stories are the best-known biblical stories and are given in biblical language. No guidance in interpretation is given, but the stories are fairly well told; and for those who desire children to get acquainted with biblical stories without raising any questions as to the ethics or miracles involved, it will be considered well done. The authors remark in the introduction, "It matters little whether the child or the adult accepts the literal statement of the story so long as the message is understood." Some would wonder if a person who does not understand the historical aspects of the story can truly understand its message. The tendency is to leave the teacher with the necessity of allegorizing, sermonizing, or reading into the story his own "deep spiritual meaning."

BLANCHARD, FERDINAND Q. *How One Man Changed the World.* Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1928. 130 pages. $1.50.

The purpose expressed by the author in this book is "to show boys and girls how Jesus appeared to his own generation as a young man within the normal framework of human life of that day." He says that he means to make him seem as real a personality as Abraham Lincoln. The aim is more satisfactory than the result. The title is a misnomer. The book does not discuss at all the world-changing influence of Jesus. It is a simple story of the life of Jesus told in conversational language intended apparently for boys and girls about ten to thirteen years of age. Undoubtedly it is easier reading for a child than the New Testament record, but there is a question as to how much the ignoring of the difficult parts of the record, such as

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miracles and non-scientific points of view, solves the problems of using the stories of Jesus. The book itself does not help a child to get a historical point of view. Simple explanation or acceptance of miracles does not prepare for the adolescent experience of the contradictions of miracles and science. The book does not answer questions that a child will naturally ask who reads the New Testament stories of Jesus.

BOORMAN, W. RYLAND. *Developing Personality in Boys.* New York: Macmillan, 1929. xix+257 pages. $2.50.

The author of this book has had a large and varied experience with boys and is now director of program and research for the Chicago Boys' Club. He is also well trained in modern social psychology. The book is full of first-hand illustrations, and all parts of the discussion are related to actual life-situations in the developing life of adolescent boys. The author is conscious of the danger of the overscientific "technique" that tries to put a boy under a microscope and examine him objectively. He says the results too frequently are that such study has given us a mechanical, inhuman, and lifeless conception of a boy. "The boy cannot be held under a microscope. He wiggles."

The point of view in social psychology is a modification of that of W. I. Thomas and Ellsworth Faris. He names three psychological factors affecting the organization of the restless energy in the growing individual: suggestion, imagination, and desires or wishes. The wishes he classifies in this interesting manner: (1) wishes based upon reflexes and physical needs—appetites; (2) group wishes—recognition or distinction, response or intimacy, group superiority or allegiance; (3) derived wishes—new experiences—excitement, security from threats; and (4) negative wishes —disgust, dread, monotony. In a well-balanced person he believes each of these four types of wishes must have some opportunity given for expression. "The major thesis of this book," he says, "centers in the fact that it is possible for boys' workers in many cases to arouse the desire, encourage, guide, and help a boy to change his own conception of his rôle with only minor environmental changes." The last chapter is a good summary of technique in dealing with needed social adjustments.

While the book seems more concerned with the disorganized or unorganized type of personality than with the "normal" type, a reader cannot help but feel that few boys are understood as they should be by parents, teachers, or devoted leaders and that personality development in most cases is more of a chance process than a scientifically guided piece of education. The book should be stimulating to parents of adolescents and to workers with both boys and girls. The bibliography is well chosen. More and more careful scientific studies of this kind are being made available, and there is no need for social workers to follow the costly road of trial and error.

FISKE, GEORGE WALTER. *The Changing Family.* New York: Harper, 1928. xvi+324 pages. $2.25.

This book would be a first-rate introduction to a handbook on family religion. The author gives a fair review and analysis of the problems in the family life of today. He does not feel at all that the problems are new but that they are new forms of old problems made more complex by a more complex civilization. His solution for the building of a more ideal home life is the restoration of family religion. By family religion he refers both to the observance of religious customs in the home and also to the vitalization of the religion of the parents. He has some very helpful sug-

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gestions, and perhaps the most practical of all is the formation of community groups of persons ready to make a careful study of what religion may mean to them and their children. This present volume, he says, was largely inspired by his working with a group of this kind in a suburban community near Cleveland.

The writer deals with such questions as the new status of women, the lure of companionate marriage, the social problem of high-school boys and girls, family democracy, up-to-date religion, the use of the Bible, the value of the church, and various other related topics. A reader cannot help but feel the challenge of the situation if the complicated problems have not already been so close to him as to be almost depressing. Every magazine of the better type seems to have some article on some phase of this question. Professor Fiske simply states the problem a little better than it is usually stated. The issue cannot be avoided—the church, the seminary, all religious institutions, must face the difficult task of helping the home to establish a vital and satisfying religion. No other institution than the home can serve the needs of childhood and growing youth in the matter of creation of religious values and concepts and practices. The book sets the problem clearly. It needs a sequel, *A Handbook of Family Religion,* that may serve as a guide to those who pursue the quest.

HOWLETT, WALTER M. (editor). *Religion the Dynamic of Education.* New York: Harper, 1929. xi+172 pages. $1.50.

This book consists of a series of ten lectures delivered under the auspices of the Greater New York Federation of Churches, the Brooklyn Federation of Churches, the Protestant Teachers' Association, the Hudson County Council of Religious Education, and the Extension Department of Columbia University. Hugh S. Magill, secretary of the International Council of Religious Education, writes the Introduction. The lectures are on "Religion and Secular Education," by Luther A. Weigle; "The New Emphasis in Public Education," by Cornelia S. Adair; "Religion Essential to Good Citizenship," by Commissioner John J. Tigert; "The Church's Responsibility in Education," by J. Valdemar Moldenhauer; "The Bible in Education," by Wilbert W. White; "The Place of Worship in Religious Education," by John Wallace Suter, Jr.; "When is Education Religious?" by Adelaide T. Case; "Some Social Objectives of Religious Education," by Benjamin S. Winchester; "Leadership Attitudes as Principles of Education," by Joseph M. Artman; and "Weekday Religious Education," by Charles H. Tuttle. It is a timely and significant discussion of several fundamental aspects of the problem of the place of religion in education, especially from the standpoint of motivation. Its value lies chiefly in an orientation to the problem in its American setting by a number of competent people from various points of view rather than in an attempt at its analysis or solution. There is no suggestion as to the specific nature of religion or as to the psychological processes by which it motivates education or character. No specific techniques are suggested. The general point of view is that the approach to character is through the processes by which personality is achieved. The solution points in the direction of the rapidly developing program of week-day religious education.

MARTIN, JOHN. *Prayers for Little Men and Women.* New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1929. 36 pages. $1.50.

This is a new edition of John Martin's book of prayers, just come from the press in a most attractive form. It recalls to parents and religious educators the dif-

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ficulty in getting a satisfactory expression of prayer for children. The tendency in adults is to assume that children have the same experience of God that they have had and that the theological concepts used by them are meaningful to the child. John Martin does not make this assumption in many of his prayers but tries to give a natural, childlike expression to ambitions and desires and a reverent approach to God. Perhaps the majesty of the Divine and the wonderfulness of the world-processes are somewhat lost in an attempt to relate the child in an intimate relationship to a personal God, but on the whole the book is suggestive, and this edition will be welcomed by parents and religious educators.

MEYER, HENRY H. *Child Nature and Nurture According to Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1928. 229 pages. $2.50.

Dr. Meyer has given us a very interesting chapter in the history of Religious Education in this well-documented review of the great Moravian leader, Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Much of the material has been taken directly from original manuscript diaries and other writings from the Moravian archives of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Herrnhut, Saxony. He undertakes (1) a survey and partial analysis of Zinzendorf's published and unpublished educational writings; (2) an examination into his theory of child nature and nurture; (3) a study of Zinzendorf's organization of the Christian community for the purposes of religious nurture and training; and (4) an evaluation of Zinzendorf's contribution to the theory and practice of religious education. The author shows how Zinzendorf anticipated many of the principles of present-day religious education. While he was much bound by the theology of his day and the mystical pietism of the Moravian church, he had a great love for children and desire for their character development and motivation by religion. Perhaps Dr. Meyer is too generous when he describes the *Lautere Milch* the most characteristically Zinzendorfian catechism as "the first Catechism for children in which the subject matter is consistently and thoroughly subordinated to method in the interest of meeting the child on his own plane of thought and experience"; but there is no doubt Zinzendorf had much more interest in developing religious experience and Christian character than in mere indoctrination. The means he used seem strange to modern religious educators, but the radiating personality of the great soul interpreted the meaning of religion in spite of the abstract theological language that he used. He recognized the need of graded instruction and prepared catechisms, litanies, hymns, sermons, and talks to try and meet the needs and comprehension of age groups from the young children to the adult. He laid great stress on religious instruction in the home and the example of the parents. He organized schools and community life among Moravian groups in which the free religious development of the members might be furthered to best advantage. Of special interest is his eleven choir groupings for religious teaching, eight for children and young people and three for adults. The choir organizations included (1) infants in arms, (2) little children, (3) boys, (4) girls, (5) older boys, (6) older girls, (7) young men, (8) young women, and three adult groups ([1] married people, [2] widows, and [3] widowers). This superseded the three pietistic classifications of (1) the dead—those who were unconverted and unawakened; (2) the awakened; and (3) the converted. Throughout the book and in the appendixes Dr. Meyer has given extended quotations from the writings of Zinzendorf.

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PALMER, LEON C. *The Religious Education of Adults.* Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1929. xviii+115 pages. $1.25, cloth; $0.75, paper.

This is a practical and usable manual for the organization and conduct of the adult Bible class in the church school. It is written from the point of view of the Episcopal church, with characteristic emphasis upon the Bible and upon the church in religious education. The discussion does not attempt a philosophy of adult education, but takes account in its introductory chapter of assumptions of this new and developing field of educational endeavor.

Problems of a Little Child. BY A MOTHER. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1928. 102 pages. $1.25.

This book is a good common-sense approach to some common problems of little children. The language is not technical; psychological terms are used, but the problems are analyzed and treated in a very satisfactory manner. There are no exhaustive studies of problems, but there are a few practical suggestions that will tend to give parents and others the right attitude toward the problems of their children and also help the children to meet these situations. The author remains anonymous because the facts related are of her own children.

In order to overcome the fear of darkness, the author has developed in her children an interest in experiences of the dark. They play games of finding their way about, differentiating things in the dark, and are helped to appreciate the beauties and wonders of the night. In the explanation of the coming of life, she warns parents against dealing with the facts of nature so that mankind is treated on a level with the animals. Instead, she desires that the ideal may be given of children being born of choice and love. The fear of death is offset by the familiar thought of bodies as houses we live in, always wearing out but the personality growing in a changing body. The chapter on disquieting ideas of God is perhaps less satisfactory. Little help is given for any positive concept of God. Nevertheless, the value of the book is wholesome and good, and acquaintance with the mother of this book is worth while.

MISCELLANEOUS

BOROVICKA, J. *Ten Years of Czechoslovak Politics.* Prague: "Orbis" Publishing Co., 1929. 133 pages. *2s. 6d.*

CARR, LEWIS F. *America Challenged. A Preface to a Point of View.* New York: Macmillan, 1929. 322 pages. $3.50.

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BEYOND SCIENCE

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IT HAS long been the self-satisfied reflection of our time that it is the scientific age. The truth of the assertion is obvious. The benefits of science are undeniable. It has given us not only practical results but a method and a spirit that have lifted truth-seeking to a new level. But two questions are slowly arising to disturb our self-satisfaction: (1) Is the scientific stage of human development the acme of human progress? and (2) Are we already beginning to pass beyond it?

I

Contrary to the customary assumption, it is quite possible that the scientific era, instead of being the age of highest well-being and final achievement, is after all only a stage in the upward climb of man. In fact, many sensitive minds among scientists themselves are becoming conscious of the ground swell of a new movement in human interest and achievement—partly the outcome of science itself—that seems about to carry humanity forward to something that lies beyond natural science.

Major interests alter their forms and relationships as the human spirit presses on and encounters fresh environments and needs. As science retires from the place of regnancy which it has so long occupied, what will take its place?

There are not a few indications that the next great ab-

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sorbing form of human interest will lie in a realm beyond science.

When the question is asked what lies beyond science the answer is the supersensuous world, i.e., the world of meaning, of spirit, and of value. Not that this world is not in closest relation with the world of phenomena; but it transcends the phenomenal and temporal and must be distinguished from it.

Thus there arises a natural division between two kinds of analyzed and ordered knowledge, a division which recent German philosophy, under the lead of Dilthey, Rickert, Spranger, and others, has been striving to define under the terms *Naturwissenschaft* vs. *Geisteswissenschaft, Geschichtswissenschaft,* or *Kulturwissenschaft.*[1] Such a twofold classification, difficult as it is to formulate and define, tends to clarify and bring order into the field of knowledge. The lack of agreement as to the best designation for the second order of knowledge is significant of its wide and inclusive character. The threefold distinction within the latter truth-area already suggested, i.e., meaning, spirit, and value, may help to clarify its nature. Let us endeavor to follow it out more fully.

II

Consider, first, this realm of experience as the realm of *meaning*. This assigns it to the domain of philosophy. Not that meaning has no place in science. Indeed it has a place of its own. In science it applies to the explanation and ordering of phenomena in their interrelations; but meaning in the sense of ultimate meaning, meaning in relation to existence as a whole, i.e., interpretation, lies outside of the purview of science. The boundaries of science, that is, are strictly limited to the world of phenomena. Pursued beyond these bounds science passes inevitably into philosophy, as respects theory, and religion (or irreligion) as respects attitude, since its concepts

[1] See Arthur Liepert, "Contemporary German Philosophy," *Philosophical Review,* November, 1928; also Erech Becher, "Present Movements in German Philosophy," *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy,* pp. 667 ff.

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and findings require interpretation not in relation to themselves alone, but in relation to human life and thought as a whole.[2] The scientist, that is, must either himself become a philosopher or pass his problems on to the philosopher if he would enter the realm of meaning. Now this, as a rule, he has either denied the need of, or has been unwilling to do—or has done without realizing that he was doing it—until of late. But a great change has come. Relativity has introduced a new viewpoint. The new physics has acted like a whirlwind upon accustomed ideas of the world about us.

The scientist, under the lead of some of the leading representatives of science, has awakened to the fact that he must reckon with mind, through which all his ideas of nature are mediated. At last he has begun to examine his concepts. Such recent books as Morgan's *Emergent Evolution* and *Matter, Mind and Spirit,* Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World,* and Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World* have set not only scientists but the whole thinking world adrift. Here is urgent need for philosophy. Indeed these writers are themselves philosophers as well as scientists—scientist-philosophers. Professor Eddington's book especially has attracted wide attention and aroused much querying. For this reason references to it and quotations from it will appear frequently in this article.

The advent into the philosophic arena of such volumes has lent fresh pertinence to the question, What is the field and function of Philosophy?[3] The sphere of philosophy is so wide, so deep, and so high—being coterminous with the interpretation of all forms of experience—that the philosopher has often lost himself, or his clue, to such a degree that he has ceased to

[2] "As soon as we get beyond that range [i.e., the range of intellectual knowledge] we are in the field that belongs to religion, and no one knows better than the man who works in science how soon we get beyond the boundaries of the known."—Robert A. Millikan, *Evolution in Science and Religion.*

[3] A very sagacious and clarifying book on this subject is Professor J. H. Muirhead's *The Use of Philosophy* (1929).

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command the consideration which his mission deserves. In some respects, especially of late, he has deserved this disesteem. Doubtless there is need of pursuing the technicalities of epistemology and ontology to their innermost lair; but this is not what the world in general wants of philosophy. Its chief demand is for *meaning*. What does this world of nature that seems to be without us, and yet is not wholly so, mean? What does this deluge of experience, in its various and often conflicting forms *mean?* Or is there any meaning in it all? A *philosophy of meaning*—this is the dominant need of today.

The reason for thus turning toward *philosophy* is that the human mind will not remain content with anything less than ultimates. "The scientist," as has been said by one of them, "is a practical man. He does not seek the *ultimate* but the *proximate.*"[4] It is the philosopher who is the discoverer and custodian of ultimates.

III

Already harbingers of a new philosophy, such as the age looks for, have appeared. Even before the war such a philosophy began to take form, in France, in England, in Germany, and in America. Bergson was its major prophet. The close kinship of Bergsonism with natural science was at once evident, but even clearer was its *transcendence* of science. The enthusiasm with which this new intuitionism was hailed, not only in France but in England and in America, was indicative of what the general mind was seeking. It quickened and elevated the thought life of the early twentieth century. It has failed, however, to reach any very definite conclusions and has apparently passed its meridian.

In Germany, the activism of Rudolph Eucken aroused wide interest and promised large results. It was rudely interrupted by the war, but its undaunted protagonist resumed its advocacy thereafter and continued to present his moral and

[4] Gilbert N. Lewis, *The Anatomy of Science*, p. 6.

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spiritual idealism with great earnestness until his death in 1921, leaving a fragrant memory and a world-wide influence.

In England a significant advance toward a spiritual cosmology may be seen in the rise of emergentism—a philosophical interpretation of evolution which has come from the fertile minds of Samuel Alexander and C. Lloyd Morgan, the latter transforming the "evolution of Deity" of the former into a theism of *immanence*. Here, at last, is a view of evolution, as related to the wider law of development, which gives it spiritual as well as cosmic significance. It needs only the complementary truth of *transcendence* to raise this tentative theism above the naturalism in which Morgan leaves it, and endow it with comprehensive meaning.

In America the philosophy of personalism, introduced by Bowne and Howison, which elevates the self above nature and emphasizes the meaning and values of personality, human and divine, is manifesting increasing vigor and enlarging scope.[5] Thus is gaining ground a philosophy that passes beyond nature and aims to recover the worth of human individuality—so nearly submerged in nature—and to relate it to the cosmos, to society, and to the reality which transcends both.

A clearer delimination of the fields of science and philosophy is essential. This does not imply that it is possible or desirable to segregate philosophy completely from natural science. Philosophy finds itself in particularly intimate contact with natural science in the sphere of psychology. The mental is so closely knit up with the physical—an intimacy which recent psychology has revealed with startling effect—that it is extremely difficult to differentiate the two components in the processes of experience. The disclosure of the physical aspect of mental activity has led to the effort, which appears to have been so successful, to make psychology one of the physical

[5] Cf. Bowne, *Personalism;* Howison, *The Limits of Evolution;* Flewelling, *Creative Personality;* Knudson, *The Philosophy of Personalism;* Brightman, *An Introduction to Philosophy;* Wilson, *The Self and the World.*

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sciences. But to do this is to contract so far as to belie experience and to yield far more to oversimplification than is either truly philosophical or truly scientific. Psychology is on one side a physical science and on the obverse side a branch of philosophy and the image and superscription of each must be deciphered, as far as may be, in order to realize its full meaning and value.

IV

As the exponent of meaning, philosophy has before it a task as exacting as it is comprehensive. When one considers the amazing range of human experience it seems an impossibility to find any ordered and consistent meaning in its multiplicity and confusion. Take, for example, the baffling succession and interrelationship of human events known as history. History is first of all a science in that its office is to collect, relate, and organize historic data in the light of environmental and economic factors. This is a task in which great progress has been made, though it is still far behind that which has been witnessed in the field of the natural sciences. But this is only part of its task; for there is not only a science of history but a philosophy of history. What is the *meaning* of history? Has it purpose and direction? What is progress? What promise has humanity of ever reaching a state of universal well-being and unity? Here is an enterprise whose attraction is matched only by its difficulty. Such blanket theories (wet blanket in this case) as those of Spengler and Keyserling are manifestly as inadequate as were those of Hegel and Fichte. Are there spirits standing apart

> Upon the forehead of the age to come

with sufficient breadth of vision to cope with so challenging and comprehensive an undertaking as a philosophy of history? Until a philosophy of history begins to take form, history will remain but a sorry and disordered aggregate of human virtues and crimes, successes and failures, advances and retreats, with no indication of what the battle really means or how it goes.

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As the challenging task of the discovery of meaning presses more and more urgently upon the human spirit there will be a shifting of interest from the particular to the universal, from scientific investigation to philosophic interpretation. With this change of emphasis Emerson's rebuke will begin to lose something of its sting: "There is no comet, rock, stratum, fish, quadruped, spider or fungus, that for itself does not interest more scholars and classifiers than the meaning and upshot of the frame of things."

It is not to be desired that the ardor of scientific discovery shall in any wise diminish, for nature calls for exploration to its farthest boundary and in its most minute forms. But the interest which has been so far withdrawn from larger issues to concentrate upon details cannot but return to them as the human spirit fares upon its way, restless and searching until it finds some answer to the poignant questions as to its own meaning, the meaning of the universe in which it finds itself, and that which lies beyond.

V

The body of experience lying beyond the boundaries of science includes that group of interests variously termed spiritual, religious, mystical, which has played so vital a part in the history of mankind. This form of experience, in spite of its essential normality, has at times been so exaggerated, abnormal, and irrational as to bring serious misunderstanding and most injurious consequences in its train. Even when this is not the case, religious experience has often created the impression of sentimentalism and unreality. These by-products of religion have produced, however unjustly, a reaction which has affected unfavorably the sober, restrained, and careful temper of the scientist. The apparent incompatibility of these two interests, with their implications and assumptions, has led to "the so-called conflict of Science and Religion." The clear attestation on the part of leading scientists and theologians to the conviction that this is a false and superficial con-

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flict—due to unwarranted inferences on the part of science and to the substitution of outworn theological dogmas for genuine interpretation of religious experience on the part of theology—promises a rapid clearing up of the misundertanding, followed by co-operation instead of hostility.

Not only have the exponents of religion felt that in religious experience men come closest to the central reality—being sustained in this judgment by not a few philosophers[6]—but many scientists, past and present, concur in this judgment. Thus Whitehead:

> Religion is the vision of something which stands beyond, behind, and within, the passing flux of immediate things; something which is real, and yet waiting to be realized; something which is a remote possibility, and yet the greatest of present facts; something that gives meaning to all that passes, and yet eludes apprehension; something whose possession is the final good, and yet is beyond all reach; something which is the ultimate ideal, and the hopeless quest.[7]

From the viewpoint of a psychologist William Brown, of Cambridge University, writes: "I have become more convinced than ever that religion is the most important thing in life and that it is essential to mental health."[8]

Yet religious experience, while it bears its own witness to its truth, is by no means sacrosanct or exempt from that rational scrutiny and interpretation which all experience needs in order to give it reasonableness and reliability. Thus there has arisen the *Philosophy of Religion* which—in view of the fact that science is now freely admitting that *it* cannot solve the ultimate problems of life and destiny—is becoming of increasing interest and importance.

The need of including the study of religion in higher education is making itself more and more distinctly felt, even in state universities, in some of which it is being supplied by co-

[6] Bradley's statement may be instanced: "There is nothing more real than what comes in religion."—*Appearance and Reality*, p. 449.

[7] *Science and the Modern World*, p. 267.

[8] *Science, Religion and Reality*, p. 311.

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operative action of the churches. No educational system can pretend to integrity—not to say completeness—which leaves so vital a human interest as religion entirely on one side. Students themselves are beginning to recognize this, as has been clearly demonstrated by the action of the Student Council of Harvard University which

> recently called attention to the neglect of philosophy in modern education and requested that a course be provided, to be required of all students, which should survey the chief answers which have been given to man's questions concerning the ultimate problems of life, including the Christian answer.[9]

The philosophy of religion naturally passes into theology, which endeavors, as completely as possible, to interpret the content and conceptual forms of religious experience in a given religion. Every major religion has a formulated theology, but Christianity surpasses others in this respect. That Christian theology in the past has been guilty of a self-assumption and dogmatism, little in keeping with its true nature, should not preclude open minds from giving to it a consideration worthy of its essential nature and office.[10]

VI

All types of experience and all forms of knowledge and activity gain their relative standing by reference to a standard which lies in the realm beyond science, i.e., value. For, as Plato said, "Nothing imperfect is the measure of anything."

This superscientific criterion of value applies to science itself, as to all other interests, a fact that has hardly been adequately recognized. Furthermore, all value implies a valuer. This, too, is not always perceived; nor that this involves ultimately a Supreme Valuer as a center of reference. It is strik-

[9] William Adams Brown, *Beliefs That Matter*, p. 12.

[10] The writer remembers with what a fine sense of humor our lamented American theologian, Gerald Birney Smith, told of being once asked by a company of strangers whom he met what chair of instruction he occupied. After he had spent some time describing to them the purposes and values of theology, the only response was: "What beautiful weather we are having!"

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ingly significant that in his discussion of the nature of reality Professor Eddington writes: "I doubt if we really satisfy the conceptions behind that demand (i.e. for reality) unless we make the bolder hypothesis that the quest and all that is reached by it are of worth in the eyes of an Absolute Valuer."[11]

Value is *sui generis,* but it has its distinctions and degrees. It is in the failure to distinguish between these—e.g., values for spiritual life and values for physical life—as well as the difference between relative values and absolute value, that confusion arises.

The realm of art, which is so manifestly beyond science, is conspicuously one of values. Why do men make so large a place in life for the *beautiful*—remote as it is both from the pressing practical issues of life and from the strictly scientific interests? Why do they link creative art with the religious sentiment so intimately and productively? The answer to these queries can lie only in the nature of value. Here are two values, art and religion, that are felt to be closely akin. Unite them and the result wins a deep response in the soul of Everyman. It is true that the lover of art, as well as the artist, sometimes claims not only that beauty is "its own excuse for being" but that it is to be pursued independently of any other end. Yet in the minds of many of the most passionate lovers of the beautiful, like Plato, Jesus, Dante, Milton, Wordsworth, Cimabue, Botticelli, Ruskin, Morris, art has yielded the scepter to an even more imperial value—righteousness. John Milton wrote of himself: "God has instilled into me, if into anyone, a vehement love of the beautiful. Not with so much labor is Ceres said to have sought her daughter Persephone as it is my habit, day and night, to seek for this idea of the beautiful." Yet this lover of the beautiful turned away from it to devote his days and nights, yes, to give his very eyes, not to beauty but to duty in the service of his country—and the better judgment of mankind has approved the sacrifice. And yet there is

[11] *The Nature of the Physical World,* p. 287.

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no essential inner conflict of values here—any more than in the case of science and religion—provided the beautiful is not ruptured from the true and the good. Otherwise there is sure to result some form of schism—Puritanism vs. Libertinism; Liberty vs. License; Civilization vs. Decadence.[12]

VII

It is in the realm of moral values that we come upon that supreme worth which concentrates within itself all that lies beyond the physical—though not apart from it—and therefore beyond science, i.e., personality. The person exceeds, overlooks, evaluates everything. It is because the scientist, as well as the religionist, the artist, the philosopher, is more than his pursuit that he too is unique, creative, indestructible, no mere instrument of nature but *possessor* of mind and of body, of talents and powers for which he is responsible. Born within nature, he is yet above nature. The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the heavenly master.

Little enough account of *him,* the person, has the scientist made. Yet we may not blame him for this; for science as science knows not the person. And yet the scientist is a man of mind, very decidedly so, else he were a poor scientist indeed, and also a man of character. As such he is himself a person, and in his application to his task and more especially in those rare moments when he forgets for the time his specialty and becomes the lover, the father, the friend, the benefactor—perchance the worshiper—he subordinates science to humanism and transcends the world of nature—although then perhaps closest to its inner mystery and meaning.

If, therefore, the greater values are superscientific, it follows that all men owe it to themselves and to each other to recognize this and place supreme honor and aim where they belong. Why should not the scientist himself join in this eval-

[12] Cf. "The Inner Morality of Art," by Don Luigi Sturzo, *Hibbert Journal,* October, 1928.

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uation? Precisely this is now being done by many scientists, e.g., by Eddington, who, after admitting, "No one can deny that mind is the first and most direct thing in our experience and all else is remote inference, either intuitional or deliberate,"[13] continues, later: "We have to build the spiritual world of symbols taken from our own personality as we build the scientific world out of the metrical symbols of the mathematician."[14] A spiritual world built out of personality—this is our common ideal and goal. Even more emphatic is Jan Smuts who declares: "As the key to the highest interests of the human race Personality seems to be quite the most important problem to which the thinkers of the coming generation could devote their attention."[15] Such declarations might be multiplied indefinitely.

VIII

It is not to be expected that natural science will make any *direct* contribution to the understanding of personal realities and values, except perhaps as psychology, working in the field of the psychophysical, throws light on the relation of brain and mind. Yet indirectly science is indispensable in the great quest by way of furnishing material basis and support for it and also in providing analogies from the realm of nature to represent facts and processes in the realm of spirit. Both physicist and biologist have been contributing to the personalist of late extremely significant suggestions in this direction. The freedom, e.g., experienced by personality now finds its anticipation not only in the realm of life but in that of physics as well. Nothing is more arresting in Professor Eddington's dramatic volume than the picture he draws of the *indeterminism* in nature, assured, as he is, that "it is a consequence of the advent of the quantum theory that *physics is no longer pledged to a scheme of deterministic law.*"[16] J. Arthur Thom-

[13] *The Nature of the Physical World*, p. 281.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

[15] *Holism*, p. 289.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 294.

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son and others have pointed out the same incipient freedom of action on a higher scale in the realm of life—looking toward the coming of true freedom in the nature of personality.[17]

How is personality related to the space-time world so vividly portrayed by modern scientific philosophy? By no means is it merely a part of that world, else there were no space-time as conceived by mind. For personality belongs, essentially to another order, to the realm of the eternal. Its existence and value are non-spatial and non-temporal. Quality, not quantity, is its "stuff" and quality, as Streeter has shown, is spiritual.[18] This is not to affirm, let it be said once more, that personality is not closely associated with the space-time world in which experience finds its present medium. Human persons develop in spiritual attainment along with physical growth, and intimately associated with it. By virtue of attachment to bodies, they are involved, at times tragically, and yet on the whole gainfully, in the movement of the perpetual flux of all phenomenal existence. Nevertheless space and time are of another order from personality. The *quanta* of the personal world, faith, hope, love, are non-metrical, though they vary in degrees which can be represented only by such spatial terms as *more* and *less* which thus become symbols of that which is above their domain.[19]

Eternity is not essentially a matter of duration, but of essence. It is of another dimension, although that dimension involves endless duration, much as the sun involves light. Man is a spirit, not so much caught in the meshes of a physical net as given a physical nature as a *pou sto* by means of which to win his own higher selfhood, now employing, now subduing, but ever transcending his lower nature. Like the lark he finds his nutriment earthward and builds his nest upon the ground,

[17] Cf. *The System of Animate Nature*. A discussion of germinal freedom in nature may be found in the present writer's *The Humanity of God*, chap. ix.

[18] B. H. Streeter, *Reality*, pp. 136 ff.

[19] Cf. Bergson with reference to spatial measurements of non-spatial things.

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yet from it he rises like a "disembodied spirit" into the all-sustaining, all-surveying spiritual ether. Nature is his external equipment, his wardrobe and armory, his temple and battlefield. "I cannot be myself," as Professor Hocking declares, "without all of nature in space and time."[20]

Here Eddington, in contrast to his usual insight, seems singularly—shall we say unscientific or unphilosophical? In his reference to heaven in his concluding chapter he writes:

> A belief not by any means confined to the more dogmatic adherents of religion is that there is a future non-material existence in store for us. Heaven is nowhere in space, but it is in time. (All the meaning of the belief is bound up with the word *future;* there is no comfort in an assurance of bliss in some *former* state of existence.) On the other hand the scientist declares that time and space are a single continuum, and the modern idea of a Heaven in time but not in space is in this respect more at variance with science than the pre-Copernican idea of a Heaven above our heads.[21]

On the contrary it has been the ever deepening insight of both philosophy and theology that the spiritual life (consummated in "heaven") is no more temporal than spatial, but is in its nature eternal, i.e., qualitative.

Nature is, for mind, an inexhaustible fund of "correspondencies," the rich storehouse of symbolism by means of which man is enabled "in dumb significants to proclaim his thoughts."[22] The service of nature in furnishing symbols for spirit is one in which science lends significant assistance. For the farther science advances in the exploration of nature the greater becomes the range of symbol—ever wider, subtler, more expressive—which is thus unfolded. Religion, poetry, philosophy, and even language itself are dependent upon such ancient symbols as light, life, growth, sex, song, the heavens, the earth, the sea, "and all that in them is." To this familiar fund of nature symbolism are now being added such far-reach-

[20] *The Self: Its Body and Freedom,* p. 141.

[21] *Op. cit.,* p. 351.

[22] Shakespeare, *Henry VI,* Part I, Act II, scene iv.

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ing significancies as atomic behavior and radioactivity, with all their suggestive spiritual implications—and who knows what more is to follow?

IX

Significant indeed is it to have the physicist and biologist positing relations instead of substances. Relations? Why, these have been hitherto but airy nothingnesses to science compared with substances. Relations are the current coin of the realm of personality; only here the *relata* are not unknown *somewhats,* as with science, but truly, intimately, continuously known (though not understood) entities—selves. For the mind, as Eddington perceives, is the best known of all things.

> To put the conclusion crudely—the stuff of the world is mind-stuff. As is often the way with crude statements, I shall have to explain that by "mind" I do not here exactly mean mind and by "stuff" I do not at all mean stuff. Still this is about as near as we can get to the idea in a simple phrase. The mind-stuff of the world is, of course, something more general than our individual conscious minds; but we may think of its nature as not altogether foreign to the feelings in our consciousness. The realistic matter and fields of force of former physical theory are altogether irrelevant—except in so far as the mind-stuff has itself spun these imaginings. The symbolic matter and fields of force of present-day theory are more relevant, but they bear to it the same relation that the bursar's accounts bear to the activity of the college. Having granted this, the mental activity on the part of the world constituting ourselves occasions no surprise; it is known to us by direct self-knowledge, and we do not explain it away as something other than we know it to be—or, rather, it knows itself to be. It is the physical aspects of the world that we have to explain, presumably by some such method as that set forth in our discussion of world-building. Our bodies are more mysterious than our minds—at least they would be, only that we can set the mystery on one side by the device of the cyclic scheme of physics, which enables us to study their phenomenal behaviour without ever coming to grips with the underlying mystery.[23]

Minds, souls, persons, and their relations—these are the primary and ultimate realities. When one looks discerningly and sympathetically at the realm of science itself and thinks of its tireless and dedicated exponents (can they be only prod-

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 276–77.

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ucts of nature?) he becomes aware that, admirable and fruitful as are the methods and results of science, after all the best and finest thing in science is the personal fellowship of scientists, their co-operative spirit, and their devotion to their high calling. Here is something very human, worthful, and beautiful that puts theologians and philosophers and artists to shame. Without at all emphasizing, or even mentioning, moral and spiritual relations, scientists share their aims and labors and achievements with such unselfishness as to honor and magnify personality. This spirit, so finely illustrated by the generous conduct of Darwin and Wallace toward one another at the very inception of the evolutionary hypothesis, has been an unfailing honor to workers in the scientific field. Thus do personal values fare to the front in every true co-operative human enterprise. For the only true persons are socialized persons, of which company are all those who join in the great enterprise of building that City of God of which Plato caught a vision and for which Jesus gave his life and which Francis Bacon and Sir Thomas More and Newton and Darwin and Pasteur, and all other disinterested thinkers and workers in every field of human endeavor have helped to bring nearer.

What is more noble and more truly representative of the best in our time than the humanitarian impulse on the part of those whose unselfish devotion to what is called pure science, but is really humanity, is constantly producing whole-souled sacrificial servants and even martyrs to the good of mankind? This high and holy spirit of devotion is not within the realm of nature, nor of the science which consists of knowledge of nature. It is supernatural, spiritual, personal. It rises into that realm of socialized personality in which meaning shines out clearly and reality comes to its own.

X

Finally, beyond science, as beyond every form of knowledge, is mystery. Mystery, as such, disturbs and defeats the

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scientist. The further he pushes his investigations the greater becomes the hinterland of mystery. It is only the amateur scientist who can ask: We have found out so much, is it not possible to discover all? That possibility has forever disappeared. No wonder the scientist is baffled and perplexed. Yet he need not be; for this does not really mean, as Eddington points out in the concluding sentence of his volume, defeat or permanent arrest. "Amid all our faulty attempts at expression," he concludes, "the kernel of scientific truth steadily grows; and of this truth it may be said—The more it changes, the more it remains the same thing."[24]

But, quite apart from the question of its extent and the possibility of reducing its boundaries, *has mystery any meaning in and of itself?* Instead of arousing the sense of defeat, impotence, confusion, is it not possible that mystery has profound and pregnant significance? To the religionist it is filled with the solemnity of a great and eloquent silence. To him it has always been the parent of a humility that exalts while it debases, and a reverence that uplifts while it prostrates. He does not expect ever fully to understand God, even with the time allowance conceded by Professor Wieman when he writes, "The exact nature of God is still problematical *and may be for many years to come!*"[25]

Is the acceptance of mystery mere sentiment, false resignation, humiliation? Or is there something philosophically, rationally, normally meaningful in mystery? May it not be the *contraplete,* the antithesis, of knowledge; so that for the human mind, the wisdom which is greater than knowledge lies between, or rather beyond, both knowledge and mystery.

It is no mere pious sentimentality which begets reverence in the presence of mystery. On the contrary, mystery may be as full of meaning as silence may be of thought, unexpressed.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[25] *Religious Experience and Scientific Method,* p. 381; quoted by Gerald Birney Smith, *Current Religious Thinking,* p. 144.

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What a flat, stale, and unprofitable thing would be a universe wholly and indisputably understood and mastered, with no hinterland of the unknown! The North Pole has given up its secret but the atom has not—much less the mind that conceives it. What a set of unendurable prigs would be the self-inflated inhabitants of an exhausted and exploited world! One sees the appalling consequence of such a human type exemplified in an occasional superficial devotee of science who fancies that he knows it all and lords it over a tributary nature and a gullible human nature with unabashed effrontery, and in the Gradgrinds who scorn imagination and sentiment, declaring: "Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. . . . . In this life we want nothing but Facts, sir; nothing but Facts." As between fictionalism and this kind of brutal factualism the former is to be preferred. So far from being mere emptiness, mystery has a plenary mission. It is at once a challenge and a source of confidence. It arouses the spirit of tireless inquiry and investigation, and at the same time quiets and assures and fortifies the patient soul with the sense of, "I know not; but *it is known.*"[26]

In sum: Science has developed a method which is essential in all genuine truth-seeking and a spirit of patient pursuit and readiness to revise conclusions which is not only scientific but moral, i.e., superscientific. For this and for all its virtues and achievements it is worthy of all honor and the greater honor of furtherance. Yet the farther it advances the more its boundaries reveal themselves and the more clearly it points beyond itself. Thereby we may discern more certainly the realms of unrealized knowledge and achievement which lie *beyond* science—"the Beyond," in the words of Troeltsch, which "is in very truth the power of our Here and Now."

[26] Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, p. 236.

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THE STRUCTURE OF HEBREW POETRY

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AS IS well known, the Hebrew language belongs to the Semitic group of languages, and in its grammar, syntax, and vocabulary it is vastly different from the Indo-European languages, to which English belongs. For this reason it is extremely difficult to translate the one into the other, and more difficult still for the Indo-European to discover just what constitutes Hebrew poetry and in what specific ways it differs from prose. Hence there have been long years of study and research in the effort to determine the constituent elements of Hebrew poetry, more particularly since the time of Robert Lowth, who in his *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* (1753) was the first to approach the problem in any systematic or scientific manner. Since his day a voluminous literature has come into being and many points of view have been expressed ranging from one extreme to the other, from those who like Ehrlich discount almost completely our knowledge of Hebrew poetry to those who like Sievers would reduce the whole of the Old Testament to poetry of the most regular type. Among scholars there still remain great differences, but in recent years real progress has been made toward a consensus of opinion. Although many problems still remain unsolved, enough has been accomplished to give us considerable confidence in the result.

As is apparent even in a translation, one of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry is poetical diction, the use of imaginative, figurative language, which of course is a characteristic of poetry the whole world over. Poetry is a work of art, whose chief source is the creative imagination of the poet. Its aim is aesthetic and its appeal is to the emotions. It is characterized

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by a sense of beauty in its phraseology and in its verbal construction and melody that makes it a thing of beauty. In Hebrew, as in other poetry there is accordingly a vocabulary, grammar, and syntax that is distinctly different from that of prose. Poetry is always more conserving than prose and often preserves forms and constructions that are lost in prose. In Hebrew this is apparent in the preference for archaic words or forms of words, especially when these are more musical. There are frequent ellipses and compressions, and the definite article and particles like the relative are often omitted where their use would be required in prose. The verb does not always stand at the beginning of the sentence, as is the rule in prose, nor are the other parts of the sentence always in their usual order. Within certain limitations the poet could place his words in whatever order he would, and a frequent device was to have the order of words in two contiguous clauses each exactly the opposite of the other, a structure that is known as chiasm and is found in other poetry as well. The Hebrew poet, too, was allowed the usual poetic license. He did not have to conform rigidly to the grammatical rules of prose. A singular verb might be used with a plural subject, as, for example, in Isa. 44:18, where the singular טח is construed with the plural עיניהם;[1] or a masculine verb might be construed with a feminine subject, as, for instance, in Jer. 3:12, where שובה is written in place of the more correct שובי[2] because of the assonance with the word immediately following, משובה. Paronomasia was a favorite device of the Hebrew poets and they used it probably more than any others.[3] When for any reason at all the poet wanted to use a particular word in a particular form

[1] All commentators except Torrey emend the verb to plural, but this is quite unnecessary.

[2] So the commentators would emend, but this spoils the paronomasia, the very thing that prompted Jeremiah to use the form.

[3] For many illustrations see Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament.*

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or in a particular position, he had the privilege of doing so. He was engaged in a work of art and was not to be bound and fettered in his expression by the strict rules of Hebrew prose. He chose words accordingly that were most sonorous or most expressive of his mood and he arranged them in a way that was most musical, and this added to the imagery of his phraseology made an appeal that no ordinary prose could.

As an artist the poet ought to be concerned primarily with the artistry of his product; but after all every true artist has a message to deliver through his art, and it is the message that makes his work all the more appealing and stimulating. With the Hebrew poet it was seldom "art for art's sake," but rather art as a means to an end. By his art he sought to arouse the emotions, believing that these in turn would influence the will and conduct of the individual. Hence the Hebrew prophets were most of them poets, and there were few Hebrew poets that were not at the same time prophets.[4]

In English we are accustomed to think that poetry is characterized by rhyme, and it is a frequent mark, but even in English it is not always present. In Arabic it is as conspicuous as in English, and likewise in the Hebrew medieval poetry that was modeled on the Arabic, but in biblical Hebrew it is rarely found. Some of the older poems have it, as, for example, the Song of Lamech in Gen. 4:23 f., the first four stichoi of which all end in *-ī*. It is very prominent in the chant, Judges 16:24, where every word but one in the first line and the last

[4] This is apparent, not only from their diction, but also from the structure of their writings, as shall presently be noted. Torrey (*The Second Isaiah*, p. 78), is surely wrong when he says, "Even in classroom work, if I am not mistaken, the Hebrew prophets are still quite commonly read as prose, and with comparatively little attention to questions of purely literary form." All our most recent translations (Jewish, Moffatt, and American) print them as poetry and for years now scholars have quite universally treated them as such. Personally I doubt whether there is a single classroom that treats them solely as prose. Torrey, however, is right in his strictures on those commentators who affirm that the prophets were poets and then proceed to interpret the highly imaginative, figurative language of their poetry in literal fashion, as if it were prose.

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words in the other lines end in *-ēnū*. This may partly be reproduced in a translation as follows:

> Our god has delivered our enemy into our hands,
> The devastator of our lands,
> And him who slew us in bands.

It is questionable, however, whether this is real poetry. It is more like the rhymed prose of the Arabic, such as is found in the Qur'an. Rhyme, when it is present in Hebrew, is found more frequently in the shorter poems, but is occasionally met with in the longer ones, as, for example, in the Song of Songs[5] and even in the prophets. An instance of the latter is Isa. 43:1–5, where practically every line ends in *-ā*. The only lines that do not are the first and ninth (vs. 5*a*), where the transposition of the two last words in each case will restore the rhyme.[6] The poem continues with three other lines that do not rhyme, just as the Song of Lamech, noted above, does not rhyme in its last two stichoi.[7] Similarly in Arabic poetry the same rhyme may be carried through all the lines or through all save one line or the last two or three. Very rarely in Hebrew do we have different rhymes or alternate lines rhyming, as in English. In Gen. 27:29 the first couplet rhymes in *-īm* and the second in *-ekā*, but the last does not rhyme at all. An instance of an elaborately rhymed poem is found in Song of Songs 8:1–3, where stichoi 1, 2, 4, 8, and 9 rhyme in *-ī;* 3, 5, and 7 in *-kā;* and 6 and 10 in *-ēnī*. Burney has attempted to produce this in the following translation:[8]

> Would that thou wert my brother,
> Who sucked at the breasts of my mother!
> When I found thee without I would kiss thee,
> Nor fear the reproach of another;
> Would lead thee, would bring thee

[5] See Burney, "Rhyme in the Song of Songs," *JThS*, X, 584 ff.

[6] Vs. 5*a*, however, is more likely a gloss. It is a stichos standing all by itself and interrupts the thought of the passage.

[7] Other examples are Num. 21:28; 24:21, 22; Prov. 1:15, 16.

[8] *The Poetry of our Lord*, pp. 151 f.

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To the house of my mother who trains me,
Would give thee to drink spiced wine,
Pure pomegranate, none other.
His left hand is under my head,
And see! his right arm enchains me.

Even more elaborate is the structure of Prov. 5:7–14, where the interlacing of the rhymes is most skilfully executed.[9] Rhyme of any kind, however, is so infrequent in Hebrew that it is manifestly no outstanding characteristic of poetry and no particular effort was made to have it present. In many instances a slight change in the order of words would have produced rhyme, as, for example, in Ps. 2:9, where *t*ᵉ*rō*ʿ*ēm*, if placed at the end of the first stichos, would have rhymed with *t*ᵉ*napp*ᵉ*ṣēm* at the end of the second, but the poet chose rather to use the chiastic structure, which is much more characteristic of Hebrew poetry.

A mechanical device that is fairly common in Hebrew poetry is alliteration and acrosticism. Lam. 1–4; Pss. 24, 34, 119, 145; Prov. 31:10–31 and other writings in the Old Testament are alphabetic poems, in which equal poetical units (stichoi, lines, or stanzas) are separated from one another by having their initial letters arranged in such order as to form the Hebrew alphabet. Acrosticism is much less frequent. The best example is probably Ps. 110, in which the first letters of the opening words of the lines seem to form the acrostic שִׁמְעֹן אַדִּיר, "Simon, the august one," a reference possibly to Simon, the Maccabee, who succeeded to the high-priesthood and leadership of his people in 143 B.C.

The fact that rhyme and alliteration are sometimes present in Hebrew poetry is an indication that versification as well as imaginative conception in subject matter was used to mark it off from prose. This is assuredly the evidence of writing like Pss. 111 and 112, in which the several stichoi begin with the successive letters of the alphabet and thus indicate very clear-

[9] For the details see Burney, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 f.

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ly that these poems were written in separate lines, as poetry usually is. Unfortunately in our manuscripts of the Old Testament practically all of the poetry is written like prose, without regard to the break in lines. The only exceptions are Exod. 15, Deut. 32, Judges 5, and II Sam. 22, which the Talmuds directed to be written in separate lines,[10] and sometimes Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, which by the time of the tractate *Soferim* (ca. 850 A.D.)[11] it was customary to distinguish in the same way. Thus Jewish tradition testifies to the poetical character of part of the Old Testament, but it has remained to our own time to discover the full extent of that poetry, and it is only in recently printed Hebrew Bibles that any serious attempt has been made to distinguish the poetry from the prose.

That the Hebrews composed their poetry in lines is also evidenced by the parallelism of its structure. To Robert Lowth,[12] more than to anyone else, we are indebted for the demonstration that parallelism is a salient characteristic of Hebrew poetry, although he based his conclusions in part on the older writings of Rabbi Azariah di Rossi[13] and Schöttgen.[14] It was Lowth who for the first time clearly analyzed and expounded the parallelistic structure of Hebrew poetry, and so clearly did he do this that the existence and general characteristics of parallelism as claimed by him have never been questioned since. If there is any one point on which scholars have long been agreed, it is that parallelism is the characteristic mark of Hebrew verse and an important *differentia* between prose and poetry. This is suggested by two of the commonest Hebrew verbs for the composition and singing of verses, משל, "to rule, arrange, compare," and ענה, "to respond, answer." Parallelism, too, is an outstanding mark of Babylonian, As-

[10] *Jer. Meg.*, iii, 74, col. 2, bottom; *Bab. Meg.*, 16*b*; cf. *Shabbath*, 103*b*.

[11] See ed. Joel Müller, xiii, 1, p. xxi.

[12] *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* (1753); *Isaiah: A New Translation* (1778).

[13] מאור עינים ("Light of the Eyes") (1574).

[14] *Horae Hebraicae*, Diss. vi, *De Exergasia Sacra* (1742).

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syrian, and Egyptian poetry, and not uncommon in the poetry of other peoples,[15] particularly in their folk songs and nursery rhymes. A good illustration in English is:

> Old King Cole was a merry old soul,
> And a merry old soul was he.

Here we have chiasm as well as parallelism, both so characteristic of Hebrew. With parallelism as a distinguishing mark of poetry it follows at once that much in the Old Testament that used to be regarded as prose is poetry, as Lowth himself recognized. The prophets in large part are as truly poetic as are the Psalms, and poetry is found in practically every part of the Old Testament. Parallelism appears usually in couplets, but may occasionally run to the extent of three or even four lines or stichoi. Each line is a logical unit with a distinct break in thought at the end and "run-over" lines are very uncommon. In contrast with rhyme in English, it is parallelism in Hebrew that marks off the rhythmical periods, and the lines are accordingly "stopped lines." The rhythm is one of sense, "the response of thought to thought, the calling of deep to deep, the solemn harmonies that run through the universe."[16]

Lowth distinguished three forms of parallelism. In his commentary on Isaiah[17] he says:

> The correspondence of one verse, or line, with another, I call parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in sense; or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction; these I call parallel lines, and the words or phrases, answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms. Parallel lines may be reduced to three sorts: parallels synonymous, parallels antithetic, and parallels synthetic.

These have been somewhat amplified in recent years, but they remain essentially the same. Synonymous parallelism is the

[15] Modern Arabic poetry is often marked by parallelism, but in classical Arabic it is confined almost exclusively to the so-called rhymed prose and is not a feature of poetry.

[16] McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 238.

[17] *Preliminary Dissertation* (third edition), p. xiv.

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kind that is most common. In its perfect form the second unit (line or stichos) repeats in synonymous (occasionally identical) terms the ideas of the first. A good example is Ps. 19:1, 2:

The heavens are telling the glory of God, | and the work of his hands the sky is declaring.
Day unto day pours forth speech, | and night unto night declares knowledge.

Here the parallelism is between the stichoi and each single idea in one is repeated in its parallel in equivalent, though different, terms, i.e., the scheme is

$$a, b, c, \mid c', b', a'^{18}$$
$$d, e, f, \mid d', e', f'$$

An example of synonymous parallelism between lines is Ps. 127:1:

Except Yahweh build the house, | in vain do its builders toil;
Except Yahweh guard the city, | in vain does the watchman keep awake.

This may be represented by the scheme,

$$a, b, c, \mid d, e, f$$
$$a', b', c', \mid d', e', f'$$

More frequent, however, than the perfect type is that in which the parallelism is incomplete. In this not all, but only some, of the terms in each of two corresponding units are parallel to one another. The number of terms, however, is usually the same, in which case the parallelism is incomplete with compensation. If the number of terms is different, the parallelism is incomplete without compensation.[19] Sometimes the number of parallel terms may even be reduced to one, as in the couplet, Num. 24:9:

They crouch, they lurk like a lion,
Like an old lion; who dare disturb them?

The word translated "old lion" in the second line is a synonym of "lion" in the first line and is the only remnant of parallelism left in the lines. This process may proceed so far that no par-

[18] This line is also a perfect example of chiasm.

[19] See Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, pp. 74 ff.

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allel terms are left at all. This form Lowth called synthetic parallelism. There is no longer parallelism in thought at all, but simply one of form, of structure. This kind of parallelism is not found by itself, else the passage would be prose, but in conjunction with other kinds. In Balaam's oracle, for example, in Num. 24:15–19 the parallelism throughout is almost perfectly synonymous, except in vs. 16, where the second couplet is synthetic:

> The oracle of him who hears the words of God,
> And is acquainted with the knowledge of the Most High;
> Who has a vision of the Almighty,
> Prostrate, but with eyes opened.

Here the last line is simply a continuation of the thought of the preceding line and is parallel to it only in structure.

A variation of synonymous parallelism is that which has been called climactic or ascending. In this the second line catches up and repeats a part of the preceding line, and then adds to it. We have several examples in the Song of Deborah, Judges 5:

> I—to Yahweh I will sing,
> I will praise Yahweh, the God of Israel [vs. 3*b*].
>
> The mountains rocked at the presence of Yahweh,
> At the presence of Yahweh, the God of Israel [vs. 5].
>
> There the triumphs of Yahweh will be recounted,
> The triumphs of his peasantry in Israel [vs. 11*b*].
>
> The kings came, they fought,
> Then fought the kings of Canaan [vs. 19*a*].
>
> From the heavens fought the stars,
> From their courses they fought with Sisera [vs. 20].
>
> For they came not to the help of Yahweh,
> To the help of Yahweh like heroes [vs. 23*b*].

The other form of parallelism discussed by Lowth is the antithetic. In this a thought opposite to that of the first clause

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is expressed in the second and the parallelism is carried out by contrast of terms. It is found sporadically throughout Hebrew poetry, but is especially characteristic of the Wisdom literature. A few examples may be given:

For Yahweh knows the way of the righteous,
But the way of the wicked shall perish [Ps. 1:6].

They bow down and fall,
Whereas we rise and stand upright [Ps. 20:8].

A wise son makes a glad father,
But a foolish son is a grief to his mother [Prov. 10:1].

The hope of the righteous will end in gladness,
But the expectation of the wicked will come to nought [Prov. 10:28]

No one of these several kinds of parallelism is found exclusively in any poem. In certain writings there may be a preference for one particular type, as, for instance, the antithetic in Prov. 10 and the synonymous in Lam. 5; but it is more common to have all the forms more or less represented. In Num. 24:4–9, for example, every form is present, even to the antithetic in vs. 9*b*. In this way the poet avoided the monotony that would have resulted from the sustained use of one kind of parallelism alone.

The normal line in Hebrew poetry is a distich, i.e., a line divided into two halves or stichoi by a caesura.[20] With a parallelistic structure this of course is bound to be the case. In some instances the caesura may be very light, but it is seldom, if ever, absent, and naturally coincides with a break in thought. Hence it cannot cut through any construction, as Torrey[21] and a few others maintain. It may occasionally come between a verb and its subject, between a verb and its object, and between other parts of the sentence not too closely held together.

[20] In translations the stichoi are usually written in separate lines, and not in one line as in the Hebrew. The one outstanding exception is Torrey's translation of *Second Isaiah* in which the Hebrew structure is reproduced.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

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But whenever grammar and sense knit two words together, they may not be divided by the caesura. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that parallelism was the first and chief consideration in the writing of Hebrew poetry, and to it meter was a secondary and incidental factor. Hence Torrey is clearly wrong in saying that the caesura may cut through a construction so nearly a unit as the construct and its genitive. One example that he gives is Isa. 35:2*b*, which on page 170 of his *Second Isaiah* he arranges, "They shall see the glory | of Yahweh, the majesty of our God," but on page 224, "They shall see the glory of Yahweh, | the majesty of our God." Clearly the second is the only correct division between stichoi. Another example that he gives is Isa. 47:9*b*, which he divides as follows: "Despite the multitude of your sorceries, despite the great number | of your enchantments." To do this is to destroy the parallelism in the line and has nothing to support it except a preconceived notion about Hebrew rhythm, concerning which we shall have more to say later. All the instances in which Torrey and others would put the caesura in an unnatural position have nothing else to support them and are accordingly to be rejected.

Although the normal line in Hebrew poetry is a distich, an extra stichos may be prefixed or appended to make a tristich, a structure that has not always been recognized by scholars. Some, like Cobb,[22] T. H. Robinson,[23] and Gray,[24] have called attention to its usage in a limited way; but for some years I have been convinced that it has a wider scope than they gave it,[25] and in this I have been confirmed by the conclusions of Torrey. A good example concerning which there can be no possible question is Gen. 49:27: "Benjamin is a ravenous wolf, | devouring prey in the morning, | and dividing spoil at

[22] *Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre*, p. 7, *et passim*.

[23] *Expositor* (eighth series), XX, 22 f.; *The Book of Amos*, pp. 4 f.

[24] *Isaiah (ICC)*, *passim*.

[25] See *JQR* (new series), XV, 289; also my translations in *The Old Testament: An American Translation*, particularly pp. 87 ff., 1117 ff.

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evening." The tristich is quite common in the Song of Songs, Jeremiah, and Isaiah. Indeed it is found sporadically throughout the Old Testament and occasionally may run the length of a whole poem, as, for instance, in Pss. 24:7–10; 93. Quite noticeable is its use to mark the end (sometimes the beginning) of a poem or stanza,[26] reminding one somewhat of Shakespeare's use of rhyme in his plays.

Since the several terms in a stichos or line are paralleled more or less completely by those in its fellow-stichos or line,[27] it follows that there is rhythm. We can scarcely conceive of poetry without rhythm, and Hebrew poetry is no exception to the rule. When this rhythm is further investigated it is seen at once that there are two kinds, which Gray has very well named balancing and echoing rhythm.[28] The difference between the two is readily shown by a comparison of Lam. 5 with the other chapters of that book. A fairly typical example of the rhythm in Lam. 5 is vs. 4: "Our drinking-water we have to buy; | our wood comes only by purchase." Here the parallelism is between the two halves of the line; each term in the first half has an exact counterpart in the second, and the rhythm is a perfect example of the balancing type. This is the kind that predominates throughout the chapter, only a few lines being imperfect. In Lam. 1–4, on the other hand, this type is seldom found. The prevailing type here is the echoing rhythm, in which the second half of the line is usually shorter than the first half. In its most perfect form the second stichos contains one term less than the first, and so does not completely balance but echo the thought of the first. An example is Lam. 4:8: "Her princes were purer than snow, | whiter than milk." Here there is parallelism between the stichoi, but incomplete without compensation, since the second is one term

[26] For details see Torrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 158; also my translation of the Song of Songs.

[27] As already noted, the parallelism is sometimes between the stichoi of a line, and sometimes between successive lines.

[28] *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, pp. 131 ff.; *Isaiah (ICC)*, pp. lxiii ff.

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shorter than the first. Frequently there is no parallelism at all between the stichoi, and hence no sense echo, but merely a rhythmic echo. Parallelism in such cases, when present, is between the lines, as, for example, in Lam. 2:2:

Yahweh has consumed without mercy | all the habitations of Jacob;
He has thrown down in his wrath | the strongholds of the daughter of Judah;
He has struck to the ground, has degraded | the realm and its princes.

Sometimes the parallelism is mixed, as in Lam. 2:10:

Silent on the ground sit | the elders of the daughter of Zion;
They have thrown dust on their heads, | they have put on sackcloth;
They hang their heads to the ground, | the maidens of Jerusalem.

In this verse lines 1 and 3 are parallel, whereas in line 2 it is the stichoi that are parallel. Very frequently there is little or no sense parallelism present and the likeness between the lines is one of structure only, a rhythmic parallelism, the synthetic or progressive type already noted.

It is clear, then, that parallelism is not always present throughout a Hebrew poem, although it is unquestionably a dominant element. In many lines parallelism in thought may be altogether lacking, but the rhythm of the context is continued, and thus we are driven to the conclusion that rhythm or meter constitutes another of the formal characteristics of Hebrew poetry. For the same reason Lowth felt that there must be some metrical principle lying behind and accompanying parallelism, but the difficulties in the way of its discovery seemed to him insuperable.[29] And the difficulties are very serious. For one thing, we know only very imperfectly how Hebrew was originally pronounced. The pronunication that has come down to us is based in part only on ancient tradition, and more largely on the exegetical theory of the Massoretes and the cantilation of the synagogue reading. A comparison between it and that indicated by the occasional transliteration of words in the Greek translations shows that in many in-

[29] *Isaiah, Prelim. Diss.*, p. xxv.

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stances it cannot be original. But what the original pronunciation was we can in most cases only conjecture, and yet meter is intimately related to pronunciation and we can scarcely hope to learn the one without a knowledge of the other. Another difficulty is that our Hebrew text is not always sound. Centuries of copying and recopying have inevitably introduced into our manuscripts innumerable textual errors, so that we can never be quite sure but what a particular metrical difficulty may be due to a textual corruption. Hence, as Gray well says,[30] "a sound metrical theory must neither entirely fit, nor too indiscriminately refuse to fit, the present text of the Old Testament." A third difficulty arises from the fact that no clear account or tradition of the laws governing Hebrew meter has come down to us from the age when Old Testament poetry was written. Later medieval poetry was modeled on the Arabic and Syriac types, with rhyme and quantitative meter, and tells us nothing about biblical poetry. Only a few early writers have said anything at all about Hebrew meter, viz., Philo, Josephus, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome,[31] and their statements, although interesting and suggestive, are not very illuminating. They did, however, distinguish different kinds of meter, and Origen[32] at least recognized the fact that Hebrew verse is different from Greek in that the metrical unit consists of two stichoi instead of a single stichos, and he seems also to have sensed the fact that the meter does not follow a quantitative but an accentual or tonic system, and in that he has been followed by practically all modern scholars. Despite the efforts to measure syllables according to classic models[33] or to apply the rules of Arabic to Hebrew poetry[34] or those of

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

[31] For details see Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff.

[32] Scholion to Ps. 118; see Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, II, 341; Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[33] E.g., Gomarus, *Davidis lyra* (1637); Maibon, *Davidis Psalmi* X, *item* VI (1690); Hare, *Psalmorum libri in versiculos metrice divisus* (1736).

[34] E.g., Jones, *Poeseos Asiaticae commentariorum* (1776).

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Syriac[35] or to solve the problem by the system of morae,[36] it is the accentual system that holds the field. All other systems necessitate such drastic and extensive changes in text or pronunciation or both that they have not met with any general acceptance. The accentual system was first clearly enunciated by Anton,[37] and later elaborated by Ley[38] and a host of other scholars.[39] It is the system that prevails in all those languages in which parallelism is a dominant poetic device, as, for instance, in Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian. Indeed to such a degree do it and parallelism belong together that where one is present the other is likely to be found also, as, for example, in modern Arabic and the early folk songs and nursery rhymes of most peoples. According to this system, the meter of a line is not at all dependent upon the number of syllables or their quantity (long or short), but upon the number of accented or stressed syllables, "the pivots or pillars," as Saintsbury calls them in Anglo-Saxon poetry.[40] An outstanding example of rhythm based on this system in later English literature is Coleridge's *Christabel,* the opening lines of which run as follows:

'Tis the middle of night by the castle clock,
And the owls have awakened the crowing cock;
  Tu-whit! Tu-whoo!
And hark, again! the crowing cock,
  How drowsily it crew.

[35] E.g., Bickell, *Metrices Biblicae* (1879); Gietmann, *De re metrica Hebraeorum* (1880).

[36] E.g., Bellermann, *Versuch über die Metrik der Hebräer* (1813); Grimme, *Psalmen Probleme* (1902), and other publications.

[37] *Conjectura de metro Hebraeorum* (1770); *Specimen editionis Psalmorum* (1780).

[38] *Die metrischen Formen der hebräischen Poesie* (1866); *Grundzüge der Rhythmus des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie* (1875); *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie* (1887).

[39] For most of these up to 1905 see Cobb, *Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre.*

[40] *History of English Prosody,* I, 25. There is a striking likeness in structure between Anglo-Saxon and Hebrew poetry.

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In this poem the number of accented syllables in a line is regularly four, but the total number of syllables varies from four to twelve. It is a system that allows great irregularity in the length of lines, and hence is particularly well suited to be the rhythm of parallelism. Since the aim of parallelism is to produce lines or stichoi, each more or less complete in itself and parallel one to the other, it follows that the lines cannot always be exactly regular in length or in measure of time. Since the poet is more concerned in the rhythm of sense than the rhythm of sound, there will naturally be considerable irregularity in the length of the lines and even in the number of stresses in the lines. Efforts like those of Sievers[41] to give the accentual system a semblance of regularity cannot be regarded as successful. At the same time there must be an approximate, if not an absolute, regularity in Hebrew meter, else there would be no rhythm at all, and it is our further task to discover if possible what laws govern the meter.

We need not proceed very far in our study to discover that every word does not necessarily receive a stress, but that several words may be united to form a phrase with one stress only. Not often does one find a line with parallelism and rhythm so simple and in such perfect agreement as in Deut. 32:2*a*:

yaʿărōp kammāṭār liḳʿḥī | tizzāl kaṭṭāl ʾimrātī

May my message drop as the rain, | may my speech distil as the dew!

Here each idea is expressed by a single word and each word has a stress, making a line of 3:3 beats or feet. It is much more common for the lines to contain instances in which two or more words are run together to make a single foot. Since parallelism in sense is basic to Hebrew poetry, this is to be expected, because ideas run as often in phrases as in single words. This, too, is the evidence of the Massoretic text, in which many words are hyphenated to indicate that they go together to make a single phrase with one stress. It does not follow, of course, that we have to accept every instance of the

[41] *Metrische Studien*, the first of which appeared in 1901.

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maqqēph or hyphen as correct,[42] but the usage does testify to the principle. The construct is usually to be hyphenated with its genitive, particularly when the word is short or is free from prefixed inseparable particles,[43] or when the phrase is parallel to a single word.[44] Sometimes two words not in the construct relation, but belonging together in thought, go together to make a single stress-group,[45] another evidence of the influence of parallelism on meter. The monosyllabic particles are regularly to be taken as toneless. If for some reason they are emphatic and so express an idea, they may be given a beat, and likewise two particles that fall together, e.g., *wᵉlō* ("and not"). The dissyllabic particles, like the relative *'ăšer*, may be stressed or unstressed, as circumstances require. Prepositions without suffixes never take a beat, but with suffixes that make them dissyllabic, whether the suffix be a helping vowel or a pronominal ending, they may constitute a foot. Isa. 46:3*b* is a case in point:

haᶜămūsîm minnî béṭen | hannᵉsūᵓîm minnî rāḥam.

Here the archaic, dissyllabic form of the preposition *min* is manifestly used to get a rhythm in harmony with the context, 3:3 beats. In this line it is to be noted further that in two instances two stress-accents occur in immediate juxtaposition, a structure that seems to have been studiously avoided because of its uneuphonic character and allowed only when there was a caesura or a break in sense between the words. The line in

[42] A good illustration of the correctness of the Massoretic tradition is Lam. 4:9*a*, where the first *ḥalᵉlē* is hyphenated and the second not, to make the line scan correctly as 3:2 beats.

[43] This indicates another reason why the second *ḥalᵉlē* in Lam. 4:9*a*, quoted above, is not hyphenated; it is prefixed with the preposition *min*.

[44] A good example is Mic. 6:7*b*: "Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, | the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul," where "my firstborn" has its parallel in the phrase "the fruit of my body," and this accordingly takes only one beat, although it is composed of two words that would normally make two feet.

[45] E.g., in Ps. 27:3*b*, where the personal pronoun and the participle in the last two words make a single stress-group.

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question may be an exception to the rule,[46] or the accent of *minnī* may be shifted to the penult. The Massoretic accentuation is usually to be relied on as preserving the correct tradition, but that does not mean that we are committed to it in every particular. In Hebrew poetry, as in that of other peoples, accent may vary according to the requirements of the meter, and the Massoretes themselves often indicate this, as, for example, in Isa. 51:9 (cf. Judges 5:12), where *ʿūrī* in the first line is stressed on the ultima and in the second on the penult.[47]

It is clear, then, that in Hebrew poetry there is no strict form of scansion by feet, each consisting of so many syllables in regular sequence, but that the foot consists of one or more words marked by a single stress or beat and containing a variable number of syllables of varying quantity. The number of unstressed syllables intervening between any two beats seems to be governed only by the possibilities of pronunciation and the laws of euphony. Evidently there was some limit because, among other things, the conjunction with the imperfect is often pointed with simple shewa when it ought strictly to be pointed with the full vowel of the waw conversive. In some instances the simple waw may be due to a copyist's error (e.g. in Isa. 37:24 f., cf. LXX); in others the Massoretes saw predictions where past tenses were intended (e.g. in Isa. 63:3); but in others the vocalization is manifestly original (e.g. in Isa. 48:3) and was used to curtail the length of the word. Whether the number of unstressed syllables allowable between beats can be definitely determined still remains an open question. Most scholars believe that it must never exceed four full syllables, without counting those containing half-vowels or shewas. This seems to be confirmed by the usage in modern Arabic, in which from one to three, and occasionally, four

[46] There are other exceptions, but they are comparatively rare. So also in modern Arabic poetry; cf. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwân*, p. xxiii.

[47] In Hebrew the accent always falls on the ultima or penult, with the former usage much the more frequent.

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unstressed syllables occur between beats,[48] and by the usage in Babylonian and Assyrian, in which the same rule prevails.[49] Sievers[50] sets the number at four for Hebrew, but since his vocalization of the text differs considerably from the traditional one, this often means five as currently read. Torrey,[51] on the other hand, maintains that only three full syllables may occur between stresses. It has to be granted that a number as high as four is of rare occurrence, but it does occur, as, for example, in Isa. 45:3*b*: "In order that you may know that I am Yahweh, | that he who calls you is the God of Israel." Here there are four full syllables and one syllable with a half-vowel between the last stress and the one immediately preceding it. Torrey gets out of the difficulty by deleting the first two words in the line, but this would seem unwarranted, because, as he himself notes, all the versions had a text identical with the present one, and his rendering spoils the parallelism between the stichoi and divides them at a most improbable place: "For I am Yahweh, he who calls thee | by thy name, the God of Israel."

If four be taken as the maximum number of full syllables that may come between two stresses, it follows that in cases of more than this number the word must be divided between two feet. Instances of this, however, are so rare as to be practically negligible. An example is Isa. 51:7*b*, where we have a word of six syllables with the accent on the last, *ūmiggiddūpōtâm*. The Massoretes indicate a secondary accent on the fourth syllable, so the word may be divided into two feet, *ūmiggiddŭpōtâm;* but this would seem a very unusual proceeding, and so far as I have been able to discover, it is rarely, if ever, done in the poetry of other peoples in which the accentual system prevails, e.g. in Assyrian and Babylonian, or even in Anglo-Saxon. Scholars, however, have been doing this quite freely in

[48] See Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.
[49] See Zimmern, *ZA*, XII, 382 ff.
[50] *Op. cit.*, I, 145 ff. [51] *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

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Hebrew, even with comparatively short words, solely to get a regular rhythm. But is exact regularity in rhythm to be expected when parallelism is so basic to the structure and is itself so often irregular? We have already given reasons for our belief that it is not. Much of English poetry is anything but regular, so why should we expect a different structure in Hebrew? Very exact regularity is forced and stilted, and all the great poets have broken away from it.[52] In Hebrew poetry there was less restraint than in most, and at best we have a tendency only to regularity, as we shall note presently, and seldom one that is long sustained. In the present instance, then, Isa. 51:7, the long word may be an exception to the rule or the conjunction *ū* at the beginning of the word may not be original.[53] In poetry the conjunction is frequently omitted and is not at all necessary here.

Although Hebrew rhythm may not be absolutely regular, there is an approximation to regularity and Hebrew poetry may be classed metrically according to the number of stresses that prevails in the lines. There are altogether three rhythms, the 3:3, 3:2, and 2:2,[54] arranged in the order of their frequency. All of these may have evolved out of the 2:2 rhythm, as Gray[55] and others believe, or out of the 3:3, as Torrey maintains.[56] But whether the original or not, the 3:3 rhythm is much the most frequent. In it the line is normally divided into two halves by a pause, and ordinarily it is the two stichoi that are parallel. Occasionally it is the whole line that is parallel to a succeeding line, like Ps. 127:1 quoted above, or Isa. 49:2. Now and then the line may have two pauses or caesuras, mak-

[52] In this connection it is of interest to note that the later editions of Shakespeare have a much more regular versification than the earlier ones, an indication that the editors of Shakespeare have been regularizing his poetry even as biblical scholars would regularize that of the Hebrews.

[53] Similarly with *ūmēʿăwōnōtēhêm*, Ps. 107:17.

[54] Some have called these the hexameter, pentameter, and tetrameter, respectively, but the names are too misleading to be used.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 239. [56] *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

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ing a 2:2:2 rhythm, as, for example, Isa. 44:6*b*: "I am the first, | and I am the last, | and beside me there is no God," which Torrey makes a 3:3 line, but to do so is to disregard the parallelism. Another variant much more frequent is the 3:2 rhythm, sometimes reversed as 2:3. One cannot proceed very far in any poem with the 3:3 rhythm before he discovers that there are exceptions to the prevailing rhythm, and these exceptions are not to be taken as new rhythms, but simply as variants. Neither are they to be read as 3:3 lines by giving a single word in the line two beats, solely to make the rhythm regular. As already noted, it may be possible at times to give an unduly long word two stresses to make two feet, but it is very improbable; and to give short words two stresses, as has to be done to make the rhythm regular, is too improbable to be acceptable. A good example of the 3:2 variant is one that I quoted a number of years ago,[57] the last line in Jer. 2:5–11. The rhythm is quite regular in this poem until we reach vs. 11*b*, which can be read in no other way than 3:2 and must be taken as a variant of the 3:3 and not as a new rhythm, as Gordon takes it.[58] As we shall note later, the Hebrew poet might change his rhythm in the midst of a poem, but surely not so often and so irregularly as Gordon indicates in his translations, nor even so often as Torrey. In Isa. 48, for example, Torrey regards vss. 12 and 13 as in a different rhythm from the rest of the chapter, whereas the four lines are only slightly irregular: 3:2, 3:3, 3:3,[59] 3:2, and the 3:2 lines simply represent a variant rhythm,[60] as Gordon takes them. Indeed so often do Torrey and Gordon differ in their scansion of Isaiah that the only way to reconcile

[57] *JQR* (new series), XV, 289.

[58] *The Old Testament: An American Translation,* p. 1262.

[59] One wonders how Torrey can possibly make this line other than one of 3:3 beats, because it is so obviously that and nothing else: *ap-yādî yāsedâ éreṣ | wîmînî ṭippᵉḥâ šāmāyim.*

[60] Similarly vs. 25 in Isa. 44 does not have a different rhythm from its immediate context, as Torrey indicates, but simply a variant rhythm. So likewise in other passages.

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their differences is in the way that we indicate. Another example of the 3:2 variant is Isa. 43:16–21, where Gordon sees a mixture of rhythms and Torrey a regular 3:3 rhythm, but to get this he has to give the short three-syllabled word, *bīšīmōn*, in vss. 19*b*, 20*b* two beats, and in the last stichos of vs. 21, *t'hillātī y'sappērū*, he runs into a more serious difficulty still. Here are two words absolutely identical syllabically and yet to one or the other he has to give two beats. Whichever he chooses, the retort must come, "Why not the other?" or more pertinently, "Why either?" Surely the much more natural proceeding is to see in this 2-beat stichos a variant of the more regular 3-beat. The 2:3 rhythm is not so frequent a variant of the 3:3 as the 3:2, but it is found, e.g., in Isa. 40:14, where the first stichos of the second line can only be read with two beats, *way'lamm'dēhū dā'at*. To give the first word two beats, as Torrey does, is inconsistent, because to this same word in the preceding line he gives only one beat and the word ought surely to be read in the same way in both lines. The 2:3 line, then, as well as the 3:2 is a variant of the 3:3, and since an extra stichos of two or three beats is sometimes prefixed or appended to make a tristich, we have another variant which may take different forms, 3:3:3, 3:3:2, 2:3:3, etc. In the passage from Jer. noted above, 2:5–11, there are at least two tristichs of 3:3:3 beats each, viz., vss. 6*c*, 10; and Torrey has noted their rather frequent occurrence in Isa. 34–66, all of which, however, are not necessarily to be read as 3:3:3. For example, a line that we noted above, Isa. 43:20*c*, 21, is clearly 3:3:2. To find so many variants of the 3:3 rhythm would seem to give too much latitude to the Hebrew poet, but after all the variants are only sporadic, and absolute regularity, as we have already indicated, is not to be expected.

The second most common rhythm in Hebrew is the 3:2[61]

[61] On account of its use in elegies, this rhythm used to be called the *ḳīnā* (elegy) rhythm, but it can no longer be maintained that it is peculiar to the elegy nor are elegies always written in this rhythm, e.g., II Sam. 1:19–27; 3:33 f. To

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with its variants, the 2:3 and 2:2, and the tristich. In contrast with the 3:3 line the 3:2 is not usually parallel in its stichoi, but the whole line is parallel to a succeeding line, as, for example, in Lam. 1:1:

How lonely the city sits, | once so crowded with people!
She has become like a widow, | once so great among the nations;
She that was a princess among the cities | has become a vassal.

Hence the caesura tends to be lighter and at times all but disappears, as in the last line of the passage just quoted. When parallelism is present between the stichoi, it is of the echoing type rather than the balancing, which characterizes the 3:3 rhythm. An example that we have already given is Lam. 4:7: "Her princes were purer than snow, | whiter than milk." Hence there is no occasion to confuse the rhythm with that of the variants of the 3:3. That 2:3 and 2:2 are variants of the 3:2 has been quite generally recognized by scholars, but it has been denied by some, e.g. by Duhm[62] and Torrey.[63] To maintain this position Duhm emends the text at will,[64] and Torrey gives a single word two beats or shifts the caesura at will and any lines that can only be read as 2:2 he deletes as secondary.[65] Hence in a 2:3 line like Jer. 2:3*b* Duhm, with no other support than a preconceived metrical theory, emends תבא אלידם to תבאם, simply to get a 3:2 line; and in a line like Isa. 47:9*b*, as already noted, Torrey places the caesura between a construct and its genitive to make a division in the line that violates both sense and parallelism: "Despite the multitude

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Budde must be given credit for the first scientific discussion of the rhythm, *ZAW*, II, 1–52, although its existence had previously been noted by Lowth, Bellermann, and Ley.

[62] In his various commentaries, particularly the one on Jeremiah.

[63] *Op. cit.*, 170.

[64] For some details see my article, "The Poetry of Jeremiah," *JQR* (new series), XV, 281 ff.

[65] Hence one cannot but question whether Torrey himself is not guilty at times of the same tactics that he condemns so caustically in others; *op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.

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of your sorceries, despite the great number | of your enchantments." Neither procedure is warranted, and less warranted still is the deletion of a line like Isa. 47:3*a* by both Duhm and Torrey, as well as others, largely on the ground that it is "rhythmically anomalous," whereas it is simply a 2:2 variant of the 3:2 rhythm. To ignore this and the 2:3 variant must inevitably lead one into difficulty, as, for example, in the usual treatment of Isa. 41:22, 23*a*, the last two lines of which, as generally arranged, run as follows:

wᵉnēdᵉᶜá ʾaḥărītán | ʾō habbāʾót hašmīᶜúnū
haggīdú hāʾōtīyyót lᵉʾāḥór | wᵉnēdᵉᶜá kī ʾĕlōhím attém

How Torrey and the others can read these lines as 3:2 passes comprehension. The parallelism as well as the rhythm of the passage indicates that it is to be arranged with one distich and two tristichs, 3:2, 3:2:2, 2:3:3, as follows:

Let them draw near and tell us | what shall happen.
Tell us what the beginnings are, | that we may lay them to heart, | that we may know their outcome;
Or announce to us coming events, | tell us what shall come hereafter, | that we know that you are gods.

This passage is also a good illustration of the tristich in the 3:2 rhythm and indicates that it is to be found in all the forms of the tristich of the 3:3 rhythm (except of course the 3:3:3), and it is the context alone that will indicate whether the rhythm of any particular passage is 3:2 or 3:3. Just as in the case of the 3:3 tristich, the 3:2 tristich may continue at times through several lines and even through a whole poem. This of course is of rare occurrence, but it does occur, e.g., in Jer. 4:23–26. Here all four lines of the oracle are tristichs of identical form, 2:2:3 beats each.[66] It runs as follows:

I surveyed the earth, | and lo, chaos! | the heavens, and their light was gone!
I surveyed the mountains, | and lo, they were swaying, | and all the hills quaked!

[66] Scholars have universally regarded this as a different rhythm from the 3:2, but it seems preferable to regard it as a variant rhythm.

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I surveyed the land, | and lo, no man, | and all the birds of the heavens had flown!
I surveyed the garden-land, | and lo, wilderness, | and all its cities were in ruins![67]

Duhm's attempt to force the text of this magnificent oracle into a regular 3:2 rhythm in eight distichs is heroic, but quite out of question.[68]

Scholars have been accustomed to regard the 4:2 line (e.g., Lam. 2:13*a*; 3:1, 24; 4:18*b*, 20*a*) and the 4:3 line (e.g., Lam. 3:22; 4:15*a*) in a 3:2 context as distichs, but these are rather to be interpreted as tristichs of 2:2:2 and 2:2:3 beats, respectively. On the other hand, an occasional 3:3 line that appears in a 3:2 context is not to be taken as a variant rhythm. In Lam. 2:9*a*, for example, the line is clearly 3:3, but in the second stichos are two synonyms, *'ibbad* and *šibbar*, both meaning "to destroy," i.e., one is a variant reading.[69] The scribe found the two readings in his manuscripts, and instead of choosing between the two or combining them[70] he wrote them both.[71] In other cases there may be a slight disarrangement in the text, as, for example, in Lam. 1:21, where sense and meter both suggest that the second stichos of the second line and the first stichos of the third line should be transposed to read:

They hear how I moan, | with none to comfort me;
All my enemies have heard of my plight, | how thou hast brought the day which thou didst announce;
They rejoice that thou hast done it, | but they are like me.

[67] For the few changes made in the received text see the writer's notes, *JQR* (new series), XV, 289 f.

[68] See the present writer, *op. cit.*, p. 290; Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.

[69] Another good example is Lam. 3:5*b*, in which the last two words are variant readings: "Thou didst hear my cry: | 'Close not thy ear to my supplication [*var.*, to my cry].'"

[70] For excellent illustrations of this see Torrey, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

[71] In some instances the tristich may have arisen in the same way, the extra stichos being a variant reading; e.g., Song 8:5*b*: "Under the apple-tree I awakened you,|where your mother was in travail with you,|where she that bore you was in travail."

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Again the line may be secondary, as, for instance, Jer. 1:15*b*, 16, where these four lines in the 3:3 rhythm break the connection between vss. 13–15*a* and vss. 17–19, "them" in vss. 17–19 is left without an antecedent, the use of אשר="in that" (vs. 16) is late, and the thought, as Duhm has well shown,[72] is late apocalyptic.

A third kind of rhythm is the 2:2, which is very common in Babylonian and Assyrian, but is much less used in Hebrew. It has only the one variant, viz., the tristich of 2:2:2 beats, of which Isa. 21:8 is a good example. Here we have two such tristichs in parallelism:

Upon a watch-tower, O Lord, | I am standing | continually by day,
And upon my guard-post | I am stationed | all the nights.

The 4:4 rhythm, which some have regarded as a variant of the 2:2, is simply the latter with successive lines in parallelism rather than the stichoi. An example of the former is Ps. 4 and of the latter Isa. 1:4–9.

Confirming the existence of these three rhythms is the fact that each has its peculiar character. As suggested by its structure, the 2:2 rhythm is more vivid and animated than the others.[73] The slower, more stately rhythm of the 3:3 type lends itself to hortatory and argumentative themes,[74] while the 3:2 rhythm is that of emotion[75] and so may be called the lyric.[76] The Hebrew poet had, accordingly, various types of rhythms at his disposal and he was not necessarily bound to any one type but could change the rhythm to suit his mood, as Torrey has well illustrated in his treatment of *Second Isaiah*.

[72] *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 12 f.

[73] Well illustrated by Isa. 10:27 ff. or 48:20 f., where the rhythm exactly reproduces the animation of the thought. The second passage, however, Torrey would read in the slower 3:3 rhythm, but he can only do this by a considerable change in the text.

[74] Hence its use so largely by the prophets and in a book like Job.

[75] Hence its use so largely by a prophet so deeply emotional as Jeremiah and in writings like Lam. 1–4.

[76] So Torrey, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

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Also, he might occasionally introduce a different rhythm for artistic effect, as, for example, in Ps. 46, where the refrain in vss. 4, 8, and 12 is in 3:3 rhythm as against the dominant 3:2 rhythm, or Judges 5, where several of the stanzas begin with the 3:3 rhythm[77] to be followed by the 2:2, suggesting that this was the original structure of the poem, now in part obscured by textual corruption. There was doubtless a limit to the degree of mixture in rhythms that was allowed in a poem, but the Hebrew poet had probably as much freedom in this matter as other poets.

In English and some other languages we are accustomed to the arrangement of poetry in stanzas of equal length or strophes. That Hebrew poetry was frequently divided into stanzas is clear from the structure of alphabetic poems like Lam. 1–4; Pss. 37 and 119; from the occurrence of refrains in some poems, e.g., in Ps. 46, as already noted; from the changes in rhythm, e.g., in Judges 5, as noted in the foregoing; and from superscriptions like "Thus saith Yahweh" and subscriptions like "It is the oracle of Yahweh," which appear so often in the prophets to mark the beginning and end of an oracle.[78] But that these stanzas must always be of equal length, i.e., strophes in the narrower sense of the word, is quite another matter. In some instances they are, as, for example, in Lam. 3; Ps. 119; Isa. 9:7–10:4; but in others they are quite irregular, e.g., in Ps. 42–43; Gen. 49; Deut. 33; Amos 1–2. The attempts of Köster and Müller to get a kind of regularity or of others like Duhm, Briggs, Cheyne, and Marti to get an absolute regularity necessitate such drastic changes in the received text as to render them quite unscientific. In this as well as in

[77] Note, e.g., vss. 2, 4, 6*a*, 8, 10, 12*a*, 14, 18, 21*a*, 24, 29.

[78] These are usually not a part of the metrical structure, but outside it, as Robinson has well shown, *Expositor* (eighth series), XX, 21; XXI, 26 ff. Failure to recognize this has led Duhm, Cornill, Erbt, and many other commentators into serious difficulty in the scanning of prophetic verse. It is not until the later prophets that these terms are included in the metrical structure, and not always then.

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other things, as Torrey has well shown,[79] scholars are all too prone to formulate their theories first and then force the facts into the mold of the theory. The Hebrew poet, at his best, was a free spirit. As he was not bound to absolute regularity either in parallelism or rhythm, neither was he in strophic construction. His technique was an instrument that he wielded for the better expression of his thought, not a master that trammeled him. He spoke because of the urge within him, and not for the purpose of turning pretty verses. He spoke because he had something worth while to say, and in its expression he was cramped by no poetic structure that was meticulously exact or artificially regular.

[79] *Op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff. I have referred rather frequently to Torrey's work in this article because it is the latest discussion of the subject and one of the sanest.

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EDUCATION THROUGH CREATIVE EXPERIENCE

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THE manner in which education shall be conceived depends upon the ends which it seeks to achieve. An assessment of current techniques or the elaboration of new techniques depends upon what the technique is designed to accomplish. This throws the educator back upon his fundamental conceptions as to the purposes which education is designed to serve and upon his assumptions as to the nature of the educative process. Among these conceptions and assumptions there is wide variation in current education and a reaching out experimentally after more adequate procedures for the attainment of objectives that better fit the needs of our rapidly changing modern life. Particularly are character and religious education increasingly aware of the limitations of traditional techniques and of the imperious need of more adequate ways of discovering and achieving values that are in process of creation in our ongoing personal and social experience.

THE END SOUGHT THE BASIC DETERMINANT OF TECHNIQUE

The basic determinant in the formulation of a technique in any practical process is the end sought. Technique, like content, is an instrument for the accomplishment of purposeful ends. Once the end is set up, its character as end determines the character of the technique to be employed as means. In this way end, materials, and technique are inseparably bound together in an undifferentiated process of purposeful activity.

The artist has a technique that is different from that of any other worker. Moreover, the technique of any particular

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artist is not the technique of art in general but a very specific technique for a very specific form of art. The painter works with certain materials in a certain manner so as to produce a picture. The sculptor works with very different materials and with a very different technique in order to produce a statue. The musician works with still different materials and with a still different technique, while the technique of the violinist differs widely from that of the pianist. So also the surgeon has a particular technique for performing different types of operations, as the physician has for diagnosing and treating different forms of disease. So also the architect for designing structures, the lawyer for preparing and presenting cases, the agriculturist for raising various crops, and the engineer for undertaking various types of engineering projects.

It is precisely the same with education. The educator has certain ends which he is seeking to realize, certain materials with which he works, and certain procedures which he employs. He works with human beings. He seeks to bring about certain results in the knowledge, the skills, or the attitudes and motives of these persons. In order to accomplish these ends he employs certain materials which he designates as the curriculum, and certain procedures which he designates as method. His conception of the nature of education will depend primarily upon the ends he seeks to accomplish. These ends will also determine for him what shall constitute the content of the process (curriculum) and his technique (method). The first step, therefore, in the determination of both content and procedure is to inquire as to the ends which the educator seeks to achieve in dealing with growing human beings.

WIDELY DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS IN EDUCATION

A cursory survey of the theory and practice of current education discloses the fact that there are widely variant views among educators as to what results education should seek to attain in growing persons. There is, consequently, an equally

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wide variety of views as to what should constitute the curriculum of education. There is a corresponding difference of viewpoint as to what the techniques of education should be.[1]

In a process as complex as education there have been variations in ideals and procedures in any given period, at least above the historical levels of primitive peoples. These variations have been especially pronounced in all periods of social and intellectual change, as in the period following colonization in Greece and during the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe. The wide difference in theory and practice in current education is due to the fact that modern society is passing through a period of transition in which its outlook upon life, its values, and its social and intellectual structures are undergoing fundamental reconstruction. As has always happened in similar historical situations, current education is undergoing a no less fundamental reconstruction. There is widespread dissatisfaction with many of the traditional forms of education that have been inherited from older views of life and the world. There is an outreach after more fruitful ways of accomplishing the newer ends that modern education is coming to feel are essential to the intelligent ordering of personal and social life under the complex and rapidly changing conditions of modern life.

Consequently, there exist side by side in current education widely different ideas concerning the personal and social values which education should seek to attain, together with equally different concepts of the educational process itself and of the ways by which it shall proceed to accomplish its ends. In some important aspects these purposes and concepts are in radical conflict. And, as is to be expected in a period of transition, these conflicting ideas are strangely mixed in the theory and practice of not a few educationists.

During such a period of transition it is impossible to ex-

[1] The present discussion is limited to current conceptions of education. The author has developed the historical conceptions in his *Curriculum of Religious Education* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925).

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pect to find *the* technique by which education seeks to accomplish its ends, either in general education or in religious education. Neither is it desirable to attempt to formulate *one* technique. Such periods of transition as that through which society is now passing offer the most favorable situations for rethinking the entire process of education through a criticism of its ends and techniques in the light of the new values that are emergent within the current of present personal and social experience. Such a period calls for open-mindedness, for evaluation, and for an experimental attitude that is not afraid to venture in untried ways. The best procedures for our time will be the result of tested experience under widely varying conditions over considerable periods of time.

Moreover, as in the case of the techniques of the artist, different techniques will need to be sought for the various aspects of the educative process. Education is too complex a process to be dealt with in its total aspects. It needs to be broken up into its specific ends and procedures. Certain aspects of education have to do with the acquisition of the fundamental skills necessary to one's taking his place in any social group, such as language as the instrument for communication and record and mathematics for dealing with the quantitative aspects of one's experience. Certain aspects of education have to do with the initiation of the young into the cultural inheritance of the race and their appreciation and command of the values that are resident therein. Another aspect has to do with one's initiation into the ideals, the materials, and the processes of vocational pursuits. Still another aspect has to do with the discovery and utilization of the personal and social values that are essential to moral and religious living. Within the larger patterns of vital education, each of these aspects demands its own specific formulation of ends and procedures. And each aspect must formulate its own procedures in the light of analysis and experimentation with reference to its own specific ends and values. Thus character and religious education need

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to consider the specific values they seek to achieve and to devise their techniques in accord with these ends as distinguished, let us say, from acquiring the abilities of language or of calculation.

EDUCATION AS INSTRUCTION

It is possible to identify in current educational theory and practice three fundamental concepts of education. None of these concepts is sharply differentiated from the others. There is much overlapping of ideals and content. Nevertheless, they represent three distinct modes of thought.

The oldest of these modes of thought conceives of education as instruction. From this point of view the end of education is to place the learner in possession of an organized body of knowledge. This accumulated knowledge exists in the form of the great traditions of the race—scientific, literary, aesthetic, institutional, politico-social, industrial, and religious. It is the function of education to transmit these traditions from one generation to another. The test of education is the amount of knowledge acquired and the certainty of its recall. It identifies education with instruction.

This accumulated knowledge is in the custody of the adult members of society who are responsible for its effective transmission. It is organized by them into blocks of subject matter under such familiar heads as "natural science," "social science," "psychology," "history," "literature," "mathematics," "art," "religion," and "ethics." Adults determine what knowledge is of most worth, the organization of the subject matter of instruction, and the order of presentation. They also determine the manner in which the accuracy and thoroughness of the learner's mastery of these blocks of subject matter shall be tested.

When education is conceived of in terms of transmitting knowledge from adults to the immature mind, the appropriate technique is instruction. This procedure has been worked out in detail and with great skill by the Herbartians. Long usage

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has rendered it smooth in operation. This technique follows the well-known "five formal steps of teaching." They are the preparation of the mind of the learner for new knowledge through the calling up of old experience, the vivid and clear presentation of new knowledge, the assimilation of the new knowledge with that already in the learner's mind through association, the generalization of the new knowledge and the attachment of an appropriate symbol thereto, and the application of the newly acquired knowledge in different situations for the purposes of clarification and fixation. The functions of the mind upon which this technique rests are those of assimilation and appreciation.[2]

Undoubtedly this is still the prevalent mode of education in America, both in public education and in the schools of the church. In religious education it survives in teaching the facts about the Bible and the content of the Bible, in teaching the formal doctrines of the church, and in teaching the facts about religion. In accord with the psychological assumptions which furnished the historical foundations of the technique, it is a process wrought upon the learner by forces outside himself. It weights education with tradition and renders it backward-looking. It tends to develop in the learner attitudes of acceptance of conclusions upon authority, submission, and obedience, and uncritical acquiescence in the status quo. Education in America is breaking with this tradition, but the tradition is still deeply intrenched in the thought patterns and long-established habits of content-centered education.[3]

EDUCATION AS TRAINING

A second identifiable concept of education is that of education as training. The antecedents of this view, as far as its

[2] The author has more fully developed this conception of education in his *Curriculum of Religious Education*, chap. ii.

[3] For the philosophy of this concept of education, cf. the writings of Herbart and Nicholas Murray Butler, *The Meaning of Education*. For an elaboration of the technique, cf. E. L. Thorndike's *Principles of Teaching* or Charles A. and Frank M. McMurry, *The Method of the Recitation*.

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philosophical formulation is concerned, go back to John Locke in the late seventeenth century, though as a dominant point of view and practice this view gave the pattern to education during the Middle Ages. It is not this historic form of the concept, with its faculty psychology and its doctrine of the transfer of training, that is here had in mind. The psychology upon which that historic form of the concept rested has been discredited and the doctrine of transfer for the most part abandoned. It persists only in belated survivals in American education.[4]

The concept of education as training, however, has a widespread and influential vogue in current education. Its basic idea is that education is primarily a preparation of the young to take their place in an adult society. What the child will need for participation in adult life is taken from the patterns of adult needs and activities, these needs are reduced to traits, habits, and skills by adults, the procedures for their inculcation are determined by adults. Education is something brought about by adult society in and for the young by external authority and influences. Education is predetermined by adult needs, adult standards, adult values, and adult decisions.[5]

Education from this point of view assumes the form of teaching traits, ideals, habits, and skills. The technique for arriving at the traits to be taught is that of job-analysis. The activities of adults are studied for the purpose of discovering what traits are required for carrying these activities forward in the most effective ways. These traits are then reduced to trait-actions. Situations are then sought for in the experience of the child through which these traits and their appropriate trait-actions may be taught. A pretest before teaching is fol-

[4] The author has previously elaborated this point of view in his *Curriculum of Religious Education*, chap. i.

[5] For an exposition of this philosophy of education, cf. W. W. Charter's *Curriculum Construction* and Franklin Bobbitt's *How to Make the Curriculum*. Professor Bobbitt in his later writings has abandoned the conception of education as preparation for adult life in favor of dealing directly with the child's current experience.

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lowed by a retest to ascertain whether the trait has been mastered by the learner.[6]

This technique has more recently been carried over into the field of character education in the form of teaching ideals. The technique for determining what ideals shall be taught is through activity analysis and adult consensus. Representatives of adult society, such as teachers, parents, judges, and publicists, are asked to list the traits which in their judgment the young should acquire. These are then reduced to a manageable number for teaching purposes by organizing them into constellations around the dominant traits, such as honesty, co-operation, courage, dependability, loyalty, obedience, self-respect, and spirituality. Once adult consensus has determined what traits shall be taught, they may be inculcated by a "direct" method or by an "indirect" method. According to the "direct" method instruction begins with a consideration of the traits. Chief dependence, however, is placed upon the "indirect" method. In this approach the instructor searches the experience of the learner for those situations in which the trait-action is appropriate and makes these situations the media for teaching the predetermined traits. The trait-action is then practiced through the technique of the conduct assignment until it is reduced to a dependable habit. A trait becomes an ideal when it has become the object of desire. One of the chief problems in this technique is to get the learner to desire the trait. Since the trait has been predetermined apart from the worthful, dynamic experience of the learner, and is therefore not an outgrowth of his own emerging values, resort must be had to the manipulation of the situation through attaching some sort of satisfaction to the trait, through stirring the emotions, through relating new actions to old satisfactions, through appeal to the already existing interests of the learner, and, in the last resort, through repetition under compulsion. The residual problem, after the adult predetermined traits have

[6] For the elaboration of this technique, cf. Charters, *op. cit.*

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been selected and situations have been organized for their teaching, is, How shall the teacher get the child to do what he knows he ought to do but which he does not want to do?[7]

A slightly different form of this general point of view and technique conceives education as a process of teaching habits. As in the case of traits and ideals, these habits are predetermined by adults in the light of adult needs and in accordance with adult values. A list of desirable habits is arrived at by adults. These are organized into manageable teaching units. The technique of inculcation follows the well-known laws of habit formation—readiness, exercise, satisfaction and annoyance. Education is essentially manipulation, fashioning, molding, in accordance with adult values and judgments.[8]

In so far as this more recent conception of education as training makes use of life-situations in the experience of the young for the teaching of traits, ideals, and habits, it is a distinct advance over the older traditional conceptions. In that they attempt to prepare the young for effective living in adult society the techniques of training are important gestures in the direction of relating education to life. Nevertheless, the essential patterns of this conception and its attendant techniques are cast in the molds of adult experience, adult values, and adult choices. Education is weighted with authority, tradition, and precedent. Thus far these techniques have made no adequate place for the criticism and evaluation of the status quo. They assume a more or less static condition in society and culture. There is no hint as to techniques for discovering the emergent values that are in process of creation in a complex and rapidly changing civilization. Least of all, do they provide a technique for the progressive reconstruction of experience. They fail to take account of the essentially dynamic

[7] For the elaboration of this point of view and this technique, cf. W. W. Charters, *The Teaching of Ideals*.

[8] For a clear statement of this philosophy of education, cf. Symonds, *The Nature of Conduct*. For a technique worked out on this basis for character education, cf. Henry P. Schauffler's *Adventures in Habit Craft*.

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and creative capacities of human beings with their outreach toward desired ends, their capacity to create values of their own, and their ability to form purposes and achieve them. Education remains a process external to the growing person's vital and moving experience.

EDUCATION AS INITIATION INTO A CREATIVE PERSONAL AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

There is an increasing tendency in current educational theory and practice to break with these traditional conceptions of education as instruction and as training and to conceive the objectives of education in terms of the achievement of personality and of an effective social life. From this point of view education is oriented toward *persons as persons,* both in their individual and in their group life. There is a corresponding shift of emphasis from the experience of the remote past, on the one hand, and from the experience of a remote future, on the other hand, to an ongoing and meaningful present experience. However, this focusing of attention upon current experience does not mean the disregard of past experience or the neglect of future experience. The current experience of growing persons is set in the vast framework of the past from which it is emerging and of the future toward which it is moving. The past is related to present experience as antecedent as the future is related to it as consequent. However, the supreme moment in the development of personality is not in the past, however freighted with knowledge and achievement, or in some remote future, however weighted it may be with oncoming responsibilities, but in the living present where past and future meet and where both are in process of reconstruction.

The question to be asked at the end of any moment in the educative process is not, What has the child learned? Or, What traits, ideals, and skills has he laid up as a fund against the demands of an adult living that is not yet real to him?

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Rather, the question to be asked is, What is this growing person becoming in his own right? Is he more discriminating and critical regarding the facts of his experience? Is he more social in his attitudes toward his fellows? Is he more appreciative of the elements of aesthetic beauty in the world about him because its values are real to him? Is he acquiring the capacity to form ethical choices in the light of the far-reaching consequences of his acts upon his own personality and upon the social group in the light of the highest values of personal and social living? Does he assume an increasingly spiritual attitude toward his world? Is he forming a set of values and purposes of his own that he has criticized, evaluated, organized, and accepted as the dominant ends in his quest for the more abundant life? From this point of view, *becoming* is the end as it is the process by which personality at its highest levels is achieved. The end of growth is resident within growth itself —a progressive discovery and achievement of the highest personal and social values.

According to this point of view, education is vastly more and other than something that can be determined by adults and imposed from without upon passive and receptive learners, however skilful the technique of inculcation may be. It is nothing less than *the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience*. Its techniques must be derived from the processes by which personality is achieved. It is not an operation that can be brought to pass *upon* the young. It is a process that must take place *within* growing persons and groups who are aware of what is taking place within their own experience, who assume full responsibility up to the limits of their capacity for what is coming to pass, and who, under the guidance of mature and wise counselors, are making choices and forming purposes in accord with the values which they are discovering in the life-process itself. And since personality is achieved through the conscious, intelligent, and purposive reconstruction of the learner's experience by himself in ac-

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cordance with self-chosen and worthful ends, the technique of the process will be specifically determined by the ways in which the learner's own experience is interpreted, enriched, and controlled from within.

EDUCATION A CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE

The progressive reconstruction of personal and social experience is essentially a co-operative enterprise, shared alike by adult society and the young who are undergoing education. If the traditional conceptions of education as instruction and training fell into the radical error, at one extreme, of placing all responsibility for determining the content and procedure of the educative process upon adult society, there is equal danger that educational theory and practice, in their reaction from that view, will swing to the other radical extreme of throwing all responsibility upon the learner and the learning group. As the traditional forms have been for the most part molding enterprises, it would then become a following enterprise, the patterns and content being wholly set by the interests of the child. These weaknesses the earliest experiments in the child-centered school have already exhibited in considerable degree. While each of these positions has essential and permanent worth, each is equally incomplete and unsound from the viewpoint of education as a reconstructive process, when it is set in radical opposition to the other. A far sounder approach to the problem of education is to think of human life as a continuing *process,* moving from a past into an open, undetermined, and as yet uncreated future. To place undue or exclusive value upon the past is to weight the process with heredity and tradition, so that it becomes conservative, backward-looking, assimilative, and authoritative. To place exclusive value upon the present experience of the learner in isolation from the past out of which the present has issued is to disregard the continuity of experience, to set the learner adrift in an open and uncharted world, to disregard the expe-

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rience of the past in the light of which alone the present experience can derive its deepest meaning, and to discount the priceless values that have grown up out of centuries of experimenting with life.

Rather, education should find its setting in the whole process of human experience as it moves creatively out of the long and meaningful past with its accumulated insights, achievements, and values, into a future that holds untold possibilities that are as yet unrealized. When education is set in this larger framework of the whole human process, its operating center becomes the present moment of personal and social experience in which the past is united with the future in a continuous process and where alone the forces of reconstruction can work creatively for the redirecting of that process. It is in this moving center that the biological life of the race is being recreated. Any improvement of the racial stock must take place, if it is to take place at all, through the control of the factors that make for an improved organic life in the birth and rearing of the oncoming generation. It is at this same point that improvements must be made in the cultural life of the race and in its achievements. Improvements in the techniques of living, changes in the race's outlook upon the world and man, the reassessment of the meaning and values of life, the discovery and realization of new values, and fresh adventures in the various fields of achievement—all these must be undertaken in the present moment of an ongoing experience in which, moving against the backgrounds of the past, experience takes on new directions, forms new purposes, and undertakes fresh experiments with life.

Consequently, when viewed in this larger setting, education takes on much larger and more significant proportions than when thought of as the assimilation of knowledge or as training for adult life in its status quo. In the education of the child the experience of the past and the unrealized future meet. In the education of the child society is educating itself.

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The severest test to which the knowledge, the attitudes, the values, and the achievements of the past can possibly be put is their revaluation when used in the education of the child as the representative of the oncoming generations in whom our social outlooks, our values, and our achievements are to be expanded, reconstructed, or cast away under the imperious demands of an expanding and creative human process. A survey of the theory and practice of education through its long history discloses the fact that education has not, until very recently, brought this larger, more difficult, and creative aspect of the reconstruction of society itself into its purview. It has concerned itself all but exclusively with fashioning the immature child into traditional molds of thought and habit. But creative education in the sense of the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience subjects the experience of the past, the techniques of living, and the objectives of life itself to the revaluation of fresh experience as it appears concretely in the life of the child in whom the race is renewing itself and its culture.

So that, in such a setting, education becomes a sharing of adult viewpoints, values, and achievements, wrought out under the conditions of a receding past, with the oncoming generation as it faces freshly and without the regimentation of habit and preconceptions the issues of living in a new, complex, and rapidly changing world. This view does not think of education, or even of life itself, in terms of statics, but in terms of dynamics. It assumes that as our physical world is itself in process of continual creation, so human experience and civilization are in process of continuous creation. The past is a record to date of the human experiment, groping its way in more or less uncertainty in its search for understanding, insight, comprehension, and some firm and reassuring sense of control. As a result of these earlier experiments, the light of understanding shines with increasing steadiness and clearness, and attempts at control are taking on increasing

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certitude. Through the natural sciences the race is beginning to have considerable confidence in its tested knowledge in ever enlarging areas of the physical world. Significant beginnings have been made through the psychological and social sciences and through the study of religion in an understanding of human nature, society, and the spiritual aspects of human experience. The time has arrived when, on the firm standing-ground of these accumulated insights, education can turn its face from tradition and precedent toward the vast and uncharted terrain of the uncreated future and adopt an experimental attitude toward the values and achievements that lie undiscovered and unrealized in the shadows of that future.

A NEW TECHNIQUE REQUIRED

When education is conceived in these terms, it is obvious that a new technique is necessary. When an attempt is made to get on the inside of the process so that education may go forward creatively in persons and groups the techniques of instruction and training are no longer adequate. The new technique must get its pattern from the process by which persons achieve intelligent, social, ethical, and spiritual personality and from the processes by which the mores, purposes, and procedures of social life are reconstructed.

It is unnecessary to suggest that in a point of view so new we do not yet possess these techniques in any degree of refinement. Education stands at the portals of a new epoch in which it is reconceiving its objectives and its procedures. There are insights into the process on the basis of what is known concerning the nature of personality and of society. A number of fruitful experiments have been undertaken with large measures of success. But as yet these techniques are tentative. Reassuring and firm control of the process will wait upon patient experimentation over considerable periods of time. Those who look for smooth techniques that can be applied to teaching situations with comparative ease by the use of specific

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formulas will not feel at home with such a view of education. The comfort and security of older and tried techniques of instruction and training may lure them back to the accustomed paths. But courageous and adventurous souls will front the enterprise of creative education with the undaunted spirit of the pioneer and the experimentalist.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CHARACTER AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Whatever the implications of these considerations for education of any type whatever, their significance for character and religious education are apparent. Religion is primarily concerned with *persons* as such. It seeks to develop certain qualities of personality in terms of attitudes toward the world and man, of criticized and organized values, and of an integrated view of life and a sense of its total worth. The field in which these attitudes and values are primarily operative is a growing personality of the creative type.

But religion stresses personality in its associated aspects. It is true that certain aspects of the religious experience can best be realized in some degree of detachment from the social milieu. But the mode of religious thinking and feeling sets the individual in the social group from which he derives in large measure the content and pattern of his religious ideas, from which he derives stimulation and support, and through which, in association with his fellows, he finds expression for the rich and colorful nuances of his religious experience. Religion has always developed its sacred body, the religious community, with its like-minded and like-purposed individuals living an associated life around shared views of life, shared aspirations and hopes, and shared responsibilities. The religious community finds itself set in the larger social milieu with certain senses of tension arising out of differing and frequently conflicting views and purposes which it does not share with the larger group. At its highest level the religious community not only finds itself adjusting itself to the larger and some-

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times hostile Great Society, but attempting to bring influences to bear for the reconstruction of the Great Society. It is significant that in some of the advanced religions there is a definite sense of mission with reference to their surrounding life. It is not without significance that the Founder of Christianity, while not overlooking certain intensely private and personal aspects of the religious life, dwelt always in His deepest thought upon what he chose to call "the Kingdom of God," which for him was a reconstructed social order in which spiritual ideals and purposes would be the motifs of social living.

One cannot dwell upon the ideals and aspirations of religion, at least in its prophetic aspects, without becoming aware that at its heart religion is a factor of reconstruction. Dealing as it does with the criticism and reorganization of all the values of life, in terms of the total meaning and worth of life, its attitude is essentially creative. At its best, prophetic religion has always been a free and severe critic of the status quo of social life. It has shown the disposition to hold life as it is up in the light of what it ought to be and to pass judgment upon it. The criteria upon which it bases its criticisms are just these personal and social values in terms of their spiritual, their whole, and their eternal setting. The question which religion asks of any institution or process, be it economic, social, political, educational, or ecclesiastical, is, What contribution does this institution or this process make to the self-realization of the persons or the social groups involved in it? Against a background of scribal and ecclesiastical religion which had impoverished the life of the persons whom it had touched, Jesus proposed in uncompromising terms that the function of religion is to help persons to have life, and to have it abundantly. Religion at its best dwells with lingering yearning upon the possibilities of a "new creation" accomplished through the processes of continuous rebirth in the light of the highest spiritual values that center in a universe whose central reality is God, the supreme creator of values.

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THE LAITY IN FRENCH CHURCH COUNCILS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

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IT IS a recognized fact that medieval church councils were often attended and influenced by the lay princes. From the time of Constantine's Nicean Council monarchs had taken an active part in calling and controlling church assemblies. In the West, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the kings of Visigothic Spain, the Carolingian monarchs, and the Anglo-Saxon kings often dominated ecclesiastical councils.[1] But the other members of the laity also took part. An ecclesiastical historian has gone so far as to assert that in the early centuries (fifth to ninth) of the western church, the bishops

> often were careful to ascertain the mind of the lay people about matters which it was the work of the council to discuss. . . . . Christian lay people—in earlier times probably a multitude who were allowed to come in, and probably including women as well as men, and in later times selected representatives—were present at councils. Neither in diocesan nor in larger councils do they appear to have been members with votes.[2]

So far as the early part of the middle age is concerned, many authorities have upheld this contention; even to the extent of claiming that the laity sometimes expressed their opinion, called attention to abuses, gave advice, assented to the decisions, and signed the decrees, though never as actual voting

[1] For general information on councils, and for the rôle of the monarchs, much can be found in encyclopedias, especially the *Catholic Encyclopedia, Encyclopaedia Britannica,* and encyclopedias of religion such as Hastings. W. Hunt, *History of the English Church from 597 to 1066* (Cambridge, 1908), is excellent. Dom. H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les Documents Originaux,* a translation of Hefele (Paris, 1911), is the best secondary work.

[2] Stone, in Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), IV, 186*b*.

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members.[3] Evidence from the councils held in Visigothic Spain during the sixth and seventh centuries shows clearly that the kings, accompanied by their high officials, were accustomed to attend the opening sessions and present a "tomus" of proposed legislation.[4] In addition to the king and his household, it appears that the common folk had the right of attending, though only as witnesses without vote.[5]

Conciliar history from the period of the early Spanish, English and Carolingian synods to those of the investiture struggle and the Crusades has received comparatively little attention. The marked democratic tendencies in early medieval councils, together with the well-known popular factors in the crusading councils, leads one to suspect that a survey of the intervening period may form a valuable connecting link in the chain of church history during the Middle Ages. The aim of this article is to trace the attendance and activity of laymen in French church councils during the late tenth and eleventh centuries. We may expect, as a result of the study of a comparatively restricted area and period, to throw light

[3] Wilhelm, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 427. G. Dubois, *De Concilis . . . . apud Francos* (Alençon: Guy, 1902), pp. 4–8, mentions the laity at Carolingian councils. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–38, shows similar tendencies in Anglo-Saxon England.

[4] The national councils at Toledo, in 589, 653, 655, 681, 683, 688, and 693 were attended by five, seventeen, four, fifteen, twenty-six, seventeen, and sixteen "palatini," respectively. At Toledo in 589 it was decreed that officials of the courts of justice were to attend the annual provincial councils of their districts. Hodgkins, "Visigothic Spain," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, VI, 223; U. Burke, *History of Spain* (London, 1900), I, 118.

[5] Burke (*ibid.*, I, 118) insists that ". . . . the councils had nothing of the popular, or even of the aristocratic in their composition. . . . ." It is, however, certain that lay public opinion exerted considerable influence. Burke himself relates (*ibid.*, I, 87) that, in 589, King Reccared, ". . . . the *people* being well disposed to his person and prepared as far as possible for the great change" (to the Roman faith), called the Council of Toledo, announced his conversion, and "called upon the *entire people* to follow his example. This declaration or Confession of Faith was received with applause." In 694, when King Egica decreed that ". . . . since these assemblies were becoming too merely *secular* in their character . . . ." religious exercises must precede business, he must have referred to a strong lay influence (Hodgkins, *op. cit.*, VI, 222–23).

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on a number of interesting and perplexing questions. Who, for instance, comprised the laity who attended church councils; was it the nobility, or the common folk, or both? What part did they take in the proceedings? Were there, as early as the crusading period, even the faintest traces of popular sovereignty in church government? Were ecclesiastical assemblies of that day as democratic in composition and procedure as those of today?

There was, during the late tenth and throughout the eleventh century, a noticeable increase in the number and importance of church councils. The era of the Peace and Truce of God and the century that ushered in the investiture struggle and the Crusades witnessed a veritable renaissance of interest in church reform. If the rank and file of the people were ever appealed to by the medieval clergy, it was during the life and death struggle between Church and State. If the common man was ever capable of active participation in public affairs, the appeal of the Cluniac reforms, the peace movement, and the first crusading councils must have aroused him to action.

In eleventh-century Spain, where religious enthusiasm ran in militant channels, lay attendance at church councils seems to have been more evident than in Visigothic times. Kings, queens, counts, and "optimates" were constantly in evidence, often as signers of the conciliar decrees.[6] Of even greater interest is the frequent reference, in the records, to the rank and file of the laity. Often they expressed their feelings with enthusiasm, particularly at councils called for the dedication of churches, for the adoption of the Truce of God, for the abro-

[6] At about half of the eleventh-century Spanish councils recorded in Mansi, there is some reference to laymen in attendance. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum . . . .* (Florence, 1759–98), XIX, 298 (Barcelona in 1012), 409–12 (Pamplona in 1023), 785–86 (national Castilian synod in 1050), 834 (Barcelona in 1054), 929 ff. (Jaca in 1060), 1073 ff. (Gerona in 1068), XX, 615 (Toledo in 1086). See also Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden* (Ansbach, 1892), pp. 364–65, 376, for laymen at peace and truce councils (Barcelona in 1056 ff.), and Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 969 ff., for the secular peace charter, or "Usages," of Barcelona. For councils at which the princes were present, along with the lay populace, see note 7 below.

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gation of old liturgies, or other matters of public concern.[7] If we but had detailed accounts of the number of common folk present at every council, their part in the proceedings, and their reactions to the decisions rendered, we should doubtless find ample evidence of the workings of mob psychology and of the presence of a lay public that exerted considerable pressure upon the deliberations of the assembled ecclesiastics. It is clear, at any rate, that they attended important councils in great numbers. At many other councils, the records of which make no mention of them, they must have been present. The populace at ecclesiastical assemblies was a common experience, for when conciliar recorders did mention them it was done in a casual manner with no expression of surprise.

Across the Pyrenees, in France, during the late decades of the tenth century, church councils furnished many examples of the increasing interest of the kings, princes, nobles, and people. This was particularly noticeable in the assemblies that were concerned with the Peace of God, and with general reforms of society and "pro restauranda ecclesia."[8] The bitter

[7] Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1869), IX, 319 (at Attiliania in 902), 319 (Barcelona in 906); Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 880–81 (Barcelona in 1058), 1035 ff., 1069 ff. (Barcelona in 1064 and 1068), 929 ff. (Jaca in 1062); XX, 729 ff. (Toledo in 1090), 617–20 (Banolas in 1086). The dedication of churches seems to have been the principal "drawing-card" at Barcelona in 1058 where "congregatus est infinitus diversae aetatis et sexus . . . . populus . . . . permixtis clericorum et laicorum ordinibus . . . . magni gaudii et festivitatis . . . ."; at Banolas in 1086, where there was a crowd ". . . . principium . . . . patriae et reliquorum fidelium utriusque sexus, aetatis, et ordinis"; and at Toledo in 1090. See Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 351–52, 1214–15, also, on these councils. At Jaca in 1062 and at Barcelona in 1064–68, the matter of changing to the Roman ritual from the old liturgy, "quibus populus hactenus utitur" and "addicti sunt," was the outstanding matter of public interest. At Toledo in 1090, when the choice was left to an ordeal by fire the people cried out with joy at the triumph of the old ritual; the king, however, compromised the matter by tolerating the Roman ritual. From the outset the populace expressed themselves enthusiastically on this question of ritual. At Jaca in 1062 "tam viri quam feminae omnes una voce laudantes Deum confirmaverunt." See Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 1214–15.

[8] For peace councils see Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 90 (Charroux in 989), 271–72 (Puy in 990), 103 (Narbonne in 990), 99–102(Anse near Lyons in 990 and 994); also Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 361 (Charroux in 989), 585 (Bourges in 998), 147 (Limoges in 998); H. Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny* (Paris, 1868), I, 393–94 (Sauxil-

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rivalry between the secular and regular clergy, which was often carried into councils, sometimes furnished issues of such heated controversy that the laity took sides.[9] Episcopal elections likewise tended to draw the laity into the turmoil of ecclesiastical politics.[10]

During the first half of the eleventh century the interest of the laity seems to have increased, especially in the case of peace councils. Dukes and counts often took the initiative in summoning the laity to ecclesiastical councils which were in reality great public mass-meetings.[11] King Robert took great interest in church councils. During his reign they were held "everywhere" and often, usually at the king's instance, but with the participation of all ranks of the laity.[12] Farther

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lange in Auvergne in 994); and Huberti, *op. cit.*, 125 ff. At Charroux there were clerics "necnon etiam et omnis uterque sexus . . . . multorum concursus populorum." At Puy, after a meeting of clerics "et quosque principes et nobiles quorum numerus et inventus," the bishops summoned "omnes milites et *rustici* de episcopatu" to St. Germain to hear the peace decrees. At Sauxillange, "people of all conditions of whom the number was incalculable" met; and at Limoges a three-day revival mass-meeting was held, with relics mobilized from the surrounding churches, miracles, etc. For general reform councils, see Bouquet, *op. cit.*, IX, 321–23 (Juncaria in 909, and Trosly in 921); and X, 514, 530 (Rheims in 991).

[9] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 31–34 (near Rheims in 972), 180 (Anse in 994), 224 (St. Denis in 997). The affair at St. Denis ended in a riot during which the Archbishop of Sens sought safety in flight but ". . . . a populo coeno et luto oblitus pene mortuus relictus est." See *ibid.*, 60–64 for the public interest in Dunstan's reform program for the seculars.

[10] *Ibid.*, XIX, 93, 98, 103–6, 193–95, records the struggle over Arnulf's election as Archbishop of Rheims; how he "milites ac omnes cives jurare coegit" against Hugh Capet; how the bishops, after electing Gerbert complained of "vox populi" having forced them into unwise choices.

[11] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 147, gives Ademar of Chabannes' account of the Council of Limoges, called by Duke William, the Bishop, and the Abbot of St. Martial in 998. Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 167–68 mentions Duke William of Poitou calling the Council of Poitiers in 1000; see Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 917–18, on the princes at Verdun sur Doubs in 1016.

[12] See Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 278, 388; and Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 172, 375; for the unusual number of councils; for the council at Chalons sur Saone in 1011, attended by ". . . . episcoporum ac multorum tam nobilium quam plebeiorum innumerae multitudinis . . . . "; and for that at Hery in 1024, where there were clerics ". . . . cum populo innumerabili," and "innumerae plebis multitudines diversi utriusque sexus et aetatis," and relics "ad cumulandam quoque populi proficiscentis devotionem. . . . ."

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South, the Dukes of Aquitaine and Poitou, emulating their monarch, actively forwarded the Peace of God and other reforms by means of councils.[13] In Flanders, by 1030, the people themselves were taking the lead in demanding peace councils, and Count Baldwin had to persuade an unwilling bishop to take action on the matter.[14]

During this same period, a merely clerical quarrel over the apostleship of St. Martial held the attention of ecclesiastics and laymen of France and adjoining lands throughout a series of councils.[15] Councils called for the suppression of heresy were sometimes scenes of fanatical violence, as well as religious emotionalism, on the part of the attending laity.[16] It

[13] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 495–96 (councils "per omnes civitates," attended by "innumerata multitudo plebium"); *ibid.*, XIX, 496–98 (at Poitiers in 1026 and 1030, attended by "fidelibus populis," "diversorum ordinum christianorum."

[14] H. Pirenne, *Belgian Democracy* (Manchester University, 1915), pp. 11 ff., shows the remarkable development of social-religious ideas and practical-minded public opinion in Flanders. Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 357, gives the case of Count Burchard, in 981, rallying his people to march in procession with sacred relics so as to bring pressure to bear on warring nobles. Bishop Gerard, of Cambrai, who was strongly opposed to the use of church councils and popular oaths for the enforcement of peace, was finally prevailed upon to attend the first outstanding Flemish peace council, at Oudenarde. Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 552; *Gesta Ep. Cambrensis*, III, chap. 27; Huberti, *op. cit.*, 161–64.

[15] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 391–92 (Limoges in 1021), 413–16 (Poitiers in 1023, letter from Canute of England), 421–22 (Paris in 1024), 490 (Limoges in 1029), 502 ff. (Bourges in 1031), and 532 ff. (Limoges in 1031).

[16] King Robert himself, in 1016, summoned the clergy and "religiosis quibusque laicis" to try several suspects at Orleans. There was also present, a crowd of the "populus," waiting outside the church for the results of the deliberations ("secretius"). Finally, "universae plebis consensu," the king ordered the heretics to be burned. As the condemned men, including the queen's former confessor, were led forth, the queen (who had taken her stand at the church door to prevent the enraged populace from rushing in and killing them there) was herself so roused that she struck the former chaplain in the eye with her staff (*ibid.*, XIX, 373–79). Much mob violence was reported in connection with the councils at which Berengar's heresies were considered. Though he himself boasted that his partisans were not of the "ignorant mob," his student followers from Tours traveled about from vill to vill "vulgarizing" his teachings. He claimed that his oath concerning transsubstantiation at Tours in 1055 was taken in order to "allay the popular tumult." At Rome in 1059 he was forced by "tumultuaria perturbatione" to take an oath. In 1063 the Count of Anjou broke up the Council of Orleans in spite of the efforts of the attending "laity and clergy" to calm him. Similarly, the Council of St. Maxentius was broken up in 1075 by those who claimed that it was helping the pope in his defense

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was, however, the dedication exercises of new churches, with the accompanying ceremonies of translating holy relics, that invariably drew the greatest and most enthusiastic crowds of people "of all ranks and of both sexes." On such occasions the ecclesiastical deliberations were sure to be well nigh eclipsed by the public ceremonies and popular demonstrations, which concerned the entire community, lay and cleric alike.[17] At Rheims, in 1049, the public services connected with the dedication of the new church of St. Remi presented a vivid picture of the people in religious activities and of their relationship to the conciliar deliberations of the assembled ecclesiastics. The presence of Leo IX, a Frenchman and a people's pope, was an unusual drawing-card. Although King Henry set obstacles in the way of his bishops and lay vassals attending, the populace were on hand in such numbers that special measures had to be taken for handling the traffic. The crowds of "villagers and citizens" were swelled by visiting clerics and laymen from Italy, Burgundy, and Germany. On his arrival, Leo went to the church of St. Remi (outside the city), so as to be ahead of the people. On the following day "a constant stream of people" gathered at the tomb of St. Remi to see the pope and the holy relics. Leo was forced to speak to the populace and to give them his benediction, from the balcony of his lodgings, and also to celebrate mass there, because of the difficulty of making his way to the church. That night, when the "faithful" were cleared out of the church to enable the monks to keep vigil, they camped outside, like an army, amidst the gleam of thousands of candles. On the next day, when the saint's relics were being carried in procession to the cathedral,

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of heresy (*ibid.*, XIX, 839–40; XX, 448–49; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 1170, 1111–12, 1172–73, 136–37; V, Part I, 365–67). Roscellinus, also, asserted that his abjuration of errors at Soissons in 1092 was brought about by the fear of violence at the hands of the populace (*ibid.*, V, Part I, 365).

[17] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 29–30 (Tulle in 971), 489 (Orleans, St. Aniane, in 1029), 528 ff. (Limoges in 1031), 581–85 (Narbonne in 1038). See L. MacKinney, "Pre-Gothic Architecture . . . . ," *Speculum*, II (1927), 30, for dedications at Tours in 1029, Fleury in 1030, Charroux in 1047, and other examples from the latter half of the century.

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the people were so anxious to catch a glimpse that the reliquary was "tossed like a ship on the sea," and people were crushed in the crowd. On the fifth and last day, the relics were translated to the new church. It was necessary to take them through a window and thence to the main altar because of the crowd that jammed the entrances. As the pope preached, the people filled even the windows, so eager were they to see and hear.[18] After the last dedicatory exercises the clergy met in the new church for ecclesiastical deliberation, in secret sessions that extended over three days.[19] Throughout the second half of the century, church dedications were the occasion for unusually large and enthusiastic assemblies of churchmen and laymen.[20]

Although the early peace movement, already mentioned, presents notable examples of lay activity in church councils, it was not until the second quarter of the eleventh century that the common folk appear to have played a prominent rôle. The peace council of Oudenarde (Flanders), in 1030, was called on the demand of the populace and with their enthusi-

[18] Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 1014–16; Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 732–34; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XI, 466, 522.

[19] There seem to have been no laymen present, though at the close of the council the clergy and a "multitude" of people were on hand to "see the pope off." Giesebrecht (Kirchengeschichte, II, 431 ff.) insists that Leo combined the council with the dedication in order to use popular religious enthusiasm to force his reform program upon the French clergy. If this be true, it is strange that the laity played so little part in the council proper. Hefele ridicules this idea of the pope's using the people to "terrorize" the clergy, citing as proof the fact that his program was directed as much at reforming the people as the clergy (Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 1013 ff.; Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 734).

[20] At St. Denis, in 1051, counts "aliique nobiles," and "ignobiles utriusque sexus quamplures" were present at the invention and elevation of the relics of the saint; a ceremony quite similar to that at the dedication of a church. When the relics were displayed before being finally placed in the newly consecrated location, "universi populi cum lacrymis et suspiriis puras manus levantes ad Dominum . . . . cum gaudio recesserunt" (Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 807–10). See also MacKinney, *op. cit.*, 30, for dedications in Normandy in 1077, Maguelone in 1095, Coutances in 1056, Lille in 1075, Hasnon in 1067, England during Canute's reign, Laon in 1114, Premontre in 1120, etc.; all attended by the laity. Similarly, Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 877–90 (Elne in 1058); XX, 455–58 (Saintes in 1075), 501 (Soissons in 1079); also note 7 above for dedications in Spain; and p. 581, for the crowds at dedication exercises held during Urban II's tour of France preaching the crusade.

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astic participation, in spite of the stubborn opposition of Bishop Gerard, of Cambrai.[21] On other occasions as well, the common folk of Flanders seem to have taken direct action in such matters of public concern.[22] Farther South, at Bourges, in 1031, a peace pact was promulgated in an assembly of clerics and "laicus nobilibus vel pauperibus."[23] But these councils were merely the beginning of a remarkable people's peace movement. Later in the same year, at Limoges, a crowd of laymen, including "plebs," assembled for the dedication of a church and for a council which considered the Peace of God and also the troublesome question of the apostleship of St. Martial.[24] At an open session on the first day of the council, the bishops appealed directly to the public for aid in enforcing peace. After a solemn high mass, Bishop Jordanus addressed the people, using every possible plea to focus public opinion upon the cause. Finally he promulgated an interdict against all knights of the diocese who failed to uphold the peace. As the clergy dashed to the ground their lighted candles, symbolizing the fate of the excommunicated culprits, the assembled people broke forth with the cry, "Thus may God extinguish the joy of those who refuse peace and justice." The popular crusading enthusiasm that was set in motion by Urban II's famous speech at Clermont, was merely another example, on a much larger scale, of this same sort of active public opinion expressing itself without inhibitions, under stress of crowd emotionalism.

[21] Note 14 above. There seems to be some uncertainty as to whether Bishop Gerard finally succeeded in "sidetracking" the peace movement, or whether a pact was actually consummated. See J. Flach, *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France* (Paris, 1886), IV, 24–25.

[22] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, X, 378 ff., and Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 191 ff., describe the remarkable intercity peace between Amiens and Corbei in 1030.

[23] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 502–6.

[24] *Ibid.*, XIX, 528 ff.; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 ff.; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 956 ff.; *Translations and Reprints* . . . . (University of Pennsylvania, 1894) IV, No. 4.

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In 1034, at the close of a period of famine and pestilence, the wave of popular enthusiasm reached its climax. As Rudolphus Glaber expressed it,

> Then there were held by bishops, abbots, and other devotees of Holy Religion, first in Aquitaine, conciliar assemblies of the entire populace. To them were brought entire bodies of holy men and innumerable collections of saints' relics. Then, throughout the region of Arles, Lyons, Burgundy, and even to the uttermost parts of France it was told how councils were to be held by the ruling classes for the reform of the Peace and of Holy Religion. On hearing the news, a great multitude of the common folk, middle class, and nobility came together, glad to obey the precepts of their pastors.

After the promulgation of the peace pact, "all were filled with such ardor that, through the bishop, they raised to Heaven the episcopal staff and with palms extended to God, cried with one voice, 'Peace, peace, peace,' as a sign of the perpetual pact they had made with God."[25] Such manifestations indicate that church councils were liable to take the form of popular mass meetings, on occasion. The populace, as well as the nobility, were evidently summoned, and came in great numbers, prepared to take an active and enthusiastic part in the proceedings. It seems possible that, at times, they may have been actually called on to register their approval by a "show of hands" and by some sort of acclamation. Undoubtedly it was the clergy and "ruling classes" that planned these public demonstrations, for the purpose of making effectively direct appeals to the masses. The psychological situation was somewhat akin to that produced by the crusading councils, the later Wesleyan field-preaching, the nineteenth-century camp-meeting, and the still more recent tabernacle campaign. All such waves of religious emotionalism have their ebb. The eleventh-century bishops were, however, too practical-minded to allow the enthusiasm to dissipate itself in mere pious ardor. In the years following the "Revival of 1034" councils of a more conservatively practical nature were held in which the

[25] Rudolphus Glaber, *Historia*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1886), IV, chap. 5.

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clergy consolidated the position already won, and proceeded to organize the people into regular peace associations.[26]

Meanwhile, in southern France, church councils comprising both clergy and laity were working out a modified peace program, the Truce of God. The Council of Elne, in 1027, at which the first known truce agreement was made, was attended by a crowd of laymen, including women. "The faithful populace," it seems, actually took part in the proceedings.[27] According to Rudolphus Glaber, the truce spread northward rapidly through Aquitaine and Burgundy, accompanied by a wave of enthusiasm that came to a climax in 1041.[28] One finds, however, no record of popular mass meetings such as the peace assemblies of 1034. The increasing authority of the royalty and upper nobility in the peace-truce movement is noticeable even before the middle of the century. In Spain this tendency culminated in royal peace charters such as the "Usages of Barcelona" of 1066.[29] Across the Pyrenees, during the latter half of the century, the common folk seemed to have been in attendance at peace-truce councils, but once more their rôle is that of mere spectators.[30]

In northern France, during the same period, the initiative

[26] See *Miracula Sancti Privatis*, ed. by C. Brunel (Paris, 1912) II, ca. 7, for the council at Puy in 1036, which "universi tam clerus quam populus" attended; also Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–18, for the council at Bourges in 1038. A. Luchaire, *Les Communes Francaises* . . . . (Paris, 1911), I, 39, says that "each diocese became the center of a vast association of peace which included all classes," with officers, and so forth. It seems improbable that "each diocese" in France had a permanent lay-cleric organization; though it may have been so in some regions. In Flanders, we know that the tide began to flow in the opposite direction, viz., toward a royal peace (Huberti, *op. cit.*, p. 206; Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

[27] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 483; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–41.

[28] Glaber, *op. cit.*, V, chap. 1; Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 593 ff.; Huberti, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–74, 302.

[29] See note 6 above.

[30] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 601–2 (Narbonne in 1043), 847 ff. (Toulouse in 1056), 1041–44 (Elne in 1065), 1063 ff. (Auch in 1068). At Narbonne in 1054, "nobilium et ignobilium" were present; and at Tiberium in 1051, were "utrius sexus aetatis vel ordinis" (*ibid.*, XIX, 827 ff., 795–96). The only example of active popular efforts for peace in South France during this period, so far as I know, was at Autun about 1068, where "populus . . . . pro pace supplicans indefessis clamoribus" (*ibid.*, XIX, 1039).

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in the peace movement was taken out of the hands of both clergy and populace by the rapidly developing power of the national monarchs. In Normandy the transition is quite clear. By the end of William the Conqueror's reign, councils of lay and ecclesiastical princes were promulgating a veritable "king's peace," for the enforcement of which the populace were being carefully organized in local associations.[31] The same methods of royal control were extended to England after the Conquest, for there the Anglo-Saxon monarchs and their officers of state had already employed such machinery.[32] Throughout the northern regions of France, in most councils the only apparent lay influence was that of the reigning prince and the nobility, whose signatures often appear as witnesses or guarantors of charters and other clerical documents.[33]

Toward the end of the century the importance of the people is again noticeable in church councils. Gregory VII's legates seem to have deliberately appealed to public opinion in order to assure the adoption of his reform program by the French clergy.[34] Gregory sent by his legates many letters "to the faithful," urging their support of his measures.[35] In the

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 597–601 (Caen in 1042), 937 ff. (Caen in 1061); XX, 555–59 (Liseaux in 1064 and Lillebone in 1080), 579–82 (Rouen "conventus" in 1082); see also Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1877), II, 245; IV, 449; and Garreau, *L'État de la France au Temps des Croisades* (Paris, 1899), 399 ff., for William's diocesan associations.

[32] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 305 (Aenham "convocata plebis multitudine," in 1009), 555 (Winchester in 1031, "Pax Dei, regis, ecclesiarum") 715 (Edward the Confessor's "Pax Dei et Sanctae Ecclesiae"); for William's royal peace, see Florence of Worcester, *Chronicle* (London: Bohn, 1854), ann. 1066; Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* (London: Bohn, 1853), II, chaps. 15 ff.; *Lois de Guillaume le Conquerant* . . . . , ed. by J. Matzke (Paris, 1899), *passim;* and Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–315 for royal domination of clerical affairs before and after William.

[33] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 1057; XX, 7–8, 570, 578–79, 583–85, 591–94, 611–12.

[34] *Ibid.*, XX, 399 (Gerald of Ostia at Chalons in 1072), 481–82 (Hugh of Die at Clermont in 1077), 483 (Hugh at Autun in 1077); XIX, 1065–66 (Hugh at Toulouse in 1068).

[35] Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 219–29, mentions letters to the "faithful" at Clermont in 1076, at Autun in 1077, at Orleans in 1077, etc., Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 55 ff., Book I, Nos. 74, 80; II, 55; IV, 14; V, 14, 23; VI, 21, 23; VII, 10, 15, 17; IX, 16, 23, 38; XI, 5, gives letters of the years 1073–81 to "Belvacenses," "Anicenses," "Laudenses," "Carnotenses," etc., "clerum et populum" of Rheims, Chartres, and so forth.

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course of the contest between the pope and the king, the Gregorians, by means of letters to the clergy and people, accused the opposition of misleading the faithful in every way; the royalists, in turn, often resorted to violence when their propaganda failed to prevent or break up rival assemblies.[36] It can hardly be doubted that the exigencies of the rivalry between Church and State, in France as elsewhere, tended to revive popular interest in church councils, on which occasions the people had an opportunity to express themselves regarding matters of public concern.[37] By 1095 the laity of France must have realized that a council called, and presided over, by a pope or papal legate was likely to present matters of importance to them, in the consideration of which they might be both welcome and active participants. For more than a century the princes, nobles, and people of all parts of France had been attending clerical assemblies and exerting, both directly and indirectly, considerable influence on the problems presented. Furthermore, papal representatives and local clerics had learned much as to the strength of public opinion and the means by which it might be turned into channels of constructive effort for the betterment of Church and society.

Our brief survey of French ecclesiastical councils of the late tenth and the entire eleventh centuries obviously leads to the conclusion that the crusading councils were not an unforeseen outburst of lay activity and interest in church affairs. In France, collectivistic ideals and co-operative activities were well grounded by 1095. Religious festivals, dedications, inventions, and translations of relics, pilgrimages, and important

[36] See *ibid.*, XX, 437, for charges that Philip had instigated popular revolts against Gregorian bishops, as well as led the people into all sorts of crimes, resistance to reforms, and violence against upholders of the reform program. It was said that the king forbade his counts or bishops from attending any councils of the Gregorians, save for the purpose of breaking them up. See note 16 above, for the violence at St. Maxentius in 1075; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 114, 229, for that at Poitiers in 1074, and for the "turbas conflictus" of 1078; and also Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 495–98.

[37] *Ibid.*, XX, 795 (royal-controlled council at Rheims in 1094), 799–802 (Gregorian council at Autun in 1094), 670, 755 (Rheims in 1092, petition of people of Arras).

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ecclesiastical synods usually evoked the attention and attendance of princes, nobles, and people "of all ages, sexes, and classes." Often the crowds assumed such proportions as to create a situation favorable to the display of mob psychology and effective public opinion. At times the psychological pressure was so strong that religious emotionalism threw off all restraints and ran rampant. Urban II's crusading councils were the outgrowth of the earlier French councils of this type. His first attempt, at Piacenza, although backed by all the conciliar mechanism that was evident at Clermont, seems to have lacked the peculiarly French background of collectivistic psychology. In addition to the pope and representative bishops from Italy, Burgundy, Bavaria, Alemannia, and France, there was a multitude of lesser clergy and of the laity so vast that no church could accommodate them, and therefore two out of the seven sessions were held in an open field outside the city.[38] Many are said to have responded to the crusading call, but there was no such unanimity and enthusiasm as at Clermont. There are, of course, various possibilities in accounting for the difference in popular reaction on the two occasions,[39] but at the same time it must have been evident to Urban that a French pope might count on a more favorable reception in a council consisting largely of French prelates, on French soil, in the presence of great numbers of French nobles and commoners.

The papal appeal at Clermont, with a stage-setting and constituency that were only superficially similar to those at Piacenza,[40] met with a startling response on the part of the

[38] *Ibid.*, XX, 801. Four thousand clerics and thirty thousand laymen were reported to have been present.

[39] It should be remembered that Piacenza was a stronghold of the faction of the anti-pope. Many distracting problems came up for settlement at Piacenza; e.g., the excommunication of Guibert, the charges of Henry IV's divorced wife Praxedis, and so forth. Bernold says that the main purpose of the council was the crushing of Guibert, though he does report that "many faithful" were exhorted to go to the aid of Alexis (Leclercq, *op. cit.*, V, Part I, 389 ff.).

[40] See Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 819, 828 ff.; and Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XII, 122, 347, for the records in the original Latin; A. Krey, *First Crusade* (Princeton University,

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laity.[41] The public session at Clermont was simply another characteristically French mass meeting in which the emotional forces of a crowd were brought to so powerful a focus that the resulting enthusiasm could not be restrained. It was, however, directed into purposeful activity; the whole psychological background of Urban's speech tended toward co-operation in practically directed efforts for the improvement of all society. The council was more than a mere outburst of revival emotions. It was the beginning of a self-propagating enthusiasm that swept over many parts of France stirring both clergy and laity to action. In addition to the thousands who pressed forward at Clermont to take the cross, many people in other places soon were sharers in the contagious zeal.

Before the council adjourned, steps had been taken to

1927), pp. 24 ff., for them in translation, chronologically arranged; and D. Munro, "Urban's Speech at Clermont," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XI, 232, for a critical analysis of Urban's speech. At the council, there was evidently an enormous crowd, including nobles and clerics (with their retainers), other lay visitors, and the local populace. Undoubtedly most of the sessions (from November 18 to 28) were held indoors, were attended only by the clergy, and dealt with distinctly ecclesiastical affairs. On the other hand, it is evident from the reported speeches, etc., that the rank and file of the laity attended some of the sessions. The pope, for instance, urged the clerics to uphold certain reforms (such as the Peace of God), and "when these and many other things were well disposed of, *all those present*, priests and *people* alike, gave thanks . . . . assuring him (Urban) *with a promise of fidelity* that these decrees would be well kept" (Fulcher of Chartres). This is rather startling evidence of the active participation of the people in conciliar affairs. Reports of the pope's address to the "race of Franks," "most valiant soldiers" (Robert the Monk); to "you girt about with the badge of knighthood" (Baldric): to "you Christian soldiers" (Guibert of Nogent), etc., are not the only evidence of the lay factor in the council. Chroniclers reported that "no building was large enough to hold all the people" (Robert the Monk); that "there were gathered together at the council from many regions, powerful and honored men innumerable like a proud lay militia" (Baldric); and that there were present "clergymen and laymen from various provinces and regions" (Lamberti), "all the bishops of Gaul and Spain . . . . and other persons" (Ordericus Vitalis). See Krey, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31, 35–36, 37, for a handy arrangement of the records.

[41] Urban's famous speech was made on the ninth (next to the last) day of the council, in a large open space east of the city, in the "langue romane," so the people as well as clergy could understand. Leclercq, *op. cit.*, V, Part I, 420 ff. Scholarship in general accepts the report of Fulcher as authentic as to the response, viz., ". . . . all who were present cried out, 'God wills it' . . . . and those who were present were very enthusiastic in the cause and many . . . . at once offered to go and diligently exhort the absent ones" (Krey, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 41).

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crystallize the prevailing enthusiasm into some sort of organized effort. Canons were promulgated for the enforcement of the Truce of God in all dioceses; for peace at home was necessary in order to carry on successfully the Christian warfare abroad.[42] On hearing that Count Raymond, of Toulouse, and many others had taken the cross, Urban called together the bishops in a final session, at which Ademar, of Puy, was elected as official leader of the crusade. All the faithful were notified of this fact and of the date of departure.[43]

The pope, as well as the French bishops, followed up the initial propaganda in local councils, at which the cause was preached to the populace in all regions. At Limoges, at Christmas, great crowds assembled for the dedication of a church and the pope's crusading appeal.[44] Some time in February, at the dedication of a church in Angers, Urban "exhorted the people by a stirring sermon," and during the month of March he was engaged in similar activities in Tours and vicinity.[45] The French tour ended in July with a dedication council at Nîmes, after which the pope crossed the Alps and returned to Rome.[46] Meanwhile, the bishops and laymen returning home from Clermont were also busy spreading the news and their own enthusiasm among the people of the distant regions of France.[47] Peter the Hermit was merely one of the most no-

[42] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 815–19, 906–17. Out of thirty-one conciliar canons, twelve dealt with the Truce of God. See Ordericus Vitalis, *op. cit.*, chap. 8.

[43] Florence of Worcester, *op. cit.*, ann. 1096; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, V, Part I, 423.

[44] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 919 ff.; Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XII, 428.

[45] *Annales Angevines et Vendomoises* (Paris, 1900), pp. 89–93 (at Angers); Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 925–31 (at Marmoutiers, Tours, dedications of St. Nicholas, St. Martins', and Majoris-Monastery churches); Leclercq, *op. cit.*, V, Part I, 446, 453 (Tours, Poitiers, Saintes, and during May at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Carcassone, and Montpellier).

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 453; Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 939 ff. All classes were present.

[47] Fulcher, of Chartres, tells how Urban urged the bishops at Clermont to "diligently exhort their own people (plebes)," and how "many . . . . at once offered to go and diligently exhort the absent ones. . . . . When these tidings were proclaimed through the provinces . . . . ," (Krey, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.). Another chronicler told how the news was noised abroad little by little through all the regions and countries of Gaul" (*ibid.*, p. 29), and how "each (bishop) in his own

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torious of the many enthusiasts who were stirred to unusual activity by the pope's example. Many bishops called local councils for the organization of their dioceses into associations for the enforcement of the crusading truce. In these councils the universal cause was locally applied in a practical way, and the lay parishioners were made to feel their opportunity and responsibility for peace at home in support of the warfare overseas.[48] Thus, once more, the rank and file of the laity were called upon by the clergy to attend church councils, to approve the clerical peace program, and actively to carry out the conciliar decrees in their local parishes.

The Council of Clermont was a unique combination of lay and ecclesiastical constituencies, for the promulgation of a dual cause, domestic peace and foreign war. It united an older public movement with a new popular project in such a manner as to start a wave of mass enthusiasm that soon touched every diocese in France. The cause was well nigh universal in its appeal, the psychological soil had been well prepared, and the machinery of propaganda that was employed had been made efficient through decades of successful experimentation in previous councils. It was not merely by chance that France instead of Italy or Germany gave to the crusading movement its papal initiator, its first outstanding mass-meeting, its ecclesiastical commander, its preaching propagandists, and the majority of its fighting men. The "Gesta Dei" were largely accomplished "per Franços" because French laymen of all

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diocese went about zealously announcing the expedition to Jerusalem eloquently, and also by pontifical letters. The names of those who thus stirred up the Heavenly Host comprise an immense multitude" ("Gesta Franc. et aliorum Hieros.," Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 827). Within a month after the Council of Clermont Urban had written "to all the faithful both princes and subjects *waiting* in Flanders," announcing the date of departure of Ademar of Puy and the Crusaders (Krey, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43). A Flemish noble held a tournament in 1096 at which three hundred knights took the cross (*Gallia Christiana* . . . . [Paris, 1715 ff.], III, 408). Such were a few of the methods and results of the propaganda.

[48] Mansi, *op. cit.*, XX, 923–26 (truce decrees at Rouen in 1096), 969–72 (at St. Omer in 1099, with a "multitudo cleri et populi"), 941–48 (Arras in 1099), 887–90 (Auch in 1102, letters to suffragans). Huberti, *op. cit.*, 414–16 (Flemish councils in 1096).

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classes had, for more than a century, been in training for just such activities, and had become accustomed to answer the clerical summons, to attend church councils, and to join in co-operative reform movements.

The mechanism of eleventh-century councils in France throws considerable light on the means by which a cause like the crusades was "put over." Orderly and sustained crowd action is not a natural human trait; it comes only after long periods of training. The councils at which the French clergy and laity made united efforts for the eradication of heresy, for peace, or for the celebration of the completion of new cathedrals, slowly built up a machinery of effective social action, contributed to the remarkable collectivistic spirit of the nation, and paved the way for the first great co-operative movement of Christian Europe. Mass-meetings of the clergy and laity were the essential occasion for all such public movements. A national church council furnished the ideal psychological situation for launching the crusades, just as earlier French councils had been used on a smaller scale for the initiating of popular reforms in Church and State. Local councils held by Urban II, the French bishops, and crusading preachers were the medium through which the propaganda was carried to the various dioceses, just as had been done decades before, in the promulgation of the Peace of God. In a similar manner, in the case of both the crusades and the Peace of God, parish mass-meetings spread the enthusiasm still further and perfected the details of organization among the rank and file of the laity. The success or failure of the crusading movement depended, at the outset, upon the effectiveness of the media of propaganda. Thanks to long use and a century of practical experience in France, the national, regional, and local mechanism of church councils worked smoothly, giving adequate expression to the unusual collectivistic impulses that were evoked.

French history from the late tenth to the early twelfth century reveals, more clearly than the earlier medieval period,

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the presence and interest of laymen in church councils. This was manifested in several waves of popular enthusiasm that broke in 989 at Charroux, in 1027 at Elne, from 1031–34 at Limoges and vicinity, and in 1095 at Clermont. In the earlier phases the bishops took the initiative and were able, without much assistance from the lay nobility, to enlist and direct public interest in their reform programs. Toward the middle of the eleventh century, especially in Normandy, the Ile de France, and the extreme south, the lay princes appear to have gained control of church affairs, and popular enthusiasm seems to have been less prominent. At the end of the century, the pope and clergy again took the lead, in the popular crusading councils. Whether held under the auspices of local bishops, popes, papal legates, or lay princes, important church councils were sure to be attended by the laity, both noble and ignoble, male and female. Strictly speaking, at the deliberative sessions of councils, the bishops were the only voting members with plenipotentiary powers.[49] The lesser clergy, princes, nobles, and commoners, if present, were theoretically merely spectators, witnesses, or guarantors, i.e., non-voting members. In practice, however, they often took an active part, giving approval or advice, and signing or witnessing the signature of documents. Councils of all types are evident in the records, from secret sessions of bishops to public assemblages that more closely resemble a modern political mass-meeting or religious revival service than an ecclesiastical deliberation. Eleventh-century councils met for the solution of practical problems rather than for the exhibition of parliamentary or constitutional procedure; hence we cannot expect them to run true to form. Bishops seem to have been willing to use whatever clerical following, armed retainers, public opinion, or pop-

[49] See Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 1017 ff., for an interesting description of the Council at Rheims in 1049. In a circle, around the pope, were the bishops, arranged according to precedence, with the abbots and priests subject to each seated outside the circle and behind him. Thus there was an inner circle of bishops, an intermediate circle of abbots, and an outer one of lesser clerics. There seem to have been no laymen at this session.

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ular mobs were available in order to assure the success of their plans. It is clear that the laity were summoned to hear and approve, rather than to plan, the clerical programs; they were to support the projected cause, not to create one of their own. As in modern representative democracies, they were the silent partner, but they were not unimportant. The actions of medieval bishops sometimes speak louder than words as to their reliance on the lay public, and as to the absolute necessity of their winning popular support.[50] The people actually registered their approval on some occasions, possibly by a formal expression. At any rate, their active assent or passive disapproval spelled success or failure for many a program that was dependent on the general public. Although the rank and file of the populace were, as in all ages, merely the followers, they might at times play the rôle of a sovereign people whose decision determined the actions of their leaders. On many occasions the clergy seem to have deliberately played to their public in order to gain an important point. The princes, likewise, came to use their people as a means of attaining more complete success in political projects. The royal and clerical factions, when in conflict, worked for public approval of their causes.

Taking them all in all, eleventh-century French councils indicate clearly the existence of a complicated machinery of propaganda and a highly potential public opinion among the laity. The clergy, it may be said, were usually successful in their efforts to employ both of these factors in a constructive way, and to steer a safe course between the Scylla of popular mob enthusiasm and the Charybdis of domination by lay princes. In the light of the existing evidence, it is clear that there is need for a revision of the prevailingly "dark" interpretation given to the tenth and eleventh centuries by many church historians. The marked disregard of the period by au-

[50] See above, *passim*, for Charroux in 989, Limoges in 1031, many places in 1031–34 (with relics mobilized to enthuse the populace), Puy in 1036, and the crusading councils; also Mansi, *op. cit.*, XIX, 424, for the Bishop of Arras' appeal to the people against heretics (1025).

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thors of general histories may be merely a sin of omission, due to the exigencies of time and space. More reprehensible, because of the false impression conveyed, are the deliberately pessimistic references to a long-suffering age that recent historical research is finding worthy of thorough and sympathetic study.[51] It is certain that, during the latter half of the tenth century, the remarkable reform movements associated with the names of Dunstan in England, the Ottos in Germany, and the early Peace of God in France could not have been launched and carried through without large and frequent councils. Thence on through the eleventh century to the Council of Clermont, the French clergy increased the effectiveness and popularity of ecclesiastical assemblies. With few exceptions, French conciliar history from Carolingian times to the crusades manifests steady growth in the success of the clergy and laity in co-operative efforts for the practical adjustment of the problems of Christian society.

[51] P. Schaff, in his *History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), IV, 280, wrote, "The tenth century is the darkest of the dark ages, a century of ignorance and superstition, anarchy and crime, in Church and State. The first half of the eleventh century was little better." D. Lowis' recent *History of the Church in France from 950 to 1000* (London: Sharpe, 1926) is an effective answer to such verdicts on the tenth century, while Pfister's studies on the era of Robert the Pious are sufficient to exonerate the early eleventh century. Foakes-Jackson, writing more recently than Schaff, in *An Outline of Christianity* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1926), II, 200, says, "A proof of the deadness of the age . . . . is furnished by the rarity of councils. . . . . In the tenth century there were only seventeen councils in the whole of the Christian world, and none important." Mansi and Hefele-Leclercq record half a hundred diocesan councils in France alone, during the afore-mentioned century; England had ten great "concilia mixta," while the emperors held at least that many diet-councils; there were considerably more than "seventeen" papal councils in Italy alone, during the century. This curious dictum may have arisen from Hefele's statement introducing Book 27 of his conciliar history, viz., ". . . . the tenth century so poor in synodal assemblies contrasts strangely with the ninth . . . . their importance is not great, their action is purely local. . . . ." As a matter of fact, the statement fits the first half of the tenth century far better than the latter half. It should be noted, also, that Foakes-Jackson, in a less pessimistic mood, writes that ". . . . the tenth century was paving the way for the great revival of religious life in the eleventh century" (*Outline of Christianity*, II, 200).

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GERMAN PHENOMENOLOGY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR RELIGION

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IF A person acquainted with recent German thought were asked to name the most important movement in the German philosophical world today the answer could hardly fail to be "Phänomenologie." And if the inquirer were not repelled by the formidable name and insisted on learning something about the movement he would find that its adherents are bound together by their use of a common method rather than by any unanimity of opinion. Even that method, he would further find, varies in the hands of those who employ it. Literally phenomenology means "science of phenomena," and phenomenologists are simply those who have accepted the demand of Husserl, leader of the movement that philosophy give its attention to phenomena as they are presented in experience, that it view them freshly, without the prejudices of the older schools, yet so critically that the absolute truth which they contain shall no longer remain hidden. Such a demand seems at first to contain nothing new. Most philosophies have, after all, been concerned with the critical analysis of phenomena as they present themselves. But the interesting thing is that a large and prominent part of the German philosophical world believes that Husserl has hit upon a new idea, and that so many able men have felt that they had enough in common with him to take the name of "phenomenologists" upon themselves. To an outsider their differences seem more important than their agreements since they include not only mathematicians, aestheticians, and ontologists but representatives of the opposing schools of realism and idealism. They differ in their conclusions, that is to say, as much as they do

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in the use of the phenomenological method itself. But the significant thing is surely the fact that they themselves recognize a common aim. A movement which has aroused so much interest whether or not it proves permanent should be able to show in which direction the philosophical wind is blowing. The purpose of this article is to sketch briefly the ideas of three of its leaders—Husserl, Scheler, and Heidegger—and to inquire what implications they have for the study of religion.

The founder of the school, if such it can be called, is Edmund Husserl who taught formerly in Göttingen and recently celebrated his seventieth birthday in Freiburg. Husserl wishes to formulate a philosophy which shall deal with absolutely fundamental and basic data, which shall treat them with exactness as complete as that of mathematics itself, and which shall thereby become with right the first philosophy, a basis for all other philosophy and no less for science. The method best fitted to accomplish this is, he believes, Descartes' method of rigorous doubt carried further than Descartes was himself able to carry it. Descartes did not doubt himself. Husserl doubts everything but a stream of experience. Instead of a *cogito* he will allow only a succession of *cogitata* or *cogitationes* as he sometimes calls them. These *cogitationes* have a subjective aspect and an objective aspect. If we study the objective side we cannot get beyond the realm of that which is absolutely given, for there they are, presented in experience and waiting only for our analysis. This saves us also from the difficulty into which Descartes plunged himself and all subsequent philosophy by his distinction between *res cogitans* on the one hand and *res extensa* on the other. We no longer have to ask how the knower can get out of himself and into the known because the two are simply complementary parts of one experience. With Dilthey, Husserl reaches out beyond the current idealistic-realistic dualism to a realm which lies beyond either. He attains it with the aid of Brentano's interpre-

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tation of scholastic conceptions, especially the idea of the "intentional" character of thought or consciousness, the idea that it is the nature of thought to be *of* something beside itself. Thought and object are bound together by a purposive relation.

But even more important than the elimination of Descartes' dualism which this view gives us is its clue to a more complete assurance than even he was able to attain. We want to doubt all that can be doubted. Very well, then, let us strike out or cancel everything contingent, everything except the essence of the subject matter in hand. All questions of relation to sense experience or to the world of space and time, all factual considerations or considerations of "existence" must be "bracketed." It is not that we deny them for other purposes but simply that we deny their relevance to the present inquiry. The electric current which animates them is for the moment turned off. When we have done this and have given our attention to the thing itself we are able to see what it is by nature, what it *must be* and cannot help being, what it is not in existence but as essence. This process Husserl calls the "phenomenological reduction" and he makes it preliminary to all philosophical investigation. This is the positive side of the method of systematic doubt. When all that can be cancelled has been crossed off that which is truly possible remains. It is the business of phenomenology to take account of these possibilities and to record them as they present themselves. Philosophy as phenomenology thus becomes a process not of deducing that which is logical but of describing that which is conceivable. The possibilities which are seen and described are, it should be said, not possibilities in the sense that they may be realized and may not. They are *essential* possibilities, necessities in that they are part of the nature of the subject in hand and cannot be neglected or doubted. They are seen in a form of intuition which Husserl calls *Wesenserschauung*, or intuition of essences. And there can be no question about them

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for the one who has faithfully bracketed all extraneous considerations.

A trivial illustration may help to make the point clear. If I hear a tone I can take the tone that I hear and by putting it through this phenomenological reduction can testify certainly as to what is true not only of the tone itself as an individual thing but what the essence of tone must be as distinct from color. The illustration seems obvious but in its very obviousness lies the point. Whatever phenomenology reveals will seem obvious because it clearly cannot be otherwise. The great aim is clearness. We want to see what is undeniably true of essences whether individual things corresponding to them exist or not, what is true of the universal proposition, $A=A$, which endures throughout all changes among empirical instances and indeed whether empirical instances are given at all. This is what Husserl means when he says that the scientific and philosophical world needs to have phenomenological method applied to its conceptions before further progress can be made.

The similarity between these essences and Platonic universals is undeniable, although Husserl will not admit their identity. The kind of existence which his essences have is different from that of the Platonic forms. But he admits his dependence on Plato and says that it was Lotze who first made him aware of the phenomenological implications in the Platonic dialogues. Students of Husserl see today, however, a tendency away from the realism of Plato toward the idealism of Descartes. Or, expressed in better fashion, they see a shifting of emphasis from the Platonic *eidos* to the Cartesian *cogito,* from the *Wesen,* or essences, to the *Wesensschau,* or act of intuiting essences, from the *noëma,* or objective aspect of the datum of experience, to the *noësis,* or subjective aspect. It is true also that while Husserl finds flaws in both idealism and realism he does call his own system a "transcendental idealism" and speaks of the realm which he explores as that of

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"pure" or "transcendental" consciousness. It is the object which interests him but always the object as presented to consciousness.

What Husserl gives us, then, is an a priori science of pure experience. It is a priori not in the sense that it follows rules laid down by a unified mind but in the sense that it admits only that which is necessary whatever the demands of the space and time world may be. It is also empirical in the wider use of the word, since the intuition on which it relies is a kind of experience, though completely different from and independent of that given by the senses. It assumes nothing and proves nothing but merely describes what it sees. What it sees is, however, absolutely sure. It lies in the nature of things to present themselves as they do to the phenomenological intuition. And such intuition is not reaching out into any unknown world since it merely takes what is already immanent in consciousness.

Husserl's work shows traces of the influence not only of Plato and Brentano and Dilthey but also of Bolzano and Meinong. Elements drawn from scholasticism are also to be found in it. More interesting, however, than the story of his dependence on others is that of his own development. Husserl came to philosophy from mathematics and with the conviction that the clue to mathematical as well as logical truth was to be found in psychology. In a book on arithmetic published in 1891 he accepted the idea that it is psychology on which logic is based. But this view, called "psychologism" in Germany today, now finds in Husserl one of its most powerful antagonists. Husserl says himself that it was partly his reading of Dilthey, known in Germany as one of the ablest defenders of the *Geisteswissenschaften,* or sciences of the spirit as contrasted with natural science, which convinced him of the need for different methods in science and philosophy, respectively. In a famous article published in the magazine *Logos* in 1910 Husserl claimed that the procedures of natural science were not

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suitable even for all psychological investigation. It is interesting to know that the line of argument pursued by both Dilthey and Husserl played a part in the founding of the new *Gestalt* movement in psychology. The leaders of this movement took over the phenomenological method to the extent of claiming that mental processes should be judged by what they themselves had to offer, for the meanings resident in them as presented in experience, and not exclusively in relation to the physiological processes which accompanied them. In general the *Gestalt psychology* allows experiences to speak for themselves and so finds qualitative differences among them which are otherwise not apparent. It has thus purified its basic conceptions just as phenomenology asserts all sciences must do.

Yet this very statement of a supposed triumph of phenomenology raises questions as to its final worth. What do we mean, after all, when we say that we are to study the "phenomenon itself"? Must we become "phenomenologists" to do this? And if so, what does that mean? Can there be any definite content to the term when phenomenologists differ so from each other? And what is this new method which is neither logical nor psychological? Is there a field prior to both? And can we dismiss the idealistic-realistic controversy so easily by talking about two aspects of the same experience? The difficulties are not lessened by the fact that in his book, *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie,* Husserl sounds as though he were solving his problem as he went along instead of describing the solution for his readers after he had found it. In his classes the same is to a degree true. Husserl's best work seems to have been done in his earlier *Logische Untersuchungen,* in which he shows real logical subtlety. It should also be observed that he is famous in Germany partly because of the brilliant record so many of his pupils have made.

As to the influence of his thought on the study of religion there are four things to be said. The first is that Husserl's attempt to reach absolute assurance and to find a satisfactory

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description of the most ultimate of all realities is in line with a great deal in present-day German thought. German philosophers are much less ready than are our own to see in the world which science reveals the final truth about the world in which we live. The plane upon which sense data operate is not for them the only plane on which truth is to be found. Like Husserl many German philosophers would today bracket the factual and go deeper than the naturalistic answer in their search for reality. One can point to at least three attempts at forming a definite ontology among modern German philosophers. But this ontological interest, or interest in the realm of Being, surely lies very near to religion. Is not the demand for intellectual assurance akin to the demand for religious assurance, a part of man's eagerness to know where he stands in the cosmic scheme of things? The mingling of intellectual and religious motives in a Plato, a Plotinus, or a Hegel points to their inseparability. And the religious query is implicit in Husserl although the word does not often appear on his pages.

The second thing to be said is that in Germany Husserl is regarded as the strongest adversary of "psychologism" that recent years have produced. As a mathematician he came to believe in the primacy of mathematical forms and propositions as contrasted with their empirical expression; as a logician he continued to contrast the world of logical ideal truths with the world of sense experience; and as a phenomenologist he "brackets" all that has to do with the empirical instance appearing in the world of space and time. Science, though it deals with the world of the senses, must purify its conceptions by a process having only non-sensuous factors before its findings can have any validity. The final truth and the basic truth lie far from the world of sense data and much nearer Lotze's realm of *Geltung* or Plato's world of ideas. The human personality itself is revealed to us not through an observation of external behavior but through an introspective process directed toward that which in the nature of things must be true.

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The third thing is that Husserl has transferred the field of philosophical discussion once more to that which was familiar to scholastic theologians and which though somewhat foreign to the Protestant mind is still a congenial realm for Catholics. It is the world of intuition, of *contemplatio,* of *theoria,* into which he leads us. It has not been difficult for a discerning Catholic author to point out that his work has much in common with Catholicism's heritage, through Aquinas, from Aristotle. Even in the *Logische Untersuchungen,* this writer asserts, a place is left for God as *das ideale intuitive Schauen,* while in the *Ideen* the whole procedure is one tending to emphasize the self-revelation of a transcendent God who is Himself the Absolute and independent of all empirical laws.

But, in the fourth place, to a Protestant the most natural inquiry of all is why more of an attempt has not been made to apply this method to the distinctive phenomena of religion itself, or to what we call religious experience. It has been used for mathematics, for psychology, for aesthetics, and for ontology. Surely the time is at hand for its application to religion. In this connection I was very much interested to hear Professor Rudolf Otto, of Marburg, say that after the pnblication of his well-known book, *Das Heilige,* he received a letter from Husserl congratulating him on the fruitful use he had made of the phenomenological method as applied to religion. Apparently Husserl feels that Otto's attempt in this book to isolate the unique features of religious experience and to describe them without allowing them at the same time to lose their individuality was entirely in line with the phenomenological mode of approach. It is interesting also to know that a student in Freiburg is now writing on the relation of phenomenology to religion and that Heidegger, under whom the work is being done, is suggesting, for analyses of religious experience, not Ames and Leuba, but Augustine and Luther!

Any discussion of Husserl is bound to include a discussion of his pupils. In the final accounting of phenomenology Hus-

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serl will surely be judged as much for the followers he has had as for what he has himself contributed. To two of the most outstanding of these, Scheler and Heidegger, we now turn.

In Max Scheler's *Der Formalismus in der Ethik* and *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* one sees some of the advantages of the phenomenological method as applied to religion and also some of its limitations. Scheler, formerly at the university of Cologne, was in many ways the most brilliant as he was also the most intelligible and the most prolific writer on the phenomenological theme. His sudden death in May, 1928, just a few days after he had begun work as professor of philosophy in Frankfurt was a great loss to German letters. Scheler was for a time an orthodox Roman Catholic but had undergone several violent reversals in religious attitude and at the time of his death was outside the church. His philosophy is an interesting attempt by one with Catholic leanings to revive the intuitionism of Plato and Augustine as against the rationalism of Aristotle and Aquinas.

The phenomenological method, Scheler claims, is superior to the logical in at least two ways. In the first place, logical truth is confined to sentences or propositions, and, in the second, much of it is really negative in form, since it consists in affirming only that the opposite of which is unthinkable. Phenomenology, on the other hand, views objects and concepts immediately, it sees essences rather than sentences, and it sees at once and positively whether or not they are acceptable. It penetrates directly to the heart of the object in question, uncovers at once its acceptability or lack of it, and sees whether the *Wesenszusammenhänge*, or relations among the essences, are conceivable. But all this is done without any attempt at deduction or reasoning or any appeal to opposites. The conceptions themselves, as a result of the phenomenological reduction, stand forth as what they are, and it is immediately evident whether or not they are conceivable and therefore valid.

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Conceptions of value are like all other conceptions in this particular. To know anything about them we must first get at their essence. It is absurd, Scheler claims, to work inductively, from history or psychology or biology to a study of values. We must first know what good and bad are in themselves, not in their social setting but in their nature, before we can pass judgment on empirical cases. Nor may we conclude rationally on the basis of argument that a thing is a value. Ethical judgments themselves are a priori, valid before experience occurs at all. Further, using the phenomenological idea of the "intentional" nature of consciousness, the constitution of objects by consciousness and the complete correspondence in character between the mental act and that which it knows or toward which it is directed, Scheler maintains that the difference between values as objects and things as objects points to a radical difference in the method of recognizing them. It is well to notice at this point that Scheler's acceptance of the idea of the correspondence between mental act and object does not make him into an idealist, as can be shown by contrasting his thought here with that of Kant on a similar subject. According to Kant the a priori laws of mental acts determine the objects. But Scheler's a priori laws which govern objects are not laws inherent in the constitution of a unified understanding, but rather laws which are discovered in the essences of objects as they present themselves. So as one finds distinct fields of experience one must expect distinctive ways of apprehending them. Color and sound are different; therefore we must expect fundamental differences in seeing and hearing. Being and values occupy distinct spheres and are grasped in two distinct processes. Being is presented to knowledge; values are presented to feeling. We cannot argue about or even define them. We can only feel them, especially in strong emotions like love and hate.

Scheler continually emphasizes the right of the emotions to a hearing of their own. Pascal, he says, was correct in

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speaking of a *logique du coeur*. The emotions are as independent of the senses as they are of the intellect. We must get back to the Platonic notion that there are important realms of experience which the senses do not touch at all. Aristotle was on the wrong track when he asserted that the intellect contained nothing except what the senses brought. If we take the emotions by themselves and analyze the fact of preference we find certain precedences. Generally speaking, values are higher the more lasting their quality, the less their dependence on extension or on other values, and the deeper the satisfaction they bring. Personal or ethical values are higher than the aesthetic values which relate to things. The values of mental acts—knowing, loving, willing—are higher than those of "functions"—hearing, seeing, feeling—and still higher than "reactions" such as spontaneous sympathy or revenge. We may also arrange them as running from the lower levels of sensuous aesthetic values up through values of justice and truth to the highest, which is that of holiness.

The "bearer" of this holiness, or highest value, is God. He is a Person, one who loves us and is constantly revealing himself to us. All this we know through intuition. God's love we can feel in the initial, pretheoretical response which we make to it. With Augustine, Scheler maintains that God is ever manifesting himself in a constant whispering in the depths of our nature or in the eternal light that lighteth every man. To refuse to recognize this is not only error but actual guilt. It is not a supernatural revelation but as natural as all our other intuitions. Nor can it be, as Aquinas would make it, a generalization on the basis of sense experience. Like our ideas of unity, order, relation, and value, the idea of God is immediately apprehended.

The advantages in such a method for the study of religion are clear. It is empirical, in the widest sense of the term, and so is free from that rationalism and formalism which so often have crushed out the life of religion between them. It makes

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much of the difference between knowing and appreciating and of distinctions in quality between religious and other values. It refuses to measure emotions in terms of sense experiences. It rejects hedonism. It is colored throughout by a distinct interest in ethics. The difficulties, however, are also apparent. Like other systems which have tried to get around the realistic-idealistic controversy by denying its existence it leaves one in doubt as to whether the issues have really been met. What is this consciousness with objective and subjective aspects? How does it constitute its objects and what is the relation of its objects to those we know in ordinary experience when the differences of interpretation are so great that Husserl can call himself an idealist while Scheler can be known as a realist? And how are we to find the truth of historical situations, to name only one group of doubtful cases, by "intuiting" the essences of the facts involved? Facts disclosed through empirical research seem here to have precedence.

But perhaps the most important question concerns the objective truth of such beliefs as belief in God. Scheler calls himself a realist, he talks as though God and values without question had objective existence, he emphasizes the independence of the value realm, its priority even over metaphysics, and he points to the way in which devotion to values lifts the individual out of himself—to the way in which the strongest characters of history have always felt themselves instruments in the hands of God or Fate. Yet how can he, as a phenomenologist, be so sure about these things that he seems almost to take them for granted? Phenomenology expressly throws out all questions of factual existence. Its interest is in the realm of essences where considerations of existence are irrelevant. One answer might be that the problem of existence, first bracketed, is brought up again and settled implicitly under the head of "objective validity." The German language lends itself to this kind of answer because of the many different expressions it has for different kinds of being. Or it might be said that the

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problem is itself one to be settled in the phenomenological way and decided on the basis of the essential relations that are disclosed to intuition. But how far does such an answer go, after all, when we are asking about the basis for our belief in God? Our phenomenological intuition may help us to make our conceptions clear and we may be forced to discard all that which will not stand up under the cold, clear phenomenological light. Aside from this we do not seem to be much further than we were in the first place, with faith and religious experience and belief on the one side and on the other the prosaic but important question of existence. Phenomenology here as elsewhere gives us new points of vantage from which old problems are to be viewed but the problems themselves must return to plague the phenomenologist as much as another.

Perhaps Scheler has done as much as one man can be expected to do, however, in treating the whole subject with the animation and at the same time the discernment which he has shown. He is sometimes criticized in Germany today for inexactness and lack of scientific method. But no one can call him to account for failure to realize imaginatively the religious possibilities in the world-situation which humanity confronts. It has been remarked by those who knew him that the phenomena of conscience, penitence, and remorse played a large part in his thinking and were interpreted by him as voices from another realm. He is reported to have been personally greatly disappointed that a wave of penitence did not sweep over the world after the war. A lecture which he gave at Keyserling's school in Darmstadt in 1927, now published as *Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos,* shows at once his versatility, the range of his knowledge, and the religious interest which underlay so much of his work.

The most original and at the same time obscure writer of the three we are considering is Martin Heidegger on whom Husserl's teaching mantle at Freiburg has fallen and on whom the leadership of the school will supposedly devolve. Heideg-

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ger was trained for the Catholic priesthood and was for a time prominent in the youth movement but his teaching has now no official connection with any sect. His book, *Sein und Zeit*, is difficult reading partly because he has a tendency to invent his own vocabulary and to use words for other than their standard meanings. In so doing he brings out the flexibility of the German language and its fitness, along with Greek, to draw distinctions which in English or Latin are lost. But at the same time he lays himself open to the charge of arbitrariness. While the turn he has given to phenomenological thought is a new one, traces of many earlier writers can be found in his work, not only of Dilthey and Husserl but of Kierkegaard and Luther and also the scholastic philosophers.

Although he is Husserl's successor the differences between his work and that of his master are more apparent than the agreements. Heidegger professes, in true phenomenological fashion, to go straight to "the thing itself," to "the phenomenon," in the Greek sense of the word as that which shows itself, and strives also to penetrate to its essence. But where Husserl cancels the whole world of everyday life, Heidegger takes this everyday existence as his field for research. To get at essences Husserl excludes all questions of being. Heidegger takes ontology, the problem of being, as his main inquiry. Husserl in his classes transports his students at once to the extremely rarefied and abstract world of the *cogito*, the "I think," and tries to see what is conceivable in it. Heidegger, from his opening lecture at Freiburg, made his students face the world of practical everyday facts. His interest is not so much in the *cogito* as in the *sum*, or "I am," implied in it and the concrete world presupposed in the *sum*. The "I am" which he analyzes is the "I am in the world of things" of the ordinary man, not "being" in the abstract. It is the "I am" of "I am a conscious, living, breathing, feeling individual." One might express it flippantly yet with accuracy by saying that Heidegger is the man who put the *Sein* in *Bewusstsein*.

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Heidegger's passion for distinctions and also his arbitrariness are shown in the fact that in addition to the general category of being called *Sein* he finds five different kinds of existence. Man's existence is *Dasein;* that of animals, *Leben;* of material things, *Vorhanden;* of useful things, *Zuhanden;* of abstract things, *Bestehen.* Employing a device which he uses frequently and not always accurately, Heidegger makes an etymological examination of the word "truth" and finds that the Greek *aletheia* may be taken to mean non-hidden, therefore discovered or revealed. The thing that is revealed in truth is a *Dasein,* or individual existence, so the *menschliche Dasein,* or *Dasein* which man *is* (not which man has), becomes the object of Heidegger's analysis.

The logical problem set in terms of subject and predicate is for Heidegger part of the larger epistemological problem of subject-object. To show how the realistic-idealistic struggle has been fought along the wrong lines he points to the fact that for the naïve man there is no problem at all. Man is that which is in the world. Dasein is *in-der-Welt-sein.* The knowing of the object by the subject is simply one of the natural activities that goes on in this man-in-the-world situation. In line with Bergson and Dilthey, Heidegger points to an original continuity between man and environment, between past and future, between ideas and historical situations. This is lost when men draw false philosophical distinctions. The line between being and essence is also a meaningless one since essences, qualities, and individual things are all part of the great flux of being *(Sein).* Being within the bounds of time, *Sein* and *Zeit* understood only in terms of each other—this is what we are to analyze. We must examine the individual man in his everyday environment with his relation to history and with death looming up in the future. The individual is not isolated but is in continuous contact with others like himself, with objects of use, with material things, with animals. The environing world is not one fixed thing but changes with each age and

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with each inhabitant. In the time of the Greeks the world *was* inhabited by gods of nature. Today when we listen to the radio there *is* no space between Berlin and Paris. Each man, be he poet or peasant, lives in his own world, the world of his own *Dasein*. This is not individualism nor subjectivism, for such words in this system have no meaning. The world of being is a flux, subject and object are correlative, each individual in the nature of the case transcends himself and enters the world of his neighbor. They understand each other because of the overlapping of their environments, their participation in a common experience.

Man is in the world, in nature, in a network of relationships, in society, in history, in time. The future is not foreign. Its presence is felt here and now. Death is not that by which the end comes but is an immanent part of existence; it is that by which life is ordered. Man is *Sein zum Tod*. Death is ever present in life, influencing what man thinks and does. Man is placed here without being asked whether he would like to come. Therefore fear or care is part of his lot—not so much fear of life or of death itself but rather fear of failure to perform the appropriate function, fear that he will not realize his possibilities in the time allotted to him. Conscience calls aloud for life on the human plane, for the unfolding of that which man's essence as a human being requires.

So Heidegger proceeds, defining and redefining and refining upon distinctions already made, analyzing being into its parts, differentiating between *ontisch* and *ontologisch*, between "existence" and "existentiality," between "care" and "fear" and their implications, between "time" and "timefulness." Heidegger loves to play with words and to find new meanings for them, also to take an apparently obvious question and discover in it hidden obscurities, or to treat a baffling problem as if it were of no importance. That he has worked over the field of ontological and religious discussion in such a way as to make it reveal new significances is undeniable. He

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is continually showing flashes of insight that are just this side of genius. It is also true, however, that he heaps up difficulties for his followers by the artificiality of many of his distinctions. His power as a teacher seems to lie more in his ability to stimulate his hearers to new ideas of their own than in any capacity to lead them as a group by universally recognizable stages to conclusions in which all concur. His insight is extremely suggestive but also very elusive. The shades of meaning which he makes his words reveal are more stimulating to the imagination than to the intellect. One difficulty in the way of his ever having an influence outside of Germany lies in the impossibility of giving his book an adequate translation.

The intimate relation of his work to religion is evident in even the briefest sketch of it. Extremely interesting is the way in which he has woven together strands from the problem of being with others from the problem of value. He answers ontological problems with conceptions drawn from the field of ethics and suggests that the solution for the moral questions raised in the New Testament is to be found in an analysis which is mainly ontological. A definite Catholic influence is observable in the amount of attention he gives to the idea of death. This also suggests a certain kinship with the recent theology of crisis or of dialectic, and also with the Danish philosopher, Kierkegaard. Even when Heidegger is not referring to specifically religious problems one feels that he is working on conceptions with which religion must eventually deal. The problem ever before him is that of man in his cosmic setting trying to discover the higher than human elements in it and to realize in his own life whatever demands may rightfully be made.

Germany is looking today for a new spiritual leader and many believe that Heidegger, who is still in his early forties, is the man. That he has certain requisites for religious leadership no one can deny. He is original, imaginative, and exceedingly subtle as a thinker. He is an unusual personality

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and a man of force of character. At Marburg he had much influence and in one year at Freiburg he has made a deep impression. Yet I must confess to some doubts as to his final position both as philosopher and as leader. To me he was most effective as a teacher when engaged in the exposition of some historical problem. In his constructive work he is original but his originality is often the sort that depends on an arbitrary use of words, and it must also be said that much of the time he is not clear. Yet it seems to me that the philosophical world cries out today for clearness. Phenomenology achieved its position of influence at the start partly because it seemed to point to a fulfilment of that demand. But now between the differences among Husserl, Scheler, and Heidegger, and the obscurity in so much of Heidegger's own thought, the originally clear trail has become a maze. If phenomenology continues to flourish, and Heidegger continues to have influence, a new effort for precision must be made, especially in the statement of the relation of phenomenology to the main currents of the history of philosophy. If this is done it may look forward to new worlds for conquest, particularly as there is no doubt about its complying with the specifically German demand for depth. The insistence that philosophy reach below the surface of experience and deal with the basic problems of existence, which our present-day enthusiasm for science is likely to make us neglect, is as real in Germany today as it was in the days of the great idealistic tradition. Phenomenology can do this. If it can at the same time realize its own aim and make its conceptions more clear it can hardly avoid developing new and important implications for religion.

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CHURCH UNION IN SOUTH INDIA

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT
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IN TWO previous issues of the *Journal of Religion*[1] the writer sketched the history of the church-union movement in South India from its earliest beginnings through the seventh session of the Joint Committee on Union in 1928.

The eighth meeting of the Joint Committee was held in Madras from February 26 to March 8 of the current year. This meeting differed from the previous meetings in that for the first time a relatively complete scheme of union was in the hands of every delegate as the basis of discussion. Since the seventh or Bangalore session of the Joint Committee, the Continuation Committee had been hard at work, and at the Madras meeting its members presented the results of their deliberations.

The draft scheme of union as submitted to the Joint Committee contained those items which had previously been agreed upon, as well as items not hitherto considered or agreed upon by the whole Committee, but which in the judgment of the Continuation Committee were necessary elements in a complete scheme of union.

In the first sessions of the Joint Committee the entire scheme was rapidly examined, and the points noted upon which there was either complete or partial agreement, as well as those that would require more careful consideration. The Committee then divided itself into four groups dealing with the government of the church, creeds and worship, the ministry, and the relation of the United Church to other churches. During the closing days of the meeting of the Joint Committee

[1] November, 1926, and January, 1929.

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the subcommittees brought in their reports and these reports were considered by the whole body.

The proposed scheme of union as prepared by the Joint Committee contains in addition to previous agreements certain new material that is of interest.

The uniting churches are asked to accept "the historic episcopate in a constitutional form as part of their basis of union, without intending thereby to imply, or to express a judgment on, any theory concerning episcopacy." The functions of the bishop are essentially the functions of the present Anglican bishops. Both the diocese and the province are to have a voice in the appointment of bishops.

The Committee submits

> that the bishops of the dioceses of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon (as the Church of England is now called) which are to be included in the United Church shall be accepted as bishops of the United Church, provided that they assent to the Basis of Union and accept the Constitution of the United Church.

All consecrations of bishops are to be performed by bishops, "not less than three taking part in each consecration."

The Committee expresses the hope, and declares it to be the intention of the United Church, that eventually all permanent ministers of the church shall be episcopally ordained. For thirty years after the union

> the ministers of any church whose missions have founded the originally separate parts of the United Church may be received as ministers of the United Church, if they are willing to give the same assent to the Basis of Union and the same promise to accept the Constitution of the United Church as will be required from persons about to be ordained or employed for the first time in that Church. After this period of thirty years, the United Church will consider and decide the question of such exceptions to the general principle of an episcopally ordained ministry.

It was decided at the Madras session that there should be a diaconate in the United Church, thus continuing the three historic orders of the ministry—bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The problem of the diaconate was complicated because

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both the ordained deacons looking forward to ordination as presbyters and the ordained ruling elders of the Presbyterian churches had to be considered. The situation was met by providing for ordained deacons—candidates for ordination as presbyters—and for lay deacons or elders, set apart for life "to assist the pastor in the spiritual and administrative work of the Church."

Regarding intercommunion the Joint Committee declares

> that none of the ministers or members of the United Church shall because of the union forego any rights with regard to inter-communion and inter-celebration which they possessed before the union. . . . . They recognize that the act of union will initiate a process of growing together into one life and of advance towards that complete spiritual unity. If during this process difficulties and anomalies arise, the United Church will be careful not to allow any over-riding of conscience by Church authorities or by majorities; nor will it in its administrative acts knowingly transgress the long-established traditions of any of the uniting Churches.

Instead of framing regulations upon the point, the Committee feels that assurances must be given and received in a "spirit of mutual confidence and love."

The union is to be inaugurated by the partaking of the holy communion. At the beginning of this service the existing bishops will declare their assent to the governing principles and constitution of the United church. The new bishops will then be consecrated in a service of six parts: (1) the presentation of the bishops- elect to the presiding bishop; (2) intercessory prayer; (3) the public examination of the bishops elect; (4) the consecratory prayer; (5) the laying on of hands; (6) delivery of the Bible to the bishops being consecrated.

The matter of whether presbyters should participate in the consecration of the first bishops has long been a most perplexing problem. The final recommendation of the Joint Committee is that the presiding bishop, at least two other bishops, and presbyters of the South India United church and the Wesley-

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an church shall lay on hands jointly, "with or without accompanying words."

The immediate establishment of exactly demarcated dioceses in an area where distinct synods and councils of the three uniting churches are already established could not but result in confusion, and hence it is proposed that "the new bishops appointed at the inauguration of the union should be designated for work in particular areas, but not have constitutionally established and rigidly demarcated dioceses." The territorial diocese is expected to be a more or less natural growth.

The governing bodies of the church are to be the pastorate committee, the diocesan council, and the synod. Upon the bishops there rests the special responsibility of preserving the faith and order of the church, and no proposition which directly concerns these subjects can be submitted to the synod for final voting save "in a form approved by the bishops sitting separately for that purpose."

The proposed United church asserts its freedom in spiritual matters from the "direction or interposition of any civil government." It further asserts its freedom from control of any church or society "external to itself." At the same time it seeks to be "in full communion with the Churches of the Anglican Communion, and equally to be in such relations of communion and fellowship with other Churches as are now maintained with those Churches by the South India United Church and the Wesleyan Church in South India."

A most difficult problem throughout the whole negotiations has been the relation of the United church to the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon. The southern dioceses of the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon, while strongly desiring to be a part of the United church, have been reluctant to give up organic connection with the northern province of the church. Then, too, under the Indian Church Act, 1927, the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon as a whole owes certain obligations to the maintained churches and their congrega-

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tions and to the chaplains. It was considered as to whether the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon might as a whole enter into the union, but the suggestion was rejected on the ground that such a union would savor of the absorption of the South India United church and the Wesleyan church of South India.

It is now proposed that the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon shall divide itself into a northern and southern province, in order that the southern province may enter into the United church. For the time being there will be no organic union between the two provinces, but it is hoped that a similar union may be brought about in the north, leading ultimately to the formation of an All-India United church. The United church in South India, as the successor in South India to the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon is to undertake certain obligations both in respect of the maintained churches and the chaplains of the ecclesiastical establishment in South India. In order to deal with the business involved in these obligations, the United church is to send "bishops, presbyters, and laymen as representatives of its diocese to meet the representatives of the dioceses of Northern India in an assembly which will be the General Council referred to in the Indian Church Act 1927." The Joint Committee believes this arrangement to be in harmony with the real intention of the Indian Church Act, though it may require some slight modification of the statutory rules, which it is hoped the metropolitan will be willing to suggest to the government of India in council.

The United church also proposes to provide for the continuance in military cantonments of the ministry now carried on by the Wesleyan Methodist church—if the Wesleyan and military authorities so agree.

Other sections of the scheme deal with church membership, worship, discipline, marriage law, property, and finance.

The proposed scheme of union as adopted by the Joint

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Committee is now to be submitted to the official governing bodies of the uniting churches. Quite certain it is that these governing bodies will make suggestions and raise objections that the Committee will have to consider further. But equally certain it is that large sections of the report will be received with complete agreement.

There is still an element within the South India United church that can see in the "historic episcopate" nothing save the acceptance of the questionable doctrine of the "apostolic succession." A group of English Congregationalists is exceptionally outspoken upon this point, as well as being in opposition to the creedal nature of the basis of union.

Further opposition arises to the proposal that after thirty years all ministers shall be episcopally ordained. To many Anglicans the thirty-year period seems like an uncalled-for extension of an "irregular" ministry, while many Free churchmen feel that insistence upon episcopal ordination will in the future deprive the United church of the aid of many able ministers from the West who have conscientious scruples upon this point. The sentiment is expressed that to be really inclusive the United church must permanently find place for both episcopally and non-episcopally ordained ministers.

The section upon intercommunion registers an advance, but it does not allay the specter of a church divided within itself upon this important question. It is quite probable that additional thought will have to be brought to bear upon this problem.

The consecration of bishops through a joint laying on of hands of bishops and presbyters has precedent in the Church of Sweden, but one cannot feel that the solution is wholly satisfactory. To quote the words of the secretary of the Joint Committee:

> The presbyters of the Wesleyan and South India United Churches who take part in this ceremony will do so as typifying the transference from the presbyters of the Church of the authority to ordain ministers in the

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name of the United Church. The presbyters of these two Churches now have the right to ordain ministers in the name of the Church and for the Church Universal. After the union has been consummated that function will be performed by the bishops of the United Church and hence in order that they may be able fully to convey to those whom they ordain the complete ministry of the previous Anglican, Wesleyan and South India United Churches there should be conveyed to them at this inaugural service the authority to do so.

The writer can see in this explanation nothing else save a brave attempt to rationalize an unpleasant compromise resulting from the calling in question of the validity of the Free church ministry.

Although the United church expresses the desire of maintaining fellowship with all branches of the Church of Christ, there is an anomalous situation when an element within the church refuses to recognize the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers of Britain and America as true ministers of the word and sacraments.

The members of the proposed southern province of the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon naturally feel that they are making a sacrifice in cutting themselves off from their brethren in the north. But at the same time the Wesleyan church in South India is losing its organic union with the North India Province of the Wesleyan church in India, while the Presbyterian element in the South India United church had previously to detach itself from the All-India Presbyterian church for the sake of union.

The Joint Committee puts forward the scheme as frankly an outline, drawn up definitely for South India, and to meet the peculiar situation that exists in South India. It is not expecting an immediate favorable response upon the part of the churches. It is expecting intelligent discussion and criticism. Without doubt the Madras meeting of the Joint Committee marks a definite advance in the direction of unity.

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CRITICAL REVIEWS

SOURCE BOOKS FOR PRIMITIVE EUROPEAN RELIGIONS[1]

These fascicles contain in German translation a selection of sources illustrating the pre-Christian religion of the Germanic and the Celtic peoples. As little comment as possible is added; Schröder offers nothing but a few footnotes, but Krause, forced by the obscure character of the Celtic material, provides certain explanatory matter. The task of drawing conclusions is left by both editors to the reader.

Of the seventy-four pages of text in *Die Germanen,* forty-two are devoted to "Tales of the Gods," a bit over fourteen to "Tales of Origin" and the "Creation and Destruction of the World," twelve to "Cult and Magic," and between four and five to the "Transition from Heathenism to Christianity." There are specimen cases given of many, but not all, of the phenomena one wishes to consider in an introductory course on Germanic religion. It is a little strange that Schröder, who is so well at home in this field, should have given over half of his brief and precious space to the greater gods. A student left alone with this material will get an exaggerated idea of the importance of the higher mythology, as did the earlier investigators. These interesting stories are comparatively late and much of their content is either poetic creation or of foreign derivation, and they were consequently current only in the upper social class. They are highly valuable from many standpoints but of little interest as representatives of old Germanic or old Scandinavian lore.

The real task of the student of Germanic religion lies in the lower mythology, and though much of it can be found in all parts of Schröder's book—most richly, of course, in the brief but valuable section on cult and magic—it would have been well to emphasize this field more strongly, since it represents actual belief. One would welcome more attention to the living corpse, dwarves, elves, giants, fertility rites, and the older rune-magic, even if the space given to the great gods had to be reduced.

Krause's task was difficult; Christianity early took possession of the Celtic world, and as a result accounts of the great gods are rare and brief. The investigator has to overhaul evil spirits and mortal heroes gifted with

[1] *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch.* Edited by Alfred Bertholet in connection with colleagues. Second enlarged edition. Tübingen: 1929.

Die Germanen. By Franz Rolf Schröder, No. 12. vi+77 pages. M. 3.80.

Die Kelten. By Wolfgang Krause, No. 13. vi+46 pages. M. 2.50.

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supernatural powers in his search for old divinities which the new religion had degraded in rank. Krause presents a selection of such material from the huge mass at his command. Of his forty-one pages less than a fourth is given to the great gods. The rest is devoted to the "Realm of the Dead," the "Isles of the Blessed," the "Kettle of Fertility," "Druids," and "Divination and Magic." Much of his material is of great poetic beauty. No inscriptions are included. Only the Celticist can say if he has selected wisely.

These works are too brief to serve the investigator of comparative religion who is unable to use the language in which the originals are recorded. They are excellent for the purpose for which their editors undoubtedly intended them; i.e., to accompany a handbook on Germanic or Celtic religion or for the use of students in an introductory course in the subject under the guidance of a teacher.

CHESTER N. GOULD

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PAGAN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

It is a pleasure to introduce this book[1] to *Journal* readers, and I do not know any better way of introducing it than by quoting bits of Miss Turnbull's own Introduction:

> Is it less idolatrous to worship few gods than many? Is it less idolatrous to worship one god than several if that one be but a fragment of the veritable God, the fetish set up by a very fallible human fancy, the imagination of but a small portion of the race of man? . . . . Shall we set up the idol of our own race and epoch as the sole god to worship for all times to come? Others have done the same. And who shall judge between?
>
> The expression of the divine element, the glory in nature, as found in the Vedic and Egyptian Hymns, the stress which Buddha places on the inevitability of Cause and Effect, which Zoroaster lays on the conflict of the Good and Evil Powers; Confucius' calm insistence on decorous virtue, the impassioned pleadings of the inspired Prophet of Islam—all have met some inner need of man. Unto each and all of these seers appeared "tongues like of fire . . . . and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. . . . ."
>
> Whatever this straining after God may signify, whether He can be expressed in human terms or not, whether He is but the projection of our own highest ideals, no study is more uplifting than the tracing through the centuries of man's eager, often crude attempt to overtake his Creator and portray Him in all His blinding glory to our mortal eyes. . . . .

[1] *Tongues of Fire: A Bible of Sacred Scriptures of the Pagan World.* Compiled by Grace H. Turnbull. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. xxvi+416 pages. $3.50.

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And if the nations who profess the teachings of Brahman and Buddha, Mohammed, Confucius, and Zoroaster have fallen immeasurably below the models set by them, that the so-called Christian nations have been falser yet to the standards of Christ is evidenced by the gross materialism of their civilizations and their participation in recent times in the most criminal and bloody war that the world has ever staged. They need not scorn to read Asoka's appeal for peace engraved on the living rock of India, nor to join in the prayer of Aristophanes that "from the murmur and subtlety of suspicion" with which we vex one another "we may be given rest. . . . ."

Not that the book which we have been wont to call *the* Scriptures, the Word of God, is not the most sublime creation known to man! What heathen work can touch it? But that it is possible to place at its side other holy scriptures, other Bibles of inspired words, Bibles of the pagans, can be shown by the present collection culled from the non-Christian sacred scriptures of the ancient world. And there are yet other Bibles possible, the Bibles of the present, slowly forming now all unknown to us; and the Bibles of the future, the Bibles of the man of science; for revelation is not closed. . . . .

We have here a "Book of Genesis," a "Book of Psalms," and a "Book of Prayers"—made up of materials from Hindu, Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, American Indian, and other sources. It is worth noting that one of the most beautiful of the creation myths in the Book of Genesis is from the ritual of the Omaha Indians. There is also a "Book of Zarathustra," a "Book of Lao-Tzu," a "Book of Buddha," a "Book of Socrates," a "Book of Plato," a "Book of Seneca," a "Book of Epictetus," and a "Book of Mohammed." Other sections are devoted to the Upanishads, the Confucian Canon, the Edicts of Asoka, the Laws of Manu, the Bhagavadgita, the Enneads of Plotinus, and the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius. Specialists and others who chance to have more than ordinary familiarity with one or more of the vast bodies of literature from which the collection is made will no doubt find disappointing omissions. Scholars may frown at arrangements which sometimes mix early and late materials. But on the whole the difficult task of selection, elimination, and adjustment has been well performed. Miss Turnbull, who is herself an artist of distinction in the fields of painting and sculpture, has had expert assistance in this work and has made good use of it.

There is undoubtedly a place for new anthologies of pagan scriptures. Those which have come down to us from earlier generations leave room for improvement in editorial point of view, in range of contents, and in attractiveness of outward makeup. The present editor and her publishers have been notably successful in meeting all these requirements. The book deserves wide circulation. I shall cherish my copy as a *vade-mecum*.

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Incidentally it is to be hoped that properly qualified readers will find in this volume a twofold challenge: to add to the number of modern free translations of rich materials from the pagan religious classics, and to experiment beyond what has yet been done in compiling "the Bibles of the present" to which Miss Turnbull refers—the last particularly with the point of view of experimental science and the newer philosophy in mind. Between the old idea of biblical canons and modern science and philosophy there is of course no common meeting ground, but the present book is one of many recent reminders of the passing of that idea.

FRANK EAKIN

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A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE

It requires editorial courage to undertake a one-volume commentary on the Bible, even when the volume stretches out to nearly fifteen hundred pages. Yet two of them have reached completion within a few months. They are the commentary published last year under the general editorship of Bishop Gore and the work[1] at present under review. To Mr. Downey, one of the editors, goes the honor of first conceiving the project, but the chief burdens of technical editorial work have fallen to the lot of his associates.

The commentary is a part of that rapidly increasing library which endeavors to make available for those not highly trained in critical procedure or not conversant with its methods the chief results of historical study as it has impinged on the Old and New Testaments. The endeavor is a commendable one and upon its success rests much of the hope of a widespread understanding of the Christian religion as it must make itself at home in our rapidly expanding universe and amid the complex relationships of modern society.

The point of view of the commentary is that of the historical approach to the Bible and it is, in general, maintained with consistency. This in itself is an achievement when one considers that sixty-six different scholars have contributed to the volume. Discussions on subjects necessary for orientation in the historical approach to the Christian Scriptures are found in three series of articles: one of a general character and not quite so good as the other two, one prefixed to the Old Testament com-

[1] *The Abingdon Bible Commentary*. Edited by Frederick Carl Eiselen, Edwin Lewis, and David G. Downey. New York: Abingdon Press, 1929. xvi+1452 pages. $5.00.

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mentary, and one preceding the portion concerned with the New Testament. The great majority of these articles are well done, and a large amount of reliable and valuable information is conveyed in understandable form in small space. Only those who have worked through the problems of biblical criticism can fully appreciate the fine scholarship which underlies not only most of the articles but the greater part of the commentary itself.

Turning to the commentary itself one notices that it is not concerned with words and phrases as such but with the larger ideas. The chapters of the English Bible are, as a general rule, followed as a matter of convenience, but within them the material is analyzed on the basis of the ideas expressed. Thus the reader who works through one of the biblical documents with this commentary as a guide will have a clearer idea of the general trend of the thought than he would have if every debatable verbal point had been thrust forward. In this respect the volume is in line with the best type of modern popular commenting. The work will be of no small value to (quoting from the Foreword) "thoughtful pastors, intelligent laymen, and teachers in Sunday and Week-Day Schools of Religious Education."

The editors have laid under tribute scholarship from the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, Wales, Australia, and India, although India's contribution is surely by way of Scotland. The volume is thus representative of the scholarly thought of the English-speaking world. It is to the credit of the editors that they have succeeded in producing from such diverse groupings so unified a book.

The reviewer would be glad to close his discussion with the things he has so far written, but he is not able in fairness to do so. In that part of the volume devoted to the Old Testament there is little tendency to do anything else than face the problems courageously and steadily. The general result is that one can turn from that part of the work with a clear view of the historical problems of the Old Testament and of the results of historical criticism as applied to them. Occasionally there is a divergence of view or a mediating tendency. For example, there is a difference in the method of commenting between the two sections on the Psalter. The first section seems to manifest a firmer grasp, or at least a clearer presentation, of the ideas to be explained. The Book of Proverbs is by one writer placed largely in the time of David and Solomon (p. 5), while the author of the commentary on Proverbs puts it "in the later years of Hebrew history" (p. 605). The mediating tendency is sometimes seen in a temporizing handling of so-called Messianic prophecy. The statement

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(p. 660) regarding the suffering servant of Isaiah, "Jesus was the conscious fulfilment, nor is there need to seek another," does not quite do justice to the Old Testament situation nor to the probable facts of primitive Christian interpretation of Jesus. These are, however, comparatively infrequent features.

When one turns to the New Testament one finds a similar excellence in the commentary on much of the epistolary and apocalyptic portions. The problems in this section are on the whole fairly faced, although questions such as the authorship of James, I Peter, and the Pastoral Epistles are rather lightly treated and tradition given more weight than the facts seem to warrant. The commenting is well done and the general ideas well set worth. The Gospels and Acts are, perhaps, the least convincing, as they are the most difficult part of the work. While the matter has not been entirely ignored, yet not enough attention has been paid to the part that the developing life and thought of the church and the growing needs of the Christian community played in the preservation and control of primitive Christian tradition. If it is true, as some are saying, that in some quarters too much emphasis has been placed upon the social interpretation of early Christianity and upon such disciplines as *Formgeschichte* no such charge can be laid against these writers. Many excellent things are said in the commentary on these documents but not infrequently the central problems are weakly treated. Possibly this could not be entirely avoided where space was so limited. Vital articles relating to the New Testament, such as that on "The Miracles of the New Testament," are not wholly free from this somewhat vacillating attitude. It may be claimed that where assurance is not possible this is the attitude to take, but such a claim does not, in these premises, constitute full absolution. It may also be urged that criticism of the Gospels is a very delicate and difficult matter. To be sure it is, but when all this has been said there seems to be a hesitancy to move as firmly here as in other places less intimately connected with credal material.

When a work of this magnitude contains as much that is of high qualtiy as does this volume it may seem ungracious to pick flaws. In spite of the matters which seem to the reviewer to be capable of improvement, he is confident that the commentary is one of great value to the constituency for which it is intended and he congratulates the editors and authors upon the completion of a task by no means easy.

Ernest W. Parsons

Colgate-Rochester Divinity School

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THE TWELVE PROPHETS[1]

These volumes were first published in 1896 and 1898, respectively, when their author was occupying the Old Testament chair at the Free Church College, Glasgow. The intervening period of more than thirty years has seen many changes. The author himself moved to Aberdeen, where he became principal of the university and where he received knighthood more than ten years ago. The Great War with its innumerable personal tragedies and its all-embracing world-tragedy has come and gone. The science of biblical interpretation has gone steadily forward notwithstanding the world-upheaval, and the position taken by these volumes in 1896 and 1898, which was then far from universally accepted, has today become almost the orthodox view of the church. The progress of the period is reflected in the new edition. The outstanding new elements here are as follows: "Jehovah" has given way to "Yahweh," which is a significant fact in a popular commentary. A bibliography of the new literature on these prophets since the first edition is given in each volume. The large amount of German titles in these lists is eloquent testimony to German interest and industry in Biblical matters. A new translation and a poetical arrangement of the text of these prophets is the most important single contribution to the new edition. The oracle against Tyre in Am. 1:9, 10 is treated in a much less positive manner in the new edition than in the old. In like manner, Mic. 6:1–8 is much less firmly claimed for Micah here than formerly.

The standpoint of the author remains unchanged. The spirit of the commentaries is the same warm, appreciative, and glowing enthusiasm for things spiritual that has made the old edition's title a household word in ministerial libraries. It is a bit disappointing to find the old interpretation of Hosea's marriage still adhered to and no adequate defense made against the many attacks upon it. In this connection "G. M. P." displaces "J. M. P." on pages 248 (twice) and 265, and the article in question in both places is transferred from the *Biblical World*, where it belongs, to the *Journal of Biblical Literature*.

The revised edition of these great commentaries should be welcomed heartily by scholars. It will do much to keep up interest in Biblical studies and to demonstrate that criticism and religion are not antagonistic one to the other. The new work can be cordially commended to all ministers and Bible students.

J. M. Powis Smith

University of Chicago

[1] *The Books of the Twelve Prophets*. 2 volumes. By Sir George Adam Smith. New and revised edition. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1929. xx+470 and xx+529 pages. $2.50 each.

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THE DEUTERONOMIC CODE

The title of this work[1] is, in itself, sufficient to insure an eager reading by all biblical students, especially at this juncture when the widely accepted critical view of the origin of Deuteronomy has been so openly and variously attacked by a group of prominent scholars.

The book is divided into two parts. The first is devoted to a study of the literary and historical criticism of Deuteronomy. Readers will find here a skilful and illuminating exposition of the most interesting and important contentions of the anti-Wellhausen group. The complete bibliography given on pages 1–6 will prove of value to all who are minded to go further into the subject.

Both in his view of the literary history of the canonical Deuteronomy, and of the circumstances and forces by which it was evolved, the author is not radically at variance with the generally accepted positions. It will be best, first, to give the gist of his own summary of his ideas concerning the growth of the book as found at the close of Part II. The actual codification, he believes, took place between Josiah's reform and the fall of Jerusalem. He departs from the old line of criticism in that he abandons the edition hypothesis for that of a compilation. The civil laws of chapters xix–xxv were not in the original Deuteronomy but had, in large part, prior existence as a collection. These laws have not been transmitted to us by a book which was once lost and later found, but have developed out of life and experience and have been, from their evolution to their incorporation in the book, in force in daily life. The comparatively large proportion of religious law in Deuteronomy has in part been conserved in the original book, the author or authors of which originated them. Others of the religious laws are the direct result of Josiah's reform. Still others are provincial cult laws adapted to the principle of centralization. The "compilation" of these variously derived component elements of religious and civil law into the core of the canonical Deuteronomy (chaps. xii–xxvi) took place after 621 B.C. and before 586 B.C. It will be seen, then, that the author dates the actual making of the book at approximately the same age as that held by the majority of critics, rejecting the earlier date of Oestreicher and Welch on the one hand, and the exilic date of Kennett, Hölscher, Berry *et al.*, on the other. His chief departure from the usual view is the dating of the original nucleus, with its distinctive centralizing interest, in the early years of Manasseh's reign, wherein he has apparently been influenced by the contention of the new school that the book is, in origin, the *result* of a reform movement and not purely the *cause* of one.

[1] *L'Origine du Code Deuteronomique*, A. R. Siebens. Paris: E. Leroux, 1929. vi+256 pages. Fr. 25.

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In the early chapters of Part I the author devotes himself to an often searching criticism of the critical views of the new school. In the second chapter he contends, with arguments long since generally in use, for the identification of the book found in the temple with some part of the canonical Deuteronomy. In the following chapters he maintains the historical value of the Kings' story of the reform of Josiah, the connection of some form of our Deuteronomy with that event, and the late pre-exilic origin of the compilation.

From the fifth chapter on the author is concerned chiefly to build up historical justification for his disagreement with that large group of earlier scholars who regard the book, in Stade's phrase, as a "pious fraud," written *ad hoc,* as propaganda prepared in advance for the specific purpose of bringing about the reform. He insists in chapter vi, contra Oestreicher *et al.,* that the code had a definite institutional aim, namely, that of the absolute centralization of the cult at Jerusalem, but concedes to them that the ultimate purpose of this movement was the *purification* of religion. This last thought it is the purpose of the author to strengthen by his discussion, in the following chapter, of the prophetic influence on this original nucleus of Deuteronomy. The formulation of the centralization principle, it is maintained, was the result of the long struggle, in which the prophets engaged to *purify* the cult. From this he proceeds in chapters ix–xi to the elaboration of the idea that the centralizing nucleus of Deuteronomy was a result of Josiah's reform.

There are two points advanced by the author which one might wish briefly to canvass here, namely, his negative assault on the *ad hoc* theory of the book's origin and his positive attempt to show that the *centralizing* nucleus of Deuteronomy can be more naturally explained as a result of Hezekiah's reform.

The objections to the *ad hoc* theory are, to put it mildly, far from conclusive. For example, if one were to grant at all the possibility of a religio-political coup as the occasion of a specially prepared book's release from obscurity, it would be idle, then, to discuss, from the evidence in our possession, the possibility of the detection and exposure of this "fraud" by anyone concerned. We simply have no evidence on the point, yet anyone who studies the religious history of Israel and observes the close relation between religion, economics, and politics must admit the possibility of such a coup in that milieu.

The objection that if Deuteronomy had been composed *ad hoc* by a reform party they would not have waited until the eighteenth year of Josiah to compose and "find" the book, since, after the death of Manasseh, they would be "strong enough to work their will," may be justly de-

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scribed as supposition. There are, indeed, certain well-known facts which may be interpreted in such a way as to show that the reform party was very much of "the opposition" during Josiah's early years. It is possible, for example, that the story of Amon's assassination (2 Kings 21:19–24), when considered in the light of Zephaniah's strictures against the "kings' sons" and priests (Zeph. 1:4, 8), may have some bearing on this point. The record of Amon's career brings out clearly three things, namely, that Amon was following the complacent policy of conformity to environment which he had inherited from his father, that there was a palace conspiracy against him, and that his son Josiah would have lost the succession but for popular interference. Zephaniah's evidence goes to show that Manasseh's policy prevailed under the regency. The logical deduction is that the crisis of 621 marked the overturning of a long popular policy of conformity. Decidedly there is some reason to believe that the time was not ripe for the reform coup d'état until 621 B.C.

One finds difficulty also in accepting the argument that if Deuteronomy was the result of a "conspiracy of priests" passages like 14:28f. and 18:6f. which reveal a marked consideration for the Levites could hardly have found their way into the book. When one takes account of the earlier story of Huldah's part in the incidents which transpired on the finding of the book, and when one recalls the bitter nationalism of Nahum in the light of the facts adduced in the *Chronicle of Nabopolassar,* as lately published by Mr. C. J. Gadd, one can hardly be content to regard the reform of 621 B.C. as a mere "conspiracy of priests." If there was such a "conspiracy" at all it represents a compromise between various religious, economic, and political forces. As for solicitude for the Levites, that would be an entirely natural attitude to be assumed by those who were, from not entirely non-altruistic motives, proposing to deprive them of their rights under an existing system. The Levites, like the Pharisees in later times, could exercise considerable leverage on the central authority through their power in local communities. If, however, the centralization principle is the result of a centralizing movement, whether carried out by Hezekiah or by Josiah, it is much harder to understand this solicitude for the Levites after the event had already decided their status.

Again, the objection that the high moral tone which pervades Deuteronomy could not emanate from a group engaged in a "pious fraud" does not carry much force for our generation which has had a wide experience with propagandism. Once grant the sincerity of the propagandists in their belief that centralization would be morally beneficial and the force of this objection is lost. The author would, no doubt, acquiesce in the generally accepted view that the P document, for example in its treat-

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ment of the tabernacle, reads back into the past something which never had actual existence, and is, therefore, in this and other respects, a "pious fraud." Yet he doubtless would not argue conversely that on this account the P document is devoid of ethical values.

Turning now to the positive attempt made by the author to show that the original centralizing nucleus of Deuteronomy may have come to birth in the early years of Manasseh's reign as a result of Hezekiah's reform, one may commend his able argument for the historicity of this reform, and especially of Hezekiah's attacks on the local sanctuaries. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, even granting that this king attacked the high places, it does not follow that he had any idea of suppressing all worship there in such a way as would result, in the immediately following years, in so clear and insistent an assertion of the centralization policy as pervades Deuteronomy. Meek has already pointed out[2] that the serpent was a distinctive symbol of the Levitical order. This being so, Josiah's admitted destruction of the *temple* serpent surely signifies a break with this order and not with local sanctuaries as such. If Hezekiah broke with the Levites for political reasons, as Siebens himself thinks is suggested by the narrative in 2 Kings 18:22ff., one could interpret Hezekiah's attacks on the high places as a move to crush Levitical interference with his nationalistic and nonconformist attitude, and not at all as a move to prevent any form of worship in local centers. This is a possibility which has bearing on the date of the centralizing nucleus of Deuteronomy. So interpreted there is nothing in Hezekiah's reform which must inspire the centralization propaganda found there.

Nothing is gained for the author's purpose by his attempt to make of Isaiah a propagandist for the centralization principle. On this point one should compare page 127 with page 163. Many will regard Isa. 1:2 as an insufficient proof that this prophet, in his thought of Yahweh, had already arrived at absolute and universal monotheism. Still more will find it hard to accept the author's inference (p. 163) that such a conception of God would necessitate a belief in centralization, or that the prophet's condemnation of idols in the *Jerusalem* sanctuary indicates that he would believe in the suppression of all worship at *local* sanctuaries. So far as the reviewer can discover no conclusive proof of a centralization movement such as would inspire what we find in Deuteronomy, in Hezekiah's time, is offered by the author.

If one, in concluding so inadequate a discussion of an able and important book, might be allowed to generalize, one would say that, in common with many modern critical writers, the present author seems not to

[2] *American Journal Semitic Literature*, XXXVII, No. 2, 109 *et passim*.

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be sufficiently seized of the idea that what we regard as pure Yahwism is an evolution by reaction against environing forces, and, as such, cannot be divorced from concurrent economic and political reactions. He everywhere accepts the inadequate, earlier, critical idea that an originally pure Yahwism, once the religion of all the Hebrews, was corrupted by contact with foreign cults *after* the entry into Canaan. It is this which leads him to see as the ultimate aim of the Deuteronomists nothing more than the "purification" of the cult, as though the ancient Hebrews regarded religion, as so many moderns do, as a thing apart from life, an entity in itself which may be either debased or purified apart from the great life-process. The modern tendency is to recognize that the popular religion of Israel differed little from the cults common to the ancient Semitic world, and that Yahwism transcended these precisely because it was an integral part of a complex of life-forces, economic, political, social, and spiritual, which sought to achieve significance for that people by differentiation from environing pressures. When regarded from this viewpoint the *ad hoc* theory of Deuteronomy's origin loses much of the odium which has attached to it through Stade's unhappy use of the expression "pious fraud," an expression which may, perhaps, account for some of the present author's antipathy to the hypothesis it is used to designate, and from which he has made such a gallant effort to escape.

WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM

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LATE JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

Those who have profited by the labors of R. Travers Herford will be interested in his latest book which, in some respects, goes beyond his earlier ones. *Judaism in the New Testament Period*[1] includes within its range notice of the non-Pharisaic groups, and, still more interesting, the author's judgments about the relations of Jesus and his followers to Judaism. This volume differs from earlier works of Herford, too, in its distinctly popular style. Its learning is obvious, but always it is presented in a manner which is effectively untechnical.

The exposition of the evolution of late Judaism and its normative expression in legalistic Pharisaism follows the line of Herford's earlier studies. But the discussion of non-Pharisaic Judaism is quite fresh. It is true

[1] *Judaism in the New Testament Period*, R. Travers Herford. London: Lindsey Press, 1928. 256 pages. 4*s*. 6*d*.

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that nothing is contributed which cannot be found in other handbooks, but it is interesting and useful to have the data brought together. Herford particularly emphasizes the apocalyptic and zealot groups. As might be expected, they are depicted as much less influential than were the Pharisees. The chapter, "Judaism in Operation," is especially helpful. It is so usual to regard Judaism as a body of beliefs that a presentation of it as a way of life is welcome. To be sure, the point has been made adequately by Professor Moore, but this corroboration is valuable.

Curiously enough, it is in Herford's presentation of the relation of Jesus and his followers to Judaism, and the impact of Christianity upon Judaism, that exception may be taken. The somewhat illogical position is affirmed that although there was enough common ground between Jesus and the Pharisees to account for 90 per cent of Jesus' teaching, the gospel traditions of their opposition are historical. Herford's point is that Jesus was an am-ha-aretz who repudiated Pharisaic Halachah. Here it appears that he fails to carry out his earlier well-made point that Judaism was a way of life, for he ascribes to Jesus, who lived like a proper Jew, an abstract attack upon Jewish life. Jesus' death, however, was caused by reason of his popular influence reacting against him; having preached the kingdom he failed to claim messiahship, so that the people turned against him as the priests encompassed his arrest.

It is suggested that Jesus' immediate followers continued to live as Jews, in disregard of their master's repudiation of Halachah. It was only with the rise of gentile Christianity that the un-Jewish quality of the new faith was achieved. Presently the gentile Christians became numerous enough, chiefly through the work of Paul, to cause Judaism to develop its defense, and finally there were drawn those lines of distinction which were deliberately introduced to exclude the heretics. Christianity had slight influence upon Judaism, and Judaism influenced Christianity only in its Palestinian communities.

It is always of value for a specialist in a recondite subject to present his findings in connection with wider and practical relations. Even though students of Christianity must correct the suggestions of Herford on the basis of certain historical points of view, such a work as Judaism in the New Testament period will be cordially received by those who are laboring for that synthesis which is much nearer as knowledge of late Judaism is more readily available.

DONALD WAYNE RIDDLE

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ANOTHER BOOK ON CELIBACY

In spite of the fact that this is a most materialistic age—a charge which we often hear—the ascetic strain in literature and experience still has a subtle appeal. Sermons in our churches and chapel messages in our colleges continue to present the attraction of the life of self-denial and of the saint who gains all in giving all. Such ideals are not necessarily identical with those of the ascetic life, but the spirit lying back of the humble Christian may be the same as that which impels another toward a life apart from the world. Whether or not a doctrine of flight, if we so wish to designate the celibate life, is the best interpretation of Christianity is certainly a debatable question; but as long as youth dreams dreams and sees visions, it will make heroic those souls which have sought serenity through solitude and peace through poverty, even though, under existing circumstances, such tranquillity may have been the easiest life. Whether the pursuit of the ascetic ideal must of necessity lead into institutionalism is questionable also. It is against the institutional celibacy of the Roman Catholic church that A. Houtin's latest work is directed.[1] It is the third posthumous publication of that author, and has a Preface by his executor, F. Sartiaux.

The history of ecclesiastical celibacy is traced from earliest Christian times down to the present. Indeed, there is a chapter on the future of the institution, and the work is concluded by a section devoted to "Reflections" of the author on ecclesiastical celibacy culled from a collection of notes. Houtin has delved into many of the sources of the history of the Christian church through the ages and has thus assembled a wealth of material bearing upon his subject. He deals with the early church, with the Marcionite, Montanist, and Manichæan heresies, with the Church Fathers, and with the growing church in the East and West. For the most part his treatment is chronological, and the history is brought up to date; but his interest is in developing a thesis in connection with celibacy in the Roman church through the centuries. That thesis is of two points. In the first place, the author holds that ecclesiastical celibacy has not become generally recognized until a late date, and that at no time has it been well observed. In the second place, as a consequence of the foregoing he holds that, whereas the church has benefited by it, the individual has been sacrificed to an institution.

We are assured by the author that he has no quarrel with celibacy in itself but with an institution which falsely claims that its discipline is

[1] *Courte histoire du célibat ecclésiastique.* By Albert Houtin. Preface by F. Sartiaux. Paris: Rieder, 1929. 269 pages. Fr. 12.

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originally apostolic, that its mode of life is convenient, and that the term "ecclesiastical celibacy" signifies absolute chastity. It is a book with a purpose, then, and that purpose is to prove that Roman celibacy has been a failure. Accordingly the author uses his material to advantage. In proving that Paul was no celibate, he assigns I Cor. vii to Montanist authorship. He ignores ascetic strains in Judaism, and the fact that Christianity came into a world thoroughly familiar with the ascetic ideal is given scant attenton. In demonstrating the lack of a definite law or rule of the church imposing clerical celibacy, Houtin creates the impression that there was but little asceticism in early Christianity. He shows that emphasis upon ecclesiastical celibacy comes in with the growth in power of the papacy, until from the fifth to seventh centuries, especially around the pontificate of Gregory I, there is a *réforme célibataire,* which quickly disappears in the confusion of the disintegration of Charlemagne's empire. A revival occurs under Hildebrand, and there are subsequent periods of reform; but the degradation of the papacy and of the church, and the break-down of clerical celibacy are emphasized. On the other hand, the lives of the saints and their influence—of Francis, of Suso, of Catherine of Siena, and of many others—are largely ignored. In fact, what we have here is a history of the *failure* of ecclesiastical celibacy.

The author has gone into a mass of material, but it is all material which shows the lack on the part of the clergy of the ability to remain celibate. This was the author's purpose in writing the book. The documents presented speak for themselves—in fact, it is a "documentary" history, no attempt being made to narrate the social, economic, or political history parallel with the documents themselves. Yet for students of asceticism or ecclesiastical celibacy a knowledge of this book would be helpful. Despite its single emphasis, it contains a multiplicity of statements taken from decrees of councils, from personal and public letters, and from treatises—all of which make it valuable for reference for a student of Christianity.

MERVIN MONROE DEEMS

CARLETON COLLEGE

AN APPRAISAL OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH[1]

Assuming as a base line for argument and criticism the correctness of the general Roman Catholic theory of the nature of the church, the value of its sacraments, and the correctness of its doctrine, one is still

[1] *While Peter Sleeps.* By E. BOYD BARRETT. New York: Ives Washburn, 1929. xi+321 pages. $3.00.

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entitled to ask whether the Roman church is functioning serviceably in its actual and concrete methods of procedure. It may be that the church is all that it claims to be as the divinely commissioned custodian of the deposit of faith and as the one and only agency authorized to preserve and administer the means of grace; but even those who believe this to be true have a right to inquire whether its present methods of discharging the duties imposed by this high commission are such as attain the ends desired in the cure of souls and the production of wholesome and mature personalities. Indeed, it might be argued that the more firmly one believes in the Catholic theory of the church, the more critically must one scrutinize its operations. The Roman Catholic claim that infallibility is resident in the church, and ultimately in its head, does not imply that the church is administratively perfect. Its dogmatic deliverances are infallible and its disciplinary measures are authoritative beyond any right of either the laity or the priesthood to resist them, but in theory it is not denied that the methods and mores of the church may, from time to time, require an overhauling. Anyone (theoretically, again) may suggest reforms, but of course only the properly constituted authorities may lawfully execute them.

In this work, as in his *The Jesuit Enigma,* published a year earlier, Dr. Barrett is exercising his right as a member of the Roman Catholic church to criticize certain details of its procedure. He makes no attack upon the Roman Catholic system of doctrine or organization, both of which, so far as the evidence goes, continue to command his approval. But he is departing from the tradition, which has become rather more firmly established in the United States than elsewhere, which seems to bind Catholics to waive their right of criticism and either to approve or to be silent with reference to the real or supposed defects in the policies and programs of their church. While even the stoutest champions of Catholicism assert, as does the editor of *Commonweal,* that "every fairly intelligent and even partially well-informed Catholic layman knows it to be true that his Church can be helped and has been helped by honest sincere criticism," it is Dr. Barrett's opinion that "criticism of the Church is no longer considered either honest or sincere if it is in any sense severe, if it goes beyond a respectfully worded complaint on the subject of acolytes who serve Mass with holes in their socks."

Dr. Barrett's criticisms go considerably beyond that. The principal topics to which he gives attention in this volume are: the methods of education practiced in Catholic homes and schools and the effect of these methods on personality and character; the good and bad results of auric-

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ular confession; the effects of what he believes to be an abuse of the psychology of fear; a wrong approach to the sex question by setting up impossible and unhuman standards of "angelical purity"; marriage and divorce; the celibacy of the priesthood; the domination of the Jesuit order over the church; the encouragement of superstitious pious practices; the neglect of the Bible; the exclusion of the democratic spirit.

The substance of his criticisms upon each of these points need not, and in a brief review cannot, be examined in detail. The unique value of Dr. Barrett's analysis grows out of the conjunction of three qualifications which, so far as the present reviewer knows, have never before met in a critic of Catholic practice. He has a foundation of inside information gained during twenty years in the priesthood and in the Jesuit order. His judgment appears to be unwarped by prejudice or animosity, and his criticisms upon specific practices are not complicated or colored by any general disapproval of the Catholic system, as those of any non-Catholic critic must necessarily be. And he brings to his task the training and experience of an expert in psychology and psychoanalysis. This last qualification gives him a fresh and fruitful point of view from which to evaluate the results of Catholic methods of education and devotional practices upon personality. That his verdict upon these points is unfavorable will doubtless be set down to prejudice by ardent defenders of the status quo, but the criticisms cannot be waved aside so airily. Whether all of his conclusions are correct or not—and personally I have no fault to find with them—the important thing is that he has made a beginning of a scientific study of the results of these processes. Programs of religious education, whether Protestant or Catholic, cannot claim exemption from critical study of their product on the ground of pious intentions, and they are beginning to get it. Hartshorne and May, in their *Studies in Deceit*, undertook to discover by a different but rigorously scientific technique whether Sunday schools and other moral agencies appreciably reduce the tendency of children to lie, cheat, and steal. (Generally speaking, it seems, they do not.) Catholics and Protestants alike may either rise in wrath against the work of these scholars and declare that they are enemies because they are not flatterers, or they may prove their devotion to the ends which they profess to seek by encouraging such studies and correcting their practice in the light of the fullest available knowledge.

WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON

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LUTHER'S THINKING ABOUT GOD

The output of literature on Luther is surprisingly large. More and more does he seem to become the historical authority for all those Protestants who are still in vital contact with the Reformation. Since 1908, when Ficker published the commentary to Paul's letter to the Romans, which he had discovered, and especially since the Reformation anniversary in 1917, the tide of Luther-studies has constantly risen. Nor is the interest in Luther limited to Germany. The works of James Mackinnon and of Henri Strohl indicate that historians of all countries are vitally concerned with an understanding of the German reformer. It is rather remarkable, indeed, that we do not yet possess a satisfactory biography of Luther, which would do justice to the man in his totality, like Doumergue's *magnum opus* on Calvin. Seemingly Scheel is not continuing the studies which he began with his two brilliant volumes. Whether Mackinnon will succeed in filling the need is doubtful. For we seem not yet to have reached a sufficient knowledge of the historical context, as well as of the true character, of Luther's religion and theology. Due to the rather recent acquaintance with the early sources for a knowledge of Luther's theological career, we have as yet barely arrived at an understanding of the young Luther. In an almost bewildering number of special studies and monographs certain phases of Luther's thought have been studied, but only a few of these have related his earlier with his later ideas. As yet his theology cannot be fully described, and his true place in the Reformation fully defined. For a time it seemed as if the way toward the attainment of such an end had been sufficiently prepared by the learned essays of Holl, first published in book-form in 1921. This book inaugurated even something of a Luther-Renaissance in Germany. Its significance seemed to be greater for the theologian who had to deal with the modern religious and theological crisis than for the historian. Its interpretation of Luther's thought is still widely regarded as authoritative. Only recently some of his statements have begun to be supplemented and criticized. Holl seems to have so emphasized the place of the God-concept in Luther's thinking that the Christology did not receive due attention, and he seemed also too much concerned with the young Luther to do justice to Luther in his totality.

Erich Seeberg, his successor at the University of Berlin (who, by the way, is the son of Reinh. Seeberg, the well-known historian of dogma, whose contributions to the understanding of Luther have also been important), has evidently set out to correct these shortcomings and to clear the way for the new comprehensive work of the future that is to describe

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Luther's theology.[1] The volume under review is the first of a series of four which is to deal with the God-concept, the idea of the sacrament, the Christology, and the views on life and death in the teaching of the reformer. Seeberg does not intend to write an extensive work on "Luther's theology"; he wishes to exhibit its motive forces and their context in Luther's thinking.

The discussion of Luther's God-idea, contained in the volume at hand, is not only of great promise for the final fulfilment of this purpose but, because of its emphasis on hitherto somewhat neglected problems, represents also a significant advance toward a fully satisfactory and just appreciation of Luther's thought. Seeberg confesses to have learned from Holl the need of footnotes giving elaborate quotations from Luther's writings. This method has doubtless great advantages. It makes possible a quick testing of a proposed interpretation, and constitutes a valuable collection of widely dispersed material on a definite subject, thus preparing for a final systematization of knowledge. But it tends also to prevent proper elasticity of interpretation, because it must necessarily result in accentuating the opinion expressed in the chosen quotation, since the entire source-material can never be quoted. In that respect it makes an examination of the judgment presented in the text difficult, leaving it to the specialist alone, while the ordinary reader is apt to be forced into an altogether too ready assurance of the definiteness of the writer's exposition. These remarks are meant to express a certain skepticism about the value of Seeberg's method, but not ingratitude for his instructive documentation.

In regard to the book itself, it begins with an investigation of types of medieval ideas of God as exhibited in the Greek intellectual scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas, in the voluntaristic Occamism of Gabriel Biel, in the metaphysical mysticism of Tauler, and in the moralistic humanism of Erasmus. This is done, not in order to show the ancestry of Luther's thought, but in order to set it against a background in the history of ideas. Luther's concept of God is then described as of a profoundly religious, exclusively spiritual, vital—not to say personal—character.

Four main circles of thought in Luther's concept of God are distinguished. In exhibiting, first of all, the philosophical and religious motives, Seeberg calls attention to religious realism as Luther's basic philosophy. Not our thinking makes the things, but things impress themselves upon us and demand an act of the human will to acknowledge them in their incomprehensible reality. The fact of first importance in life is the *fieri*. This realism accounts for the understanding of life as a constant motion.

[1] *Luthers Theologie. Motive und Ideen.* Bd. I. Die Gottesanschauung. By Erich Seeberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1929. vi+218 pages. M. 14.

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Aristotelian philosophy and theology with their substance metaphysics are replaced by a new dynamistic, functional metaphysics, which finds its reflection in religion in such a way that repentance must be called the characteristic status of the religious man. All this finally becomes intelligible only under the presupposition of a certain transcendentalism, by which things and ideas become real only in their connection with human consciousness. The significant religious consequence is that "faith and justice of God are identical."

If one adds to these philosophical principles the fundamental religious motif of the contrast between God and man or between spirit and flesh, the theology of Luther can be understood. It means that God works by way of contrast. He, the almighty one, saves not in spite of, but through, weakness, suffering, sin, humility. His redemption is climaxed in a cross. In a constant fight against the Kingdom of the World he maintains his Kingdom, which is always represented by a minority of men. Human history must therefore be reviewed under the idea of the perennial coexistence of belief and unbelief.

In the second place, such ideas lead us to understand why the idea of the hidden *(absconditus)* God, already to be found in Luther's annotations to Tauler, stands in the center of his theology. Seeberg has proved, I think, that the interpretation of the ideas of the hidden God *(deus absconditus)* and the revealed God *(deus relevatus)* does not depend upon the scholastic concept of the ordained and absolute power of God *(potestas dei ordinata et absoluta)* but rather upon the religio-philosophical motives of Luther. God is hidden because he reveals himself in contrast to the world. The terms "spiritual" *(spiritualis)* and "hidden" *(absconditus)* are the same. The paradox of life—its conflicts are insoluble—is overcome in the paradox of the Christian religion: "Christ is the representation of God who works by way of contrast; as such he is the concrete revelation of the hidden God."

Closely related to these ideas of the hidden God is the third circle of thought, which is concerned with sin and evil. The principle is that God is supreme action, and all human action in accordance with the divine is good. Nothing is evil which accords with the divine will, not even the *resignatio ad infernum*. But since the powers of evil and of Satan exist, God the author of all life must have permitted them to come into existence. In explaining this fact of reality, Luther speaks of their use for the purpose of salvation (by way of contrast) and of their total incomprehensibility (as God himself is incomprehensible), but he does not shrink from the statement that God created also evil. "He wanted Adam to fall."

Finally, the problem of the concrete reality of God is discussed. This

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last chapter is probably the most forceful in the entire book. It is documented from the writings on the Lord's Supper, which are usually neglected when treating the main features of Luther's theology. "God must be dynamically understood as the moving, innermost, nearest, and at the same time most remote power which deals with the substance of things only in so far as it touches them, its creatures, in giving them life and in putting them into action. God is closer to the creatures than their selves and at the same time farther away than our thoughts can reach." God in his being is not objective. He becomes concrete in his word, and the word contains the message that he must be found in the humanity of Christ. But the word is not something solid, objective. It must be functionally understood. It is there to be interpreted. The transcendentalism which is essential for the idea of faith becomes here most effective.

This review of the content of Seeberg's book may suffice to indicate the wealth of its suggestions and the richness of its interpretations. Its most remarkable feature seems to lie in a religiously congenial understanding of Luther's thoughts. It is not limited, but accentuated by a learned objectivity; and it is, as far as I can see, free from the attempt to modernize ideas of the past.

Some critical questions could be raised, e.g., whether the idea of the *deus absconditus* is fully exhausted in Seeberg's representation; or whether the idea of the spirit is positively enough evaluated; or whether the word is not, to a higher degree than Seeberg seems to admit, a solid, sometimes inexplicable block in Luther's thinking; or how the quoted sources must and can be historically related to each other. For the answer to all such questions, we eagerly await the continuation of this brilliant study.

WILHELM PAUCK

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

CHRISTIAN HYMNS[1]

Dr. Louis S. Benson has long been one of the leading American authorities on hymnody. His estimates are always well balanced, scholarly, and in excellent taste. About half his book is occupied with a survey of the relation of the hymn to the Bible, the Apostolic Age, and to litera-

[1] *The Hymnody of the Christian Church.* By Louis F. Benson. New York: George H. Doran Co. 310 pages. $2.00.

The Evolution of the English Hymn. By Frederick John Gillman. New York: Macmillan Co. 312 pages. $2.50.

The American Student Hymnal. By H. Augustine Smith. New York: Century Co., 1928. xxvi+443 pages.

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ture. Amongst the most interesting accounts of this historical survey are those descriptive of the various struggles for new forms of song. In this connection, I could wish that there might have been presented a translated quotation from one of the Arian hymns, early forms of propaganda. Then follows an excellent categorical analysis of the content of hymns, according to their subjective, objective, personal, social, theological, or other character. This is a most useful discussion. There are two good chapters of textual and musical criticism, although they do not instruct the average minister in the canons of musical taste with the fulness and clarity needed. The work fails to take sufficient account of present-day efforts to voice newer convictions and current social ethics in the song of the church.

Mr. Gillman's book is cast almost entirely on the historical plan. The opening chapter on music and religion and the closing chapter on tunes constitute better philosophy and criticism of religious music than Dr. Benson's book contains. There is a much greater wealth of quotation to illustrate the development of the Christian hymn. This book also lacks, however, any proper recognition of present-day movements and ideas. It is enlivened by portraits of a number of the most distinguished hymn-writers and enriched throughout by the ample culture of its author.

In *The American Student Hymnal,* we have perhaps the boldest attempt of recent years to present a new collection of hymns. With only 403 numbers, there is a satisfying proportion of the noble hymns most used by the better-educated congregations. No hymnal for youth would be satisfactory without these. The amount of comparatively new textual material is indicated by the inclusion of hymns from eighty living authors. An equally large range of new music and new arrangements of old music is utilized. Twenty numbers are hymns of other peoples, printed in the original tongues together with metrical translations. An air of freshness is imparted to the book, presumably as an attraction to young people, by certain of the sectional headings, "The White Comrade," "Torch Bearers," "Challenge," "Follow the Gleam," "Knighthood's Oath and Vigil," and others. There are seventy-eight pages of supplementary worship materials, unison readings, responsive readings, litanies, and prayers.

For the most part the musical settings are good, although at one opening of the book, I note Gottschalk, which could well be spared, and "Breathe on Me, Breath of God" set to a three-four tune when St. Andrew would serve much better. Some of the new music will not be much used by congregations, but might be valuable for choir rendition. Several fine old musical works are recovered.

Despite the gratifying number of hymns along the lines of modern

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ethics, there has been little attempt to include hymns of any newer theological outlook. It may be that the average American student is more easily captivated by old ideas smartly dressed than by new thoughts, yet the great hymnal for the American student will be based upon more sturdy intellectual foundations. For this the time is hardly ripe.

VON OGDEN VOGT

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MORAL VALUES THE KEY TO RELIGION[1]

When this Scotch professor in a Canadian college tells us that the job of the theologian is "not to construct a system of dogmas, but to lay bare the nerve of this thing which men call faith," we feel encouraged to read farther in a very heavy-looking volume. We are further heartened when a useful distinction is drawn between theology as the scientific study of religious consciousness and philosophy as "the attempt to incorporate [the religious experience of mankind] into a synoptic view of reality as a whole." To these definitive statements he adds two more, viz., that religious experience can be described only when it is known from within, and that therefore the Christian theologian must perforce look for this theology to *Christian* experience. The psychology and history of religion are thus given their place in relation to theology: a place somewhere "below the salt"!

In good academic form, the author then walks back to get a good running start for his own leap into the sea of theological inquiry, and we are treated to a discriminating and well-ordered discussion of Christian theology since Kant. The dependence of the German romanticists upon Kant's great refutation of rationalism is very clearly brought out, and they are at the same time criticized for the typical romanticist vagueness in the use of the term "feeling" as basic in religion. The author traces the growth of the Ritschlian theology to its culmination in Hermann: to Kant's insistence on moral insight as inseparable from religion Fichte had added the conception of God as the moral order of the universe, and Lotze had stressed the conviction that this moral order is not merely an ideal but really exists. On these foundations Ritschl built his exposition of religion as faith in the reality of those values to which our moral consciousness introduces us. Hermann added the important claim that these real objective values are also the ultimate power in the universe, and that

[1] *The Interpretation of Religion: An Introductory Study of Theological Principles.* By John Baillie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. xv+477 pages. $4.00.

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their triumph is thus guaranteed. Religion is then defined by Mr. Baillie as "a moral trust in reality."

To the inevitable question, "Whence comes this conviction that reality is on the side of goodness?" the author devotes a chapter which argues as follows: (1) The certainty of duty is logically prior to the certainty of faith. "For my belief that I must do my duty no reason can be given and no reason is required" (p. 344). (2) Given the claims of duty, our values then "demand a cosmic setting for themselves" (p 346). Our very sense of duty derives from "the Whole of things." (3) To deny this cosmic character of ethical obligations is to invite "corrosion of those values themselves," for the faith in their validity is logically inseparable from their compulsive power. (4) Yet this faith is never a product of argumentation, since argument proceeds from judgments of *fact,* whereas faith proceeds from intuitive judgments of *value.* (5) It follows, therefore, that religious faith is attained not by speculative thought "but by deepening our moral experience and clarifying our moral insight" (p. 363). Faith and hope spring from love (p. 380).

The remainder of the volume develops the implications of this line of thought for the conceptions of God, religious progress, and revelation: God is that cosmic moral intelligence with which our moral selves have communion (chap. viii). Religious progress is gauged, not by the correspondence of religious truths with the ephemeral "findings" of current science (p. 404 ff.) but by the ranking of the ethical values it embodies (p. 408). The disclosure of the wider moral values of the cosmos to our moral selves is what is meant by revelation, and this may well take place by our seeing them incarnate in Christ (pp. 459, 469 f.).

The crux, then, of Professor Baillie's whole argument is the Ritschlian contention that moral judgments are of a different order from rational judgments, and that these moral judgments are intuitive. Immediately the question arises regarding the empirical status of intuition as an explanation of our value-judgments. Clearly, our value-judgments cannot safely be separated from our judgments of fact, since our judgments of value relate to factual items in our experience: there is no moral judgment of goodness without reference to good behavior or to natural events which affect our human quest. Still more dangerous does it seem, in the light of comparative ethics, to trust intuitive judgments—whatever those may be psychologically—for guidance in the realm of values. The author seems, in his reference to "clarifying moral insight" (p. 363), to admit some conscious (rational?) development of moral standards. But such growth implies individual adjustment to *someone's* standards, and the process of social adjustment is under way. Now, this not only furnishes a clue to

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the relativity of consciences to current social experience but it also suggests a social reference for the intuitive judgments of which the author writes. We have a strange way of conceding the absolute claims of intuitive value-judgments only to those moral judgments which conform to the recognized values of the religious group!

In view of the questionable character of absolutes in religious experience, we cannot therefore concede Mr. Baillie's disparagement of attempts to interpret religious truth in terms of current thought-forms. After all, this religious experience which he purposes as a theologian to study is not lived only in the philosopher's absolute space-time. It is lived in the carpenter's shop, the royal court, the monastic refectory, and the marketplace, and the streams of contemporaneous life flow through it. Only a preoccupied Scottish thinker could ignore the influence of general culture upon religious expression!

The author does well to criticize rationalism for confusing religion with theological formulas, and romanticism for making religion mere indeterminate feeling. But he offers in their place a non-rational moral insight without definable conceptions of right and wrong. Perhaps this is because he thinks of reasoning as a process of metaphysical argument rather than as an instrument for co-ordinating the real experiences of which he speaks.

EDWIN E. AUBREY

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PERSONAL THEISM[1]

This is one of those unanswerable books: unanswerable but unsatisfying. It starts with an assumption and shows the full implications of that assumption. As such it provides a self-consistent whole; and from the standpoint of an idealist philosopher like the author this provides a large presumption in favor of its correctness. In common with all idealist philosophies it asks you to grant an assumption and then shows that from this standpoint you can, with negligible (*sic*) exceptions, achieve "an interpretation of religious experience and a theory concerning the ultimate meaning of man and the cosmos which is not only tenable but is more rational as well as more productive of human well-being than any other" (p. 1.).

The author is thus pledged (1) to interpret his assumption; (2) to relate it to other viewpoints; (3) to meet all obstacles and either sur-

[1] *The Humanity of God.* By John Wright Buckham. New York: Harper and Bros., 1928. xiv+265 pages. $2.50.

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mount them or show them to be negligible; and (4) to show the pragmatic value of the assumption. Professor Buckham accordingly divides his volume into these four parts; but prefaces them with his assumptions as to methods of securing data for his theological hypothesis.

Religion, we learn at the outset, is primarily emotional; and this emotion is always evoked by a "something more," the *mana,* of which one is aware as being "associated with the object." This awareness is intuitive and direct; and the attempt to interpret it gives rise to theological symbolism. The symbol which Mr. Buckham proposes is God, the Father; and our advance in theology must be not beyond it but more deeply into it (p. 26).

Now follows a lengthy description of the attributes of perfect fatherhood (for divine fatherhood *must* of course be perfect); and we find that despite the hindrances of spiritism, mythology, and sex associations the notion of a perfect Father has developed into ethical monotheism; that this is best revealed through the living reality which this Fatherhood was in Jesus' experience of spirituality, trust, and filial loyalty; and that, as the Pure Spirit who is also Perfect Personality, God is superindividual and is the embodiment of love and creative effort.

Such a conception has received recent support from the "theology of experience," from the emphasis on immanence, and from Christo-centric theology. It finds its clearest philosophic expression in personalism; and here the finality of nature is negated in favor of positing a Mind beyond nature. On the other hand, all the excesses into which mysticism has fallen are due to the lack of this conception of Divine Fatherhood.

Does the reader raise objections about "the dark side of nature"? That darkness loses much of its somberness if we accept the argument from design for divine goodness, and remember that "nature red in tooth and claw" has, after all, culminated in human personality. So also suffering and death are just the obverse of joy and life, needing to be seen in the perspective of God's eternity. History reveals the progressive Divine Will which we cannot know in temporal limits, and which acts providentially for the ultimate good of the race as a whole (though humans subordinated to the larger good may not see it that way!). On the assumption that such a Divine Father exists, men gain a feeling of at-homeness in the vast universe; and in gratitude and prayer are purified for their share in a moral order which gains added significance. Only on the basis of Divine Fatherhood is human brotherhood made possible on the plane of eternal and invisible values; and only in this conception do the strivings of all religions find their fulfilment.

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How can it be? How can we believe it? Only as we exercise faith in acting as if it were true; and finding its meaning.

The book is well written, though with an occasional tendency to substitute lyric sentences where logical sequence would be indicated. An easy-flowing statement frequently conceals an omission either of data or of logical steps; *e.g.*, "these by-products of religion [spiritism, mythology, and sex perversions] . . . . are foreign to its true nature" (p. 36); "If humans can create a bridge . . . . *pari passu* Divine Personality can create . . . . a system of universes" (p. 61); "To find gloom or cruelty or treachery in Nature is to read human traits into the non-human" (p. 127) (What of reading goodness into it?); "The bright side of Nature we may reasonably accept as the chief side" (p. 140). The statement that "the very idea of a philosophy of history is itself a Christian product" (p. 167) is supported by a footnote quotation reading, "From the first Christianity had a philosophy of history"! As a whole, the book is an interpretation of, rather than an effective apologetic for, "the humanity of God."

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RELIGION AS SOCIALIZATION[1]

The dominant impression which the book conveys is one of practicality. To Mr. Ames, religion is not something defined by Spinoza, Kant, or some other "authority" remote from the man in the street; it is what religious people do—the sort of religious folk who go to Sunday school or those who give their best to healing human ills. Accordingly, the layman will understand what the author is talking about, and will find himself relaxing from the muscle tensions which a theologian always seems capable of inducing in him. That the book was written for him is apparent from its almost total lack of footnote apparatus and from its easy-reading type.

Religion is presented as "the quest for the largest and fullest satisfaction of felt needs," which quest produces the institutional forms so often mistaken for the source of religion. That becomes sacred which is a satisfaction of primal needs, and symbols emerge to connote the means of satisfaction. The history of religion points to nothing more clearly than to the close interaction between religion and the economic and cultural life of the group. Thus the values of religion are practical. They are also

[1] *Religion*. By Edward Scribner Ames. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929. vii+324 pages. $3.00.

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group values, for even the religious recluse peoples his solitude with imaginary persons. "Religious values are inclusive. . . . . There are no ceremonials of a purely religious character." They are cosmic, putting all human action in an infinite perspective; but within this immensity men find a sense of intimacy and security in religion's friendly universe.

To criticize and direct our activity is the function of philosophy, and this demands empirical rather than speculative modes of thought. The difficulty with speculative philosophy has been its pretense to view the world from a totally disinterested standpoint, a psychological impossibility. No less fallacious is the current idea of a more "real" world of physical scientists, which is merely the world viewed from their particular angle. To describe the universe from the point of view of emotional or poetic reactions would therefore be just as "realistic." Religion is interested in placing all actions in the widest possible frame of reference, but this is not provided by physical science alone; it is the task of the philosophy of religion. Yet science is essential to religion as abundantly shown by the benefits accruing to religion from the scientific study of its phenomena.

If religion be concerned with the values of human, social experience, it is clear that it is something very much akin to morality. "The line of demarcation is not so clear as when morality is assigned to human reason and religion to the divine, but there are still two appreciable differences." Moral acts carried to their infinite implications are brought within the scope of religion; and, on the other hand, religion dramatizes the meaning of life and hence of conduct with compelling beauty. Thus it comes about that art, always concerned to find self-expression for the highest quality of imaginative experience, creates ideal meanings for actual life. Obviously, art in this vital sense, brings to religion balance and proportion and ease of movement.

Where is God in all this? Let us see first, pleads the author, where men have claimed to find gods in the history of the race. The objects and events which hold us breathless, because of their uncertain bearing upon the deepest quests of life, are branded as *mana,* strangely potent. This potency may be individualized in spirits, the more important of which become gods. Humanized and universalized, God becomes the personal absolute whether as Yahweh or as the Logos. Because it arose out of emotional projections, this God, when subjected to rational inquiry in modern speculative philosophy, failed of demonstration. Thus by the materialist it was quickly dismissed; but remained to haunt the idealist, who, finding reason futile, escaped into claims of suprarational revelation. Now, empiricism furnishes the only escape from this impasse consistent with ex-

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perience by retracing its steps to the sorts of experiences out of which the concept first emerged, and from which it drew its meaning. Gods turn out to be "the life-process itself, idealized and personified." "God is . . . . the Spirit of a people, and in so far as there is a world of humanity, God is the Spirit of the world." God as thus conceived is as really existent as the world itself. "God includes the so-called material world which is the stage of their [men's] action and the condition of their existence, and God signifies also the order of their intelligence and conduct."

As related to the human self, God is this larger self of the world with which man has intimate contact. For the human self is not an entity within the skin, but a series of relationships with other organisms and meaningful objects. In so far, therefore, as "the self participates in the life of the universal," in pursuit of the best, then the meaning of the whole for good is shared by the individual; and God and man may meet as friends, "co-workers." However, the meaning of the whole for good becomes an idealization of reality as orderliness, love, and rationality; and wherever these qualities emerge in experience they are proof of his reality. God works, then, through "the will to attain the good through the dominance of order, intelligence and love"; and when, in crises, this will becomes for action's sake an absolute demand, God comes to be the Absolute, not of speculation but of practical conduct. He is personal in the same sense that He is intelligent; in the sense that reality is in part (i.e., in humanity) personal. "He is the world of nature, including human beings, operating for certain ends through individuals and institutions," as important and real a form of natural activity, surely, as material forces. God thus becomes a "frame of reference" in religious thinking, an accumulation of racial experience which stands over against the individual judgment as relative omniscience and omnipotence.

When this sense of the encompassing power is intensely appreciated religion becomes mystical; and this without espousing the particular epistemology of mysticism. When we employ language to carry on conversation with the idealized other—whether another self or one's own personality or the whole regarded as functioning as a personality—the result is prayer. It is converse with one's ideals, and gains added power to elevate and exhilarate us when shared with other idealists in a common quest.

Moral determinism as a doctrine arose out of "the now discarded doctrine of physical determinism." As an adjusting organism man has learnt "the habit of modifying habits" in response to the changing needs of a changing environment. This habit is what is meant by freedom; and

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our conscious modifications of response in concrete social situations is moral freedom. Ethics finds its criteria in "expansiveness, harmony and happiness experienced." From this it follows that good and evil are relative terms, and perfection an ulterior goal, not a static condition. There are no "natural evils" save as natural events relate to human ends, creating problems to be solved; and upon problematic choices rests our morality itself.

Discussion of religious organization is clarified by the writer's eschewing the term "the church" in favor of "churches"; for then the latter are seen as partial, local, particularized organizations of idealistic quests. Church union will come not in doctrinal or ritual uniformity, but in practical co-operation in quest of the good life under varying conditions. Meanwhile, successful religious education will seek to "cultivate the religious values that are inherent in common experience," and this by actual socialized experience in some group. Intellectual leadership in religion will make its contribution most effectively by modestly avoiding the prestige of remote authoritativeness and applying its reflective thought to "the release and enhancement of practical religious living," by bringing it into harmony with wider areas and perspectives.

Thus runs the argument of the book, and no one can gainsay the clarity, charm, and cogency with which it is written. It becomes abundantly clear that religion is a function of normal social life; but not so clear that the whole reference of valid religion is to be found in social experience. That this point is not clearly worked out is indicated by the treatment of the crucial concept of God. This section of the book, almost one-third of the volume, is confusing if not confused.

In the first place *mana* is interpreted as *socially significant* potency, an interpretation open to considerable question. But when we come to the relation of God to the cosmos the uncertainty grows. God is "the meaning of the world" (p. 133); then he "includes the so-called material world" (p. 134); and again He is synonymous with nature (p. 145; cf. p. 177). But immediately a reservation is made that "God is not to be taken as the equivalent of all that is, but as . . . . 'the Power which makes for righteousness'" (p. 146). Chapter x, however, presents "God as idealized reality," that is, as "those aspects which are consonant with order, beauty and expansion" (p. 154).

The reader will surely ask, Is God the universe as a whole, or not? As a pragmatist, Dean Ames replies, of course, that anything *is* what human experience assumes most effectively that it is. Things are defined by

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their functions in our experience. Therefore, the cosmos is the whole of experience interpreted as to its significance for our behavior. The cosmos as a religious concept, then, would be the totality of experience interpreted as to its significance for the quest after social ideals. From this standpoint it may be truly said that God can be at once the whole, the meaning of the whole, and a trend within the whole. Now, any meaning selected for religion, viewed in the Amesian way as co-extensive with the widest life-quests, must be pragmatically the most comprehensive meaning. This demands that the philosopher of religion view his cosmos from the widest variety of possible angles, in order to embrace experience. The selection of any one angle as *the* religious angle demands justification, if religion is to avoid being allocated to a limited area of life, and hence of the personality.

The author clearly views the cosmos from the angle of its bearing upon the quest of the highest social ideals. What precisely would be this angle? Professor Ames explicitly distinguishes it from the physical science angle (pp. 59 f., 171), thereby running the risk of divorcing social behavior of human organisms from their physicochemical foundations. His own statement on page 157 defines this angle of vision as finding the meaning of the world in that which makes "sanity and achievement possible" and gives "a positive and pleasurable emotional tone." Full of danger as is this latter phrase, the "sanity" sought for in the former test connotes a testing of social objectives with reference to a larger or a different setting. Thus Dewey[2] says, "To ascertain and state meanings in abstraction from social or shared situations is the only way in which the latter can be intelligently modified, extended and varied." It is one thing to advance the dialectic that physical science meanings are, as a part of human knowledge, social meanings; it is a very different matter to argue that the significance of nature for the human, moral quest is its characteristic meaning (pp. 155, 170 f.). This leaps too many obstacles by a tour de force. Since our adjustment is to our area of significant experience, it becomes imperative that we avoid a "run of attention" (even though it be societal) that begets inadequate adjustment. If God is to be taken as a meaning of the whole, care must be taken to avoid projecting our present, social meanings to the exclusion of other non-social meanings which might force a reconstruction of social ideals. Otherwise we "harden our hearts" and lose a new message.

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[2] *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, J. Ratner, p. 231.

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AN ANTHOLOGY OF RECENT PHILOSOPHY[1]

This work is very timely, since most of the sourcebooks in philosophy published heretofore have included only selections from the classical philosophers. We find brought together here excerpts from the writings of some of the best-known philosophers of today and of the last few decades. In the preface the compiler states that "while the book is primarily designed for use in college courses in philosophy, I have also had especially in mind those persons who wish to know something of what philosophers are saying, but who are too busy to read widely in the literature." Although the subtitle of the work reads, "Selections for Beginners from the Writings of the Greatest 20th Century Philosophers," the beginner in philosophy will find many of the selections very difficult reading. This fact, however, is realized, and at least three readings of each selection are recommended by the compiler: the first reading to be simply for interest, the second for a more searching analysis, and the third to bring understanding and complete mastery of the material presented.

The selections are well organized under appropriate headings so that there is continuity of subject matter as well as diversity of presentation. The book is divided into five main parts: "Orientation," "Idealism," "Realism," "Pragmatism," and "Other Types of Philosophy." Each part is again divided into chapters, which include on the average two or three selections. The main parts of the book, dealing with idealism, realism, and pragmatism, each include chapters with a sketch of the development of that particular movement, its solution of the problem of knowledge and existence, its approach to the problem of truth and error, as well as to the body-mind problem, and its theory of value. The reading of these corresponding chapters gives an excellent idea of how these problems are handled by men of different philosophical schools. In order that the reader may not overlook important points, each selection is preceded by a concise analysis, and each chapter is followed by suggestions and questions for discussion and further thought. In the Appendix is found a biographical sketch of each of the contributors.

It is impossible for a reviewer in a short space to give more than a general idea of the material presented by the sixty or more contributors. The selections which any one person would point out as especially valuable would doubtless depend upon his philosophical bias, as well as upon his particular interests. In Part I on orientation, such men as William James, John Dewey, R. B. Perry, W. P. Montague, J. H. Muirhead, and

[1] *An Anthology of Recent Philosophy*. Compiled by DANIEL SOMMER ROBINSON. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1929. xii+674 pages. $4.00.

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others of like standing discuss the nature of philosophy, its rôle in the history of civilization, and its chief divisions and problems. Under the heading of idealism, the names of R. F. A. Hoernlé, James Ward, Henri Bergson, F. H. Bradley, G. P. Adams, B. Bosanquet, and others appear. Among the realists represented are B. Russell, George Santayana, and about twelve others; among the pragmatists, John Dewey, F. C. S. Schiller, and other well-known names. The last part of the work, devoted to "Other Types of Philosophy," includes selections on emergent evolution, agnosticism, and the new scholasticism.

The value of such a work as this compared with that written by a single author is that it permits opposing views to be presented by persons wholly in sympathy with the position presented. While the selections for this compilation come from a very wide range of literature, including books, philosophical journals, and reviews, they have been well selected. Many classes in modern philosophy will find this a useful text and source-book.

HAROLD H. TITUS

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A CRITICISM OF THE MODERN ECONOMIC ORDER

This is a profoundly discouraging book.[1] And this, not primarily because of the dark picture it draws of the prevailing economic (dis) order, capitalism. It is true, however, that Professor Ward has restated in compelling fashion the debits of our economic philosophy and of the culture that arises from it. He charges that capitalism does not actually subserve human values in producing prosperity for the few; that it does not even make for maximum production; that in its survival of the fittest, the fittest do not survive; that its own vaunted palliatives are mere palliatives, such as distribution of stock ownership, which the more it is distributed the less it is democratized; that its unquestionable virtues—thrift, industriousness, and honesty—can be developed with less overhead; that little as our economic morality can promise the present, it can promise less than that little for the future: "Here capitalistic industrialism is disqualified at the outset."

Nor does the discouragement with the book grow out of a conviction that the author, like so many preachers, is unprejudiced by any knowl-

[1] *Our Economic Morality*. By Harry F. Ward. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. ix+329 pages. $2.50.

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edge of the facts. Unlike a graduate student who wished to "Christianize the economic order" without having either studied or being willing to study economics, Professor Ward has a working knowledge of the basic economic facts of our present situation. He has had, moreover, the benefit of advice from economic technicians. The author has read widely and understandingly in the literature for, as well as against, the prevailing theory of business enterprise.

Nor does the discouragement arise from any feeling that the author lacks sympathy or has placed his sympathy upon the wrong side. These pages, as do all his pages, glow with fellow-feeling for those less fortunate than the author and with prophetic zeal, not to say wrath, against all who stay the course of justice among men. Nor is his courage less than his sympathy. He not only speaks straightforwardly about economic malefactors, about politicians in high places, about socially nescient divines, but he even speaks his mind regarding fellow-academicians who develop an exclusive pride of place or apologize for those who have developed such a pride.

No; the discouragement grows from none of these things. It springs rather from the lack of any genuine alternative to the darksome way of life here colorfully drawn. An alternative is the need of the hour: without it sympathy easily becomes sentimentalism and courage, foolhardiness. Communism, as the author sees, offers no fundamental alternative; for though its attitude toward private property has released new energies as an outgrowth of revolution, it nevertheless rests basically upon the same devotion as capitalism to a materialistic outlook upon life. Nor is "the ethic of Jesus," constituting as it does a remarkably inconspicuous subtitle of the book, offer any genuine alternative to the economic mind of the modern world, though the author himself believes that it does. Jesus comes into the picture only when it is obvious that there is no other hope in sight. Adam Smith we know, and Marx, and Ford; but who is Jesus? Is he the man who, despairing of and crushed by an economic situation far less complex than the one that arouses Ward's courage, forgot even love at last and appealed querulously to God when he had nothing else left? Then give us Ward, who not only looks at capitalism with courage but also looks at man's life on earth with hope. To appeal to the hope of a solution as itself the solution leaves us worse than we were; for it leaves us discouraged as well as baffled. Such words as sympathy and love and co-operation and God and "ethic of Jesus" constitute no solution of anything, except by attribution; and this kind of solution the apologists for capitalism have, in attributing welfare to the many because they are sub-

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sumed in the prosperity of the few. The weakness of this latter attribution is that the inclusion of the one in the other cannot be factually paraded. And the weakness of the former is that a plan of procedure cannot be deduced from love or even from the ethic of Jesus. If it could, then let us deduce it, and leave off the calling of holy names.

In truth, if all references to the ethic of Jesus were excised from this book, nobody would miss them; not even the author himself once the memory of what he has written grew dim. His book would then stand forth for what it is: a courageous and informed attack upon the evils of our present economic practices and philosophy—with no alternative save the author's own good will. This would be a great gain, for it would set a reader (and the author) to work upon the economic order itself to discover whatever potencies for improvement there are in it, rather than to noise false hope from holy appellations. In such a chastened mood, the reader would find the present author to have more fruitful clues to reconstruction than are contained in the ethic of Jesus.

More is intended here than merely the clearing of the prophetic vocation of irrelevant appeals. The ethic of Jesus is identified basically by the author with "the morality of the family group." Many of those who share Ward's sympathy with the underprivileged and his alarm at certain aspects of contemporary industrialism believe that knowledge is so fundamental to any genuine alternative to the present order that an ethic that rests upon the family group will prove inadequate for our need. The family resists to the end effective application of intelligence. Perhaps it ought to do so; about that this is no place to argue. But science, rather than sympathy, must be the basic reliance of those who would build "Jerusalem in this green and sunny land." It was this attempt to secularize human society that dignified the Greek thinkers whom Professor Ward depreciates. It is the necessity of socializing secularity that is laid heavily upon modern men. In this enterprise no ethic that either assumes the presence or depreciates the need of knowledge in order to play up the necessity of affection will be as strong a contender for consideration as an ethic that puts its primary emphasis upon accurate and disinterested knowledge. Is this the reason that the eidolon of Jesus is losing its hold upon even social thinkers of our day?

T. V. Smith

University of Chicago

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AN INTERPRETATION OF AUTHORITY

It is a striking proof of the vigorous vitality and the real value of this book[1] that it is a revised edition of a work first published in 1902. In Germany it is the regular custom for an important book to go through several editions, but in Great Britain and America it is the rare and happy fate of very few books, but this is one of them. It has not undergone much revision and the changes are few, and mostly matters of detail and not at all of the main ideas or the structure of the work. It is the more significant for this very reason, for it shows the quality of the author's thought, the advanced notion of his ideas, and the profound religious experience which give it its power. To the author we are indebted for several important contributions to theology—we owe to him *Grace and Personality, The Problem of Faith and Freedom,* and the translation of Schleiermacher's *Discourses on Religion.*

In the present work on *Vision and Authority* he is concerned with the problem of the inner life, its freedom, its autonomy, and the external authorities which have sought and still seek to impose their thought upon men and to control and even coerce their conduct. It is a persistent problem and solved only in those churches which are in the Pauline succession and whose Magna Carta is the Galatian Epistle. In his early life, our author was stung to the quick, in the days of the Robertson Smith controversy, by hearing a devout elder of the church say: "Granting that Robertson Smith is right, if it is the truth, it is dangerous truth, and he has no right as a professor of the Church to upset the Church by declaring it." From that day to this, he has been a lover of the truth, a searcher for the truth, a prophet in the utterance of and confidence in the truth.

In the present situation of intellectual confusion and moral perplexity, and immoral paganism, he realizes the need of authority, but he is convinced that they are in the wrong who think that external authority is the kind of authority which alone can command the situation. This is too easy, and too futile a method to adopt. Only the internal authority has the power and the right to control. We must "establish freedom upon that impelling necessity which a man's own spiritual vision can alone impose." "Where there is no vision," says a wise man in the Proverbs, "the people cast off restraint."

This truth has been little accepted through the ages. Every method of compulsion has been looked to rather than vision. Religion herself has not ventured to build on a foundation that seemed so frail, while she taught that the worth

[1] *Vision and Authority or the Throne of St. Peter.* By John Oman. New York: Harper Bros., 1929. 352 pages. $3.00.

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of man and the purpose of God were not forwarded by any other obedience. Yet it remains true that no substitute of force or profit avails where spiritual vision is not found.

The only real, adequate, and potent authority is the authority of this spiritual vision of the soul. It is the soul, crowned and mitered by its conscience alive to God, that is the great authority in the moral and religious life. He does not seek to isolate the individual: he recognizes man's social nature and his various personal relations, but in these very relations it is his own vision that gives him his place, and his value for others. He calls therefore for the courage of faith to trust the soul—not timidity, but temerity is the required virtue.

In the second book, he deals with external authorities which have sought to impose their thought upon man. The church has had recourse to external control. It has justified it by the ignorance of the mass of believers, and by its commission from its Founder, and logically rationalized by the one infallible successor of Peter, the original Peter being fallible enough. And the other external authority has been the Bible, made infallible and final, which was to rule the minds and consciences of men. And still further, the authority of Christ has been made to be just as external, legal, compulsory. What Jesus refused to be while living, a ruler over men, the church has made him to be, through the centuries. That external authority, of whatever character, or of whatsoever agent, is still external and does not change its character nor win the right to control the thoughts of mind and the affirmations of the conscience. No argument for these external authorities, from necessity or experience or logic can justify recourse to them in the realm of the spirit. He does not overlook nor minimize the large fund of experience in the church and of truth in the Bible, and still more in the Christ, from which one must draw, but one must make this experience and truth one's own. It must become inner to be controlling in one's life.

The third part deals with church's creeds. He is not concerned with the creeds as formulated and fixed, and made dogmas by the church, but he is profoundly concerned about the life of thought in the church. Obscurantism on the one hand and thoughtless emotionalism and busy practicalness on the other will not avail the church. Man lives by convictions when he lives by spiritual vision. The great doctrines of the church, and the Christ, the great soul of the church, in their spiritual apprehension and appreciation form the true substance of the creed of the church. It is a creed therefore always in the making and in revision.

The fourth part deals with the organization of the church. There is no dry discussion here of mere ecclesiastical matters. We do not move in

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the region of machinery. We hear not the whir of wheels—rather the author is concerned with the great task of the church to awaken souls to the reality of things spiritual: to open the eyes of men, that they may see, and seeing live. He would have the church move from the sphere of compulsion to persuasion, from coercion to freedom. He says,

> The temptation to fall back upon the old order of compulsion and forsake the new order of freedom, ever besets man whose eyes are weak, whose days are few. . . . . The permanent work is that which is done in the souls of men. To this test all institutions must be subjected, but the first and last question for every Church concerns men—not institutions. They are the building, the rest is scaffolding. . . . . Reforms by regulation and compulsion have ended not in failure merely but in reaction. Whereas what springs from changed thoughts and intents of the heart, if it is a fruit slow to grow, is at least sound and without canker.

The challenge which Dr. Oman issues to the churches is to be true to their great faith, their spiritual vision, and the divine patience.

From this review of Dr. Oman's thought it is not strange that there should have been the demand for the republication of his book. It is true that New Testament scholarship has made such advances that there should have been more revision—and it is, also, true that the authority of Christ is being more limited and confined to the distinctively moral and spiritual sphere. This, however, would require little or no change in the author's christological utterance. The prophetic character of the book is manifest in its relevance to our present-day moral and spiritual problems. The thought is vital. Its style is clear, and there are many passages of rare distinction. It is a book of vision, which has had much to do in substituting internal authority for the discredited external authorities.

DANIEL EVANS

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

At last here is a history of Christian missions in China[1]—a history of missions written by a historian who has been a missionary himself. This book is but another evidence of the fact that the missionary enterprise, which for too many years has been the object either of bitter partisan attack or of promotional apologetic, is now being approached in the spirit

[1] *A History of Christian Missions in China.* By K. S. Latourette. New York: Macmillan, 1929. xii+930 pages. $5.00.

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and with the methods of the disinterested student whose sole object is to describe things as they are and to understand the inner processes of their workings.

The absence of hasty generalizations, the amazing amount of detail found on every page, and the extensive use of documentation in the footnotes gives evidence of the long and patient research which lies behind this work. Wherever possible, primary sources have been consulted and followed. The choice of material and the general treatment have partly been determined by the cosmopolitan character of the reading public which the author has had constantly before his mind—Occidental and Oriental, Christian and non-Christian, Protestant and Catholic. Writing consciously for such a diverse public, and desiring to be historically exact, has acted as a wholesome check upon personal bias, but it has also resulted in a wealth of detailed descriptions and a multiplication of incidental references which make this volume a less readable book than either *The Development of China* or *The Development of Japan,* by the same author. Popularity of style has been sacrificed for historical completeness and accuracy.

Dividing the total history of almost two thousand years into a number of periods, the spread of Christianity has been described during each of these periods under the following general scheme of treatment: prevailing social, political, and economic conditions; missionary societies and their work; persecutions and opposition; propaganda methods; the results which have followed missionary effort; and the influence of local conditions upon the development of the Christian movement. Under this general plan, the mission work of Nestorians, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Protestants is brought under review in such a way as to give a connected account of the total enterprise.

Certain aspects of this long narrative will be of special interest, as for example: the fairly full account of the mission work of Nestorians, Franciscans, and Jesuits, before the dawn of the modern age; Catholic missions of the last century; the connection between the Tai Ping rebellion (1850–65) and Christianity; the effect of the Boxer outbreak upon the Christian church; experiments made in interdenominational co-operation and union; the effects of "unequal treaties" upon mission work, and their ethical implications; the functioning of the National Christian Council; the influence of nationalism upon a foreign-controlled religious enterprise; an effort to appraise in a scientific spirit the various factors which are bringing about the present transformations in Chinese life; the part which Christian missions may or may not have played in this great awakening; and finally, the changes, as yet comparatively slight, which Chris-

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tianity itself is experiencing as it is thrust into a new and strange environment. An exhaustive bibliography is appended. Students of the problems and theory of missions will here refresh their minds with a bit of history.

ARCHIBALD G. BAKER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BRINGING STARBUCK AND COE DOWN TO DATE

The pioneer work in the scientific study of religious experience in America was done by G. Stanley Hall in a series of lectures delivered in Boston in 1881. Immediately, we are told, the work of Hall bore fruit in the investigations of Starbuck, William James, and Coe. Starbuck's investigations, in which he tabulated the experiences of a large group of persons, constitute the real foundations of the science of the psychology of religious awakening. Professor Coe, in his volume, *The Spiritual Life*, (1900), studied the experience of another large group of individuals and made further contributions to the science. The present study[1] attempts to carry forward the investigations for the thirty years which have passed since these earlier studies appeared. As a basis for this study the author has tabulated the religious experiences of 2,174 individuals, made up of persons whom he believes constitute a representative cross-section of intelligent American Protestantism. His purpose seems to be to show how modern methods of religious education have influenced the religious training of the average Protestant group.

After discussing the nature of the data upon which the study is based, the author groups the kinds of religious awakening into three types: (1) the definite-crisis awakening; (2) the emotional-stimulus awakening; and (3) the gradual awakening. He finds that under present conditions the relative number of definite-crisis conversions is decreasing, and that as religious training becomes more and more effective, the more radical experience will tend still further to decrease. Under the head, "The Age of Religious Awakening," the author concludes that when religion dawns "by a more gradual process," awakening comes about three and one-half years earlier than formerly, but that once this gradual process is interrupted, religious awakening is delayed nearly five years and then requires an emotional experience. Discussing the relation of theology to religious awakening, the conclusion is reached that definite-crisis conversions generally accompany the preaching of stern theology, and that the data studied indicate that stern theology is disappearing, which

[1] *The Psychology of Religious Awakening*. By Elmer T. Clark. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. 170 pages. $2.50.

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warrants the conclusion that definite-crisis awakenings will likewise decrease.

The author finds that practically all contemporary religious persons had some religious training, either in the home or in the Sunday school, and that the lack of religious training causes an increase in the definite-crisis type of conversions. Stern theology and irregular Sunday school attendance he finds more prevalent in the open country and village than in cities and towns, and consequently there are fewer gradual experiences in the villages and open country. Members of the confirmation churches —Episcopalian, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic—show the smallest proportion of definite-crisis awakenings and a larger proportion of gradual cases. Among the evangelical churches the Baptists show the largest number of definite-crisis cases and the fewest gradual cases; the Presbyterians show the fewest definite-crisis cases and the largest number of gradual awakenings; while the Methodists occupy a middle position in both regards. Also we find that among the evangelical churches there are both more definite-crisis cases and gradual cases in the north than in the south.

The author concluded that his study indicates that some of the aims of religious education are being realized. There are two questions, however, which religious education must face: (1) What is the desirable type of religious experience? (2) How is this desirable type to be produced? Neither of these questions is answered. The author notes three dangers facing religious education: (1) the danger that religious education may come to underestimate the value of emotion and feeling in religion; (2) the danger that religious education may be dominated by the mechanical spirit. This danger is indicated by the large occupation of religious education with technique, its emphasis upon method, organization, and curriculum, and the little attention given to any attempt to interpret the underlying philosophy of religion. Far more important than the development of a technique "is the philosophy to which such technique is applied." Christian philosophy occupies far too small a place in the literature of present-day religious education, due largely, no doubt, to the fact that relatively few leaders in religious education have any training in this field. The accusation has been frequently made of late that religious education lays its great emphasis upon technique and possesses little content. (3) The third danger is that religious education tends to forget the need of conversion.

As a whole the author has skilfully handled a large amount of data and has clearly presented some interesting conclusions.

University of Chicago William Warren Sweet

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HOW TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS

Roger Babson, head of the Babson Statistical Organization of Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, again essays into the field of religion in his latest volume.[1] As in his other books which have received a wide reading (*Fundamentals of Prosperity, Religion and Business*, etc.), he insists that ideals of honesty, good will, service, courage, and faith are also sound business principles. But his purpose in this book goes a little farther; and it is based upon his own experience. In 1925 Mr. Babson suffered a serious breakdown which kept him in bed nearly three months. He says of that experience, "During these three months I had a chance to take an inventory of myself and was very much surprised with the result. The financial inventory was satisfactory, but my physical and spiritual inventory was exceedingly weak. While teaching and preaching to others I had completely neglected taking my own medicine. In other words, I had been living on the physical and spiritual momentum I had accumulated while a younger man."

The conclusion at which Mr. Babson arrived as a result of this inventory was that true success depends upon the reserves that one has accumulated; that men are made or broken in emergencies and that whether or not they prove equal to these emergencies depends upon their *reserves*. The surest way, then, to acquire success is to build up these reserves. And the reserves in which he is interested are of three kinds: financial, physical, and intangible, these three reserves being of value, in an ascending scale, in the order given. Intellectual, moral, and spiritual reserves outrank all others in importance. The contents of the book, Mr. Babson tells us, are a summary of the data which the Babson Statistical Organization has been compiling for twenty-five years on the subject of "Reserves," the collection of which represents an investment of considerably over a million dollars.

The book is intended principally for use by men's Bible classes. It is planned so as to provide lessons for three terms of thirteen weeks each, each term being given to a study of one type of reserves. Used in such a way it would, no doubt, prove a very stimulating and useful manual.

As we would expect, Mr. Babson speaks with greatest authority when he discusses financial reserves. In the other two fields he speaks as an amateur, yet with sound common sense and a wide range of knowledge. In explaining his omission of a discussion of certain topics in the third section on "Intangible Reserves" he says, somewhat quaintly, "Frankly, I do not believe anyone knows much about theology, and only those who

[1] *Storing Up Triple Reserves*. By Roger W. Babson. New York: Macmillan, 1929. xviii+364 pages. $2.00.

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do not employ workmen can have the courage to treat of sociological problems!"

The book will serve a useful purpose as a guide for study by groups of men. It is healthy-minded. It strongly emphasizes the simple virtues of honesty, thrift, courage, loyalty, service, etc. In its treatment of religion, however, it rather too easily assumes that the practice of Christian virtues will assure business success. It is, indeed, dedicated to the cult of success. Further, it seems scarcely to recognize any incongruity between the modern highly competitive organization of society, including business and industry, and Christian ideals. But it is precisely at that point that the present social order is being subjected to the keenest criticism by many Christian thinkers today.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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RECENT BOOKS

RELIGIONS IN GENERAL

EVANS-WENTZ, W. Y. *Tibet's Great Yogi, Milarepa.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. xx+315 pages. $6.50.

This is the second gift to western students of Tibet from the pen of Dr. Evans-Wentz. In devoted loyalty to the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup he has now followed the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* with this translation, made by the Lāma, of the eight-century-old biography of one of the most honored saints of Tibetan Buddhism. It is valuable not only for a knowledge of the religion of the period but also for its glimpses into the social and cultural life of the age.

GELDNER, K. F. *Vedismus und Brahmanismus.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1928. ix+176 pages. M. 8.

This is the ninth section of the enlarged new edition of the *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* being brought out under the editorship of Professor Alfred Bertholet. The selections in this section illustrating the transition from the Vedic age to the time of speculation are well chosen.

HODOUS, LEWIS. *Folkways in China.* London: Arthur Probsthain, 1929. ix+248 pages. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Hodous renders a real service to the student of things Chinese in this work. It is usually very easy to discover what the sages of China say and to see in high clarity the great religious ideas and forms. It has always been difficult to know the life of the lowly workers in field and village. In this book one may enter sympathetically into the folkways of the peasants under the leadership of a trustworthy guide.

PETTAZZONI, RAFFAELE. *La Confessione dei Peccati.* Vol. VIII, Part I, "Storia Delle Religioni." Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1929. xiv+355 pages. L. 30.

The author of this work has made many notable studies in the field of the religious sciences. He has here entered upon a novel research—the study of confessional practices of the religions of the world. The necessity of making clear the differences in the concept of sin in the various religions has not been overlooked. This volume deals with the religions of primitives, Central America, Mexico, Peru, Japan, China, India from the Vedas to Manu's code, Jaimism, and the Buddhism of India, China, Tibet, and Turkestan. The second volume will be dedicated to the religions centering around the ancient Mediterranean and coming to a focus in Christianity.

NEW TESTAMENT

MERRIFIELD, FRED. *The Rediscovery of Jesus.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929. ix+270 pages. $1.75.

The man who introduced baseball to the students of Japan has here attempted the even more difficult task of introducing Jesus to the college students of America. Professor Merrifield's classroom contacts with undergraduates for nearly twenty

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years enable him to know the undergraduate mind—if there be such a thing. Accordingly throughout the work is a note of exuberance intended to arouse young America's enthusiasm. The caption, "Dramatic Scenes in the Life of Jesus," and the titles of a few of the chapters illustrate this characteristic: "Prophet of Irresistible Power," "Prophet of Humanity," "Prophet of Contagious Joy," "Prophet of Absolute Sincerity," "Victory in Defeat." As one reads the book, the picture of Jesus opposing the literalists and bigots melts into that of a baseball game with an able pitcher striking out the batters in succession, while Coach Merrifield expresses his hearty approval from the dugout. But this is not to intimate that the book is either irreverently intimate or claptrap. The evident enthusiasm of the author simply cannot be restrained. He is acquainted and thoroughly sympathetic with modern investigation of Jesus and seeks to set them to cheers. "Jesus will 'come into his own' when the world learns, through the church scholars, how thoroughly human and virile he was in the days of his flesh. And the world will enshrine him in the only Temple where he would have wished to be honored—the Temple of the grateful human breast—where it really learns how closely he lived to its needs and how truly he believed in its divine possibilities."

An Appendix of fifty-seven pages contains an outline of synoptic passages (of course the Fourth Gospel is not used in seeking to rediscover Jesus) which reflect: (1) the historical background of Jesus' life, (2) Jesus' own religious convictions, and (3) editorial appreciations and corrections of later years. The book should be of real use for teachers who, like the author, are called upon to fill the rôle of shepherd of tender youth.

ROBINSON, J. ARMITAGE. *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. 115 pages. $1.40.

A reprint of three lectures delivered in 1907, with a fourth lecture whose purpose is to affirm that the lecturer has had no occasion in twenty-one years to change his mind about the problems of the Fourth Gospel.

SPEICHER, EARL EDMON. *An Introduction to the Teaching of Jesus.* Boston: Gorham Press, 1929. 127 pages.

This study presents in elementary didactic form an approach to the teaching of Jesus which is characterized as psycho-historical. That is, the attempt is made by depicting Jesus' "personality" against Jesus' background to enable the student to study what Jesus taught. It is at this point that the most serious difficulty comes; there is no adequate equipment of the student to distinguish the various strata of the traditions. The book will be useful for the purpose to which it limits itself, but it offers no contribution to the problems of the teaching of Jesus.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

COULANGE, LOUIS. *Catechisme pour adultes: I. Les Dogmes.* Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1929. 237 pages. Fr. 12.

This volume appears in a "Modernist Series" under the general title of *Christianisme.* It is not a catechism in the ordinary sense, but a topical treatment, in the modernist spirit, of the traditional dogmas of the church. Significant of the historical approach are the titles of sections 1–4: "God Yesterday," "God Today," "God Tomorrow," "The Refuge of God." In the last-named section philosophical is distinguished from mystical belief in God. The treatment of Christ and the doc-

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trine of the Holy Spirit are similarly reviewed. Athanasius is charged with sophistry in his statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, a sophistry which Augustine only aggravated in trying to amend. Other topics discussed are: "Redemption," "The Virgin Mary," "Original Sin," "Grace," "The Angels," "The Last Things." The whole treatment is analytic; the book attempts no reconstruction of belief. While the historical interpretation is useful as far as it goes, there is a lack of any sense of psychological and social values and influences. It is impossible, for instance, to understand the doctrine of the virginity and immaculate conception of Mary without knowing something both of virgin and mother deities in paganism and of the spirit of Christian asceticism. The determination of the literary sources of a dogma is only a partial account of its origin.

DONAT, J. *Cosmologia.* Vol. IV, "Summa Philosophiae Christianae." Innsbrück: Rauch, 1924. vii+404 pages. S. 7.50.

———. *Critica.* Vol. II, "Summa Philosophiae Christianae." Innsbrück: Felizian Rauch Verlagsbuchlandlung, 1928. viii+278 pages. S. 5.40.

———. *Theodicea.* Vol. VI, "Summa Philosophiae Christianae." Innsbrück: Rauch, 1929. vii+273 pages. S. 5.40.

———. *Index generalis.* Vol. IX, "Summa Philosophiae Christianae." Innsbrück: Rauch, 1929. 68 pages. S. 2.40.

Wyclif, Calvin, and Karl Marx have each been dubbed "the last of the schoolmen," but at the present moment an Innsbrück professor best deserves to be called the latest, if not the last, of scholastic authors. His nine-volume *Summa,* to which these titles belong, is now complete in the fifth edition, and provided with a separate sixty-eight-page Index (divided into *rerum* and *personarum*). Scholasticism is here armed with historical knowledge, and Dr. Donat wrestles not only with Aristotle and Averroes, but with Locke and Kant. The work is a thesaurus of traditional and contemporary Roman Catholic teaching.

FABRICIUS, D. CAJUS. *Oecumenical Handbook of the Churches of Christ trans. by Ethel J. Scheffauer and Yvo O. Waln.* Berlin-Steglitz: Evangelischer Pressverband für Deutschland, 1927. iii+117 pages. 85 cents.

A layman's guide to church organization explaining, often very happily, the origins and emphases of the various denominations. A good deal of space is given to a group of movements called "Sanctification Movements." Information on schismatic and reunion tendencies in both Europe and America is conveniently summarized. A world-wide church federation, permitting the full autonomy of the associated churches, is advocated.

FICKER, GERHARD AND HERMELINK, HEINRICH. *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte.* Part II. *Das Mittelalter.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1929. xi+303 pages. M.14.

Part I of the *Handbuch* edited by G. Krüger, revised in 1923, reaches the beginning of the eighth century. The present section extends from that time to the middle of the fifteenth century. This edition marks a very decided improvement on that of 1912. Certain sections of the text have been completely rewritten; but it is in the bibliographies that the most marked change is apparent. The latter have been brought up to date and extended to about double their former volume. They now

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provide the student with the means of a sound orientation in each of the subjects considered. The predominance of German titles is marked, but there is a fair sprinkling of citations of works in other languages. Instances of failure to be strictly up to date seem rare; but a striking omission is that of Previté-Orton's indispensable text of the *Defensor Pacis* (1928) (p. 179). Some slight errors in the citations have also been noted. For example, the Index has "Brigitta" for "Birgitta," and the name of the recent biographer of the Swedish saint is spelled "Emelie Fogelklon" instead of "Emelia Fogelklou" (p. 213). The arrangement of the old edition remains unaltered, though certain changes might well have been considered. The defects, however, are of minor nature. The book will be welcome as a highly useful guide to the facts of, and especially to the literature for the medieval period of church history.

GÁL, L. *L'Architecture Religieuse en Hongrie du XIe au XIIIe Siècles.* Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929. xvi+300 pages.

The ecclesiastical architecture of the Arpad period of Hungarian history has been hitherto considered to have been dominated either by the French or by the Germanic influence. The author of the present work, Ladislas Gál, contends that both these theses are erroneous, and that the earliest Hungarian ecclesiastical architecture betrays diverse influences, Lombard, French, and German, at first succeeding each other, but later all simultaneously at work. Thus the art of the period studied is eminently composite, reflecting the interplay of the various racial cultures which rivaled each other on the Hungarian soil.

HAMMOND, WILLIAM E. *The Dilemma of Protestantism.* New York: Harper Bros., 1929. xi+150 pages. $2.00.

Courageously facing discouraging facts, this author asks whether the traditional principles of Protestantism are adequate to preserve it for future generations. These principles he lays down as the three following: "The Bible as the rule of faith, the right of private judgment, the justification by faith." Among the discouraging facts are "the numerical growth of those who show a minimum of concern for the future of organized religion," the inadequacy of the religious training of children, and the "ignorance, tactlessness and other serious shortcomings" of the ministry. Liberalism has undermined the old certainties and evolved no potent evangelicalism, yet there is hope for a synthesis of faith. Ministers are forced to engage in economic struggle and professional competition, with demoralizing results; a situation which the church should find ways of remedying. The Protestant churches have also to compete with numerous fraternal organizations. Mr. Hammond refuses to give up hope of the church, seeing elsewhere no hope for society. But his thought on the constructive side is in an unfinished state. Nothing in his last chapter ("A Way Out of the Dilemma") is more weighty than the statement, "The church has still much to offer the age by way of fellowship. . . . . It teaches men to find in fellowship the source of Christian hope, fortitude and service." Unconsciously the author is here stressing what the reformers stressed in their doctrine of the church, which was not "private judgment" but the communion of saints.

HINDERER, D. *Oecumenical Christian Literature.* Berlin-Steglitz: Evangelischer Pressverband für Deutschland, 1927. 95 pages. .85.

This booklet gives valuable information on the movement, arising out of the Stockholm Conference, for the co-ordination of the Christian press of the world and

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the international exchange of church periodicals. Lists are given of organs of the movement for church unity, of yearbooks of the churches, of interchurch organizations, and of the journals of the various denominations. The last-named list occupies thirty-eight pages. Roman Catholic publications are not included. There is also a select list of "ecumenical literature" which forms a useful bibliography for co-operation and union. The text of the explanatory sections of the booklet is given in German, English, and French.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND ETHICS

ANSON, HAROLD. *Authority in Religion.* New York: Century Co., 1929. xvi+197 pages. $1.50.

This is a very typical work of contemporary English modernism. It is much more simple than Streeter's *Reality* but has the same aim—to state traditional Christian beliefs in a way that will make them congenial to the modern mind but without changing them any more than is necessary. Also very typical is his claim that authority in religion lies not in any external agency or person but in "inner experience," the "voice within." The highest attainment of religion and the "real end of life" is not any practical achievement but a kind of inner experience in which one has "the sense of fellowship with the Divine Father."

BELL, BERNARD IDDINGS. *Beyond Agnosticism: A Book for Tired Mechanists.* New York: Harper Bros., 1929. viii+170 pages. $2.00.

A vigorous, vivid, excellently written protest against cynicism, pessimism, and superficiality. But the writer contrasts faith and knowledge, committing faith to religion and knowledge to science; reality has a capital R; and "God is Jesus." Also he takes as experimental evidence for the truth of a belief the subjective effects which that belief has upon him after he first accepts it as true.

COFFIN, JOSEPH H. *The Soul Comes Back.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. 207 pages. $2.00.

Dean Coffin of Whittier College, Los Angeles, has here put into a book what he has been telling his students as dean and professor of philosophy. He graphically depicts the viewpoints of a number of typical students concerning life, personality, and the world. Then follows a rapid and very simplified summary of the development of the individual from conception to maturity. The soul proves to be self-consciousness and this is completely attained at adolescence. Belief in immortality is defended on the ground that death is like other revolutionary stages of development, according to the theory of emergent evolution, leading on to a higher order of existence.

COWGILL, G. W. *A Study of the Soul.* Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1929. 124 pages. $1.75.

The character of this book is best indicated by a quotation: "The soul is the immaterial part of man; it is that part of man that governs the internal central unity of the functions of life. The soul is an active, vital spirit substance, it is one's real self sometimes spoken of as the inner man. It has shape and form." The soul is the traditional ghost.

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DRESSER, HORATIO W. *Outlines of the Psychology of Religion.* Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1929. xiii+451 pages. $3.00.

Much philosophy is mixed with this psychology of religion as well as exhortation veiled as description. It is cast in the form of a textbook. "Inner experience" and "spiritual reality" are constantly brought before us but their exact nature is not made very plain. Much material has been amassed from a lifetime of reading in philosophy, psychology, and religion.

JONES, RUFUS M. *The Trail of Life in College.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. 201 pages. $1.75.

This is another of the author's intimate stories of his personal life. Believing profoundly, as he does, in the cultivation of the mystic qualities and the unquestioned guidance of the inner voice, he aims to show young people how they may reasonably find their way in the midst of the perplexities of college life. Many will doubtless question the findings of this untroubled "Quaker" experience, but none will doubt the validity of the ethical purpose and the character-results which are so marked in the faith of this noblest of American religious leaders.

MACWILLIAM, JOHN. *Criticism of the Philosophy of Bergson.* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, 1928. xii+336 pages. $3.25.

Bergson has not gone far enough. Bergson's doctrine of intuition is here carried to the point where it is claimed that the individual consciousness merges with the Absolute and that individual minds commune with one another without the need of language, and reality is known in a manner too deep to express by any words.

POTEAT, WILLIAM LOUIS. *The Way of Victory.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929. 83 pages. $1.00.

This unpretentious little volume consists of three lectures delivered at Chapel Hill under the auspices of the School of Religion there. In them Dr. Poteat raises once more the question: Is the Gospel of Jesus of real moment to the chaos of present-day thinking? Moral standards are breaking. When confronted with the embarrassing question, "Why should I be good?" many are frankly unable to answer. Its corollary, "What is it to be good?" leaves them equally perplexed. Nor is the confusion confined to questions of the individual and of his personal morals. In man's relations with his fellows, be it in business, in government, or in diplomacy, the same intolerable situation exists. The only way out is Christ's way. These perplexing issues can be settled only by the readiness of men and women to bring their lives under the Christian spirit of fraternity and justice. But if this be done, the world will find that the way of Christ is the way of victory for individual and for society alike. The *Via Dolorosa* is actually the *Via Victoriosa.*

SHAW, JOHN MACKINTOSH. *Essentials and Non-Essentials of the Christian Faith.* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, 1928. ix+195 pages. $2.00.

Mr. Shaw thinks the fundamentalists are right in attempting to state the essentials of the Christian faith but have erred in their statement of what they are. He examines each of the five points of fundamentalism and reformulates it in such a

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way as to avoid what he believes to be the errors of fundamentalism. The five doctrines so treated are: inspiration of the Scriptures, virgin birth, atoning work of Christ, resurrection, miracles.

SHEEN, FULTON J. *Religion Without God.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. xiv+368 pages. $3.50.

A loyal Catholic here views with dismay the philosophies of religion which have been developing in modern times outside the fold of Catholicism. Such men as S. Alexander, Whitehead, G. B. Smith, Ames, Sorley, and many others represent "religion without God," for the idea of God they present is not God at all. After surveying the chief trends of modern religious thinking he writes, "Add to this subjectivism, this empiricism, and this pragmatism, a pinch of biology, psychology, and new physics, stir it up, bake in a pan well greased with evolution, and the finished product will be the modern God." There is evidence of wide and careful reading.

UREN, A. RUDOLPH. *Recent Religious Psychology.* New York: Scribner, 1928. xi+280 pages. $3.50.

An excellent survey of the methods and work of the American School of psychology of religion. The works of Starbuck, Coe, James, Pratt, Ames, Stratton, and Leuba are carefully analyzed, expounded, and criticized. A brief but very competent summary of the history of the development of psychology of religion from the time of Jonathan Edwards is given in chapter i. Numerous footnotes, Appendixes, and Index add much to the value of the book. Altogether a thorough and outstanding contribution to this field of scholarship.

MISCELLANEOUS

ROSS-FRY-SIBLEY. *The Near East and American Philanthropy.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. xiv+308 pages. $3.50.

The book is a result of the survey conducted by the General Committee of the Near East Survey, and comprises studies of the present condition of Armenia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, 'Iraq, Palestine, and Syria. The subjects investigated are physiography, demography, governmental form, fiscal condition, means of communication, agriculture, commerce, industry, education, health, and social conditions, but religious conditions were not included. Within this scope, the information gathered is founded largely upon official reports, and is believed to be as complete and reliable as it was possible to secure. Its objectivity affords a clear picture of the conditions prevailing in the countries surveyed, and as such the book is valuable in furnishing information not easily available otherwise.

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INDEX TO VOLUME IX

I. AUTHORS AND SUBJECTS

PAGE

ANONYMOUS, Can Philosophy Progress within the Framework of the Christian Faith? 38
Antioch, Peter's Triumph at, ... 204
AUBREY, EDWIN E., Reviews of:
Ames, Religion 640
Baillie, The Interpretation of Religion: A Study of Theological Principles 636
Buckham, The Humanity of God 638
Grant, New Horizons of the Christian Faith, "Hale Lectures, 1927–28" . 314
Leh, Christianity Reborn 314
Sellars, Religion Coming of Age 314

BACON, BENJAMIN W., Peter's Triumph at Antioch 204
BAKER, ARCHIBALD G., Jesus Christ as Interpreted by the Missionary Enterprise 1
Reviews of:
Cave, Christianity and Some Living Religions of the East 478
Latourette, History of Christian Missions in China 651
Balthasar Huebmaier and Baptist Historic Commitments 50
BARRETT, E. BOYD, Can There be Tolerance without Understanding? . . . 20
Review of:
Garrison, Catholicism and the American Mind 475
Beyond Science 505
BIXLER, JULIUS SEELYE, Emil Brunner as a Representative of the Theology of Crisis 446
German Phenomenology and Its Implications for Religion 589
BLAKE, RALPH M., Review of:
Rogers, Morals in Review 317
BONHAM, MILLEDGE L., JR., The Religious Side of Joseph Brant 398
BOWEN, CLAYTON R., Review of:
Goguel, Au Seuil de l'Evangile. Jean-Baptiste 304
BOWER, WILLIAM CLAYTON, Education through Creative Experience . . . 551
Review of:
Coe, The Motives of Men 319
BUCKHAM, JOHN WRIGHT, Beyond Science 505
Review of:
Brown, Beliefs that Matter 145
BURROWS, MILLAR, Religion in the College Curriculum 436
Review of:
Smith, Robert Seneca, The Use of the Old Testament in Current Curricula 484

CADBURY, HENRY J., Egyptian Influence in the Book of Proverbs . . . 99
Review of:
Riddle, Jesus and the Pharisees: A Study in Christian Tradition . . . 299
Calvin and Butzer 237

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PAGE

CASE, SHIRLEY JACKSON, Reviews of:
Faye, de, Origène. Sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée, Vol. III. La Doctrine . 306
Leclercq, La Vie Chrétienne Primitive 306
Odeberg (Ed.), Enoch, or The Hebrew Book of Enoch 130
Rand, Founders of the Middle Ages 135
Siouville, Hippolyte de Rome: Philosophumena, ou Réfutation de toutes les hérésies 306
CHAVE, E. J., Reviews of:
Bonser, Child Life and Religious Growth 322
Entwistle and Harris, The Call Drum 486
Gladfelter, Under the North Star 486
Hutton, Building for Tomorrow 322
Jenness, Meet Your United States 486
Christ, The Place of, in Modern Theology 184
Christian Faith, Can Philosophy Progress within the Framework of the, . . 38
Church Union in South India 607
Church Union, The Movement toward, in South India 109
Church Unity, Protestantism, Democracy and, ... 169
College Curriculum, Religion in the, ... 436
Creative Experience, Education through, ... 551

DAHL, GEORGE, Review of:
Gordon, Meek, J. M. P. Smith, and Waterman, The Old Testament: An American Translation 119
DAVIDSON, RICHARD, Review of:
Mensching, Katholische Kultprobleme dargestellt in ihrem Verhältnis zur evangelischen Kultauffassung 141
DEEMS, MERVIN MONROE, Review of:
Houtin, Courte histoire du célibat ecclésiastique 627

EAKIN, FRANK, Reviews of:
Millard (Ed.), The Supplementary Bible 471
Turnbull, Tongues of Fire: A Bible of Sacred Scriptures of the Pagan World 615
Education through Creative Experience 551
Egyptian Influence in the Book of Proverbs 99
Emil Brunner as a Representative of the Theology of Crisis 446
England, Revolt of the Reformation Parliament against Ecclesiastical Exactions in, 1529–36 257
ENSLIN, MORTON S., An Additional Step toward the Understanding of Jesus . 419
EVANS, DANIEL, Review of:
Oman, Vision and Authority or The Throne of St. Peter 649

FAIRWEATHER, WILLIAM, Concerning the Jewish Dispersion 224
FINESINGER, SOL B., Review of:
Malter, Treatise Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud 128
FRANK, R. W., Review of:
Thompson, Urbanization 149
French Church Councils of the Eleventh Century, The Laity in, ... 568

GARRISON, WINFRED ERNEST, Review of:
Barrett, While Peter Sleeps 628
Jemolo, Il Giansenismo in Italia prima della Rivoluzione 139

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PAGE

German Phenomenology in Its Implications for Religion 589
GOULD, CHESTER W., Reviews of:
Bertholet (Ed.), Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch 614
Krause, Die Kelten 614
Schröder, Die Germanen 614
GRAHAM, WILLIAM CREIGHTON, The Second Rescue of the Second Isaiah . . 66
Review of:
Siebens, L'Origine du Code Deuteronomique 621

HAYDON, A. EUSTACE, Review of:
Saunders, The Gospel for Asia 116
Hebrew Poetry, The Structure of, ... 523
HOLMAN, CHARLES T., Reviews of:
Babson, Storing Up Triple Reserves 655
Douglass, How to Study the City Church 151
Douglass, The City's Church 487
HORTON, WALTER M., The Psychological Approach to Theology 337
Reviews of:
Flower, An Approach to the Psychology of Religion 143
Frommel, The Psychology of Christian Faith 482
Jones, New Studies in Mystical Religion 143
Juergens, Newman on the Psychology of Faith 482
Woodburne, The Religious Attitude: A Psychological Study of Its Differentiation 143

India, Church Union in South, ... 607
India, Some Observations on Mission Policies in, ... 291
India, The Movement toward Church Union in South, ... 109
IRWIN, W. A., Truth in Ancient Israel 357
Isaiah, The Second Rescue of the Second, ... 66
Israel, Truth in Ancient, ... 357

Jesus, An Additional Step toward the Understanding of, ... 419
Jesus Christ as Interpreted by the Missionary Enterprise 1
Jesus, Some Late Elements in the Teachings of, ... 389
Jewish Dispersion, Concerning the, ... 224
JOHNSON, JOHN W., Balthasar Huebmaier and Baptist Historic Commitments . 50
Joseph Brant, The Religious Side of, ... 398

KINCHELOE, SAMUEL C., Review of:
Woofter, Negro Problems in Cities 150
KRUMBINE, MILES H., Reviews of:
Garrison, Affirmative Religion 480
Gilkey, The Certainty of God 480

Laity in French Church Councils of the Eleventh Century, The, ... 568
Luther and Butzer 85
LYMAN, EUGENE W., The Place of Christ in Modern Theology 184

MACKINNEY, The Laity in French Church Councils of the Eleventh Century . 568
MCNEILL, JOHN T., Reviews of:
Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843–1874 309

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Gollancz, The Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia XVII and XVIII Centuries 137
Maclean, Aspects of Scottish Church History 309
MacNaught, The Celtic Church and the See of Peter 473
Maryknoll Mission Letters. China. Vol. II. Extracts from Letters and Diaries of Pioneer Missioners 137
MANSHARDT, CLIFFORD, Church Union in South India 607
Some Observations on Mission Policies in India 291
The Movement toward Church Union in South India 109
MARTI, OSCAR A., Revolt of the Reformation Parliament against Ecclesiastical Exactions in England, 1529–36 257
MATHEWS, SHAILER, Protestantism, Democracy and Church Unity . . . 169
MEEK, THEOPHILE J., The Structure of Hebrew Poetry 523
Mission Policies in India, Some Observations on, ... 291
Missionary Enterprise, Jesus Christ as Interpreted by the, ... 1
Modern Theology, The Place of Christ in, ... 184
Modernist Movement, The Broad Church and, ... 12

PARSONS, ERNEST W., Review of:
Eiselen, Lewis and Downey, The Abingdon Bible Commentary . . . 617
PATTON, CARL S., Some Late Elements in the Teachings of Jesus . . . 389
Reviews of:
Fiske, The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson 147
Krumbine, American Lutheran Preaching 147
Luccock, Preaching Values in New Translations of the New Testament . 147
Marchant (Ed.), If I Had Only One Sermon To Preach 147
Odgers and Schutz, The Technique of Public Worship 147
Ross, "Till He Come" 147
PAUCK, WILHELM, Calvin and Butzer 237
Luther and Butzer 85
Reviews of:
Peterson, Die Kirche 312
Seeberg, Luthers Theologie. Motive und Ideen 631
Peter's Triumph at Antioch 204
Philosophy, Can, Progress within the Framework of the Christian Faith? . . 38
PRATT, JAMES BISSETT, Review of:
Davids, Gotama the Man 460
Protestantism, Democracy and Church Unity 169
Proverbs, Egyptian Influence in the Book of, ... 99
PURINGTON, CARL EVERETT, Reviews of:
Battenhouse, The Bible Unlocked 124
Gore, Goudge and Guillaume (Eds.), A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, Including the Apocrypha 462
Religion in the College Curriculum 436
RIDDLE, DONALD W., Reviews of:
Bardenhewer, Der Brief des heiligen Jacobus 468
Delafosse, Les Ecrits de Saint Paul, IV, l'Epitre aux Philippiens . . . 468
Herford, Judaism in the New Testament Period 625
Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philipper 468
Schmid, Der Epheserbrief des Apostels Paulus 468

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Science, Beyond, ... 505
Scott, E. F., Reviews of:
Brewster, The Madness of War 467
Mathews, Jesus on Social Institutions 302
Sikhs, Ethical Aspects of the Religion of the, ... 281
Smith, J. M. Powis, Reviews of:
Heidel, The Day of Yahweh: A Study of Sacred Days and Ritual Forms in the Ancient Near East 488
Kennett, Old Testament Essays 127
Kittel, Great Men and Movements in Israel 465
Smith, George Adam, The Books of the Twelve Prophets 620
Welch, Jeremiah: His Time and Work 297
Smith, T. V., Review of:
Ward, Our Economic Morality 646
Sweet, William Warren, Reviews of:
Clark, The Psychology of Religious Awakening 653
Duren, Francis Asbury, Founder of American Methodism and Unofficial Minister of State 313
Elsbree, The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815 . . 477

Theology of Crisis, Emil Brunner as a Representative of the, ... 446
Theology, The Psychological Approach to, ... 337
Titus, Harold H., Review of:
Robinson, An Anthology of Recent Philosophy 645
Tolerance, Can There Be, without Understanding? 20
Truth in Ancient Israel 357

Vogt, Von Ogden, Reviews of:
Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church 634
Gillman, The Evolution of the English Hymn 634
Smith, H. Augustine, The American Student Hymnal 634

Widgery, Alban G., Ethical Aspects of the Religion of the Sikhs . . . 281
Willoughby, Harold R., Review of:
Wilson, St. Paul and Paganism 132

II. BOOKS REVIEWED

Ames, *Religion* 640

Babson, *Storing Up Triple Reserves* 655
Baillie, *The Interpretation of Religion: An Introductory Study of Theological Principles* 636
Bardenhewer, *Der Brief des heiligen Jakobus* 468
Barrett, *While Peter Sleeps* 628
Battenhouse, *The Bible Unlocked* 124
Benson, *The Hymnody of the Christian Church* 634
Bertholet (Ed.), *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* 614
Bonser, *Child Life and Religious Growth* 322
Brewster, *The Madness of War* 467
Brown, *Beliefs that Matter* 146
Buckham, *The Humanity of God* 638

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PAGE

Cave, *Christianity and Some Living Religions of the East* 478
Clark, *The Psychology of Religious Awakening* 653
Coe, *The Motives of Men* 319

Davids, *Gotama the Man* 460
Delafosse, *Les Ecrits de Saint Paul, IV, l'Epitre aux Philippiens* 468
Douglass, *How to Study the City Church* 151
Douglass, *The City's Church* 487
Duren, *Francis Asbury, Founder of American Methodism and Unofficial Minister of State* 313

Eiselen, Lewis and Downey (Eds.), *The Abingdon Bible Commentary* . . . 617
Elsbree, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815* . . . 477
Entwistle and Harris, *The Call Drum* 486

de Faye, *Origène: Sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée, Vol. III. La Doctrine* . . . 306
Fiske, *The Confessions of a Puzzled Parson* 147
Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland 1843–1874* 309
Flower, *An Approach to the Psychology of Religion* 143
Frommel, *The Psychology of Christian Faith* 482

Garrison, *Affirmative Religion* 480
Garrison, *Catholicism and the American Mind* 475
Gilkey, *The Certainty of God* 480
Gillman, *The Evolution of the English Hymn* 634
Gladfelter, *Under the North Star.* 486
Goguel, *Au Seuil de l'Evangile: Jean-Baptiste* 304
Gollancz, *The Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia, XVII and XVIII Centuries* 136
Gordon, Meek, J. M. P. Smith, and Waterman, *The Old Testament: An American Translation* 119
Gore, Goudge, and Guillaume, *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, Including the Apocrypha* 462
Grant, *New Horizons of the Christian Faith*, "Hale Lectures, 1927–28" . . 314

Heidel, *The Day of Yahweh: A Study of Sacred Days and Ritual Forms in the Ancient Near East* 488
Herford, *Judaism in the New Testament Period* 625
Houtin, *Courte histoire du célibat ecclésiastique* 627
Hutton, *Building for Tomorrow* 322

Jemolo, *Il Giansenismo in Italia prima della Rivoluzione* 139
Jenness, *Meet Your United States* 486
Jones, *New Studies in Mystical Religion* 143
Juergens, *Newman on the Psychology of Faith* 482

Kennett, *Old Testament Essays* 127
Kittel, *Great Men and Movements in Israel* 465
Krause, *Die Kelten* 614
Krumbine, *American Lutheran Preaching* 147

Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China* 651
Leclercq, *La Vie Chètienne Primitive* 306

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PAGE

Leh, *Christianity Reborn* 314
Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper* 468
Luccock, *Preaching Values in New Translations of the New Testament* . . . 174

Maclean, *Aspects of Scottish Church History* 309
MacNaught, *The Celtic Church and the See of Peter* 473
Malter (Ed.), *Treatise Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud* 128
Marchant, *If I Had Only One Sermon To Preach* 147
Maryknoll Mission Letters. China. Vol. II. Extracts from Letters and Diaries of Pioneer Missioners 138
Mathews, *Jesus on Social Institutions* 302
Mensching, *Katholische Kultprobleme dargestellt in ihrem Verhaeltnis zur evangelischen Kultauffassung* 141
Millard (Ed.), *The Supplementary Bible* 471

Odeberg, *Enoch, or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* 130
Odgers and Schutz, *The Technique of Public Worship* 147
Oman, *Vision and Authority or the Throne of St. Peter* 649

Peterson, *Die Kirche* 312

Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* 135

Riddle, *Jesus and the Pharisees: A Study in Christian Tradition* 299
Robinson, *An Anthology of Recent Philosophy* 645
Rogers, *Morals in Review* 317
Ross, *"Till He Come"* 147

Saunders, *The Gospel for Asia* 116
Schmid, *Der Epheserbrief des Apostles Paulus* 468
Schröder, *Die Germanen* 614
Seeberg, *Luthers Theologie. Motive und Ideen* 632
Sellars, *Religion Coming of Age* 314
Siebens, *L'Origine du Code Deuteronomique* 621
Siouville, *Hippolyte de Rome: Philosophumena, ou Réfutation de toutes les hérésies* 306
Smith, George Adam, *The Books of the Twelve Prophets* 620
Smith, H. Augustine, *The American Student Hymnal* 634
Smith, Robert Seneca, *The Use of the Old Testament in Current Curricula* . . . 482

Thompson, *Urbanization* 149
Turnbull, *Tongues of Fire: A Bible of Sacred Scriptures of the Pagan World* . 615

Ward, *Our Economic Morality* 646
Welch, *Jeremiah: His Time and Work* 297
Wilson, *St. Paul and Paganism* 132
Woodburne, *The Religious Attitude: A Psychological Study of Its Differentiation* 143
Woofter, *Negro Problems in Cities* 150

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